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ROBERT BURTON

**THE ANATOMY
OF MELANCHOLY**

IN THREE VOLUMES · VOLUME THREE

INTRODUCTION BY
HOLBROOK JACKSON



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THE SYNOPSIS OF THE THIRD PARTITION

Preface or Introduction. *Subsect. 1.*

Love and Love-Melancholy, <i>Memb. 1, Sect. 1.</i>	Love's definition, pedigree, object, fair, amiable, and pleasant, from which comes beauty, grace, which all desire and love, parts affected.	
	Division or kinds, <i>Subs. 2.</i>	Natural, in things without life, as love and hatred of elements; and with life, as vegetal, vine and elm, sympathy, antipathy, etc.
		Sensible, as of beasts, for pleasure, preservation of kind, mutual agreement, custom, bringing up together, etc.
		or
		Rational,
	Simple, which hath three objects, as <i>M. 1.</i>	Profitable, <i>Subs. 1.</i>
		Pleasant, <i>Subs. 2.</i>
		Honest, <i>Subs. 3.</i>
		Mixed of all three, which extends to <i>M. 3.</i>
		<p>Health, wealth, honour, we love our benefactors, nothing so amiable as profit, or that which hath a show of commodity.</p> <p>Things without life, made by art, pictures, sports, games, sensible objects, as hawks, hounds, horses; Or men themselves for similitude of manners, natural affection, as to friends, children, kinsmen, etc., for glory, such as commend us.</p> <p>Before marriage, as heroical men, as melancholy, <i>Sect. 2, vide I.</i> Or after marriage, as jealousy, <i>Sect. 3, vide B.</i></p> <p>Fecate in show, by some error or hypocrisy; some seem and are not; or truly for virtue, honesty, good parts, learning, eloquence, etc.</p> <p>Common good, our neighbour, country, friends, which is charity; the defect of which is cause of much discontent and melancholy.</p> <p>In excess, <i>vide II.</i> In defect, <i>vide B.</i></p>

T Heroical or love-Melancholy, in which consider,	Memb. 1.	His pedigree, power, extent to vegetals and sensible creatures, as well as men, to spirits, devils, etc.		
		His name, definition, object, part affected, tyranny		
	Causes, Memb. 2.	{	Stars, temperature, full diet, place, country, clime, condition, idleness, Subs. 1.	
			Natural allurements, and causes of love, as beauty, its praise, how it allureth.	
			Comeliness, grace, resulting from the whole or some parts, as face, eyes, hair, hands, etc. Subs. 2.	
			Artificial allurements, and provocations of lust and love, gestures, apparel, dowry, money, etc.	
			Quest. Whether beauty owe more to art or nature? Subs. 3.	
	Symptoms or signs, Memb. 3.	{	{	Opportunity of time and place, conference, discourse, music, singing, dancing, amorous tales, lascivious objects, familiarity gifts, promises, etc. Subs. 4.
				Bawds and philters, Subs. 5.
				Of body { Dryness, paleness, leanness, waking, sighing, etc. Quest. An detur pulsus amatorius?
				or { Fear, sorrow, suspicion, anxiety, etc.
				Of mind. { Bad, as { A hell, torment, fire, blindness, etc.
	Cures, Memb. 5.	{	{	Dotage, slavery, neglect of business.
				Spruceness, neatness, courage, aptness to learn music, singing, dancing, poetry, etc.
				Prognostics; despair, madness, frenzy, death, Memb. 4.
By labour, diet, physic, abstinence, Subs. 1.				
To withstand the beginnings, avoid occasions, fair and foul means, change of place, contrary passion, witty inventions, discommend the former, bring in another, Subs. 2.				

SYNOPSIS OF THE THIRD PARTITION

b Jealousy, Sect. 3.	His name, definition, extent, power, tyranny, <i>Memb. 1.</i>		
	Division, Equivocations, kinds, <i>Subs. 1.</i>	Improper or Proper	To many beasts; as swans, cocks, bulls. To kings and princes, of their subjects, successors. To friends, parents, tutors over their children, or other- Before marriage, corivals, etc. [wise. After, as in this place our present subject.
	Causes, <i>Sect. 2.</i>	In the parties themselves or from others.	Idleness, impotency in one party, melancholy, long absence. They have been naught themselves. Hard usage, unkindness, wantonness, inequality of years, persons, fortunes, etc. Outward enticements and provocations of others.
	Symptoms, <i>Memb. 2.</i>		Fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, strange actions, gestures, looks, speeches, locking up, outrages, severe laws, prodigious trials, etc.
	Prognostics, <i>Memb. 3.</i>		Despair, madness, to make away themselves, and others.
	Cures, <i>Memb. 4.</i>		By avoiding occasions, always busy, never to be idle. By good counsel, advice of friends, to contemn or dissemble it. <i>Subs. 1.</i> By prevention before marriage. Plato's communion To marry such as are equal in years, birth, fortunes, beauty, of like conditions, etc. Of a good family, good education. To use them well.
II Religious melancholy, Sect. 4.	A proof that there is such a species of melancholy, name, object God, what his beauty is, how it allureth, part and parties affected, superstitious, idolaters, prophets, heretics, etc. <i>Subs. 1.</i>		
	Causes, <i>Subs. 2.</i>	From others or from themselves.	The devil's allurements, false miracles, priests for their gain Politicians to keep men in obedience, bad instructors, blind guides. Simplicity, fear, ignorance, solitariness, melancholy, curiosity, pride, vainglory, decayed image of God.
	Symptoms, <i>Subs. 3.</i>	General	Zeal without knowledge, obstinacy, superstition, strange devotion, stupidity, confidence, stiff defence of their tenets, mutual love and hate of other sects, belief of incredibilities, impossibilities.
		Particular.	Of heretics, pride, contumacy, contempt of others, wilfulness, vainglory, singularity, prodigious paradoxes. In superstitious blind zeal, obedience, strange works, fasting, sacrifices, oblations, prayers, vows, pseudo-martyrdom, mad and ridiculous customs, ceremonies, observations. In pseudo-prophets, visions, revelations, dreams, prophecies, new doctrines, etc., of Jews, Gentiles, Mahometans, etc.
	Prognostics, <i>Subs. 4.</i>		New doctrines, paradoxes, blasphemies, madness, stupidity, despair, damnation.
	Cures, <i>Subs. 5.</i>		By physic, if need be, conference, good counsel, persuasion, compulsion, correction, punishment. <i>Quæritur an cogi debeat? Affir.</i>
	Secure, void of grace and fears.		Epicures, atheists, magicians, hypocrites, such as have cauterized consciences, or else are in a reprobate sense, worldly-secure, some philosophers, impenitent sinners, <i>Subs. 1.</i>
		or	The devil and his allurements, rigid preachers that wound their consciences, melancholy, contemplation, solitariness.
In defect, as <i>Memb. 2.</i>	Distrustful, or too timorous, as desperate. In despair consider,	Causes, <i>Subs. 2.</i>	How melancholy and despair differ. Distrust, weakness of faith. Guilty conscience for offence committed, misunderstanding Scripture.
		Symptoms, <i>Subs. 3.</i>	Fear, sorrow, anguish of mind, extreme tortures and horror of conscience, fearful dreams, conceits, visions, etc.
		Prognostics.	Blasphemy, violent death, <i>Subs. 4.</i>
		Cures, <i>Subs. 5.</i>	Physic, as occasion serves, conference, not to be idle or alone. Good counsel, good company, all comforts and contents, etc.

THE THIRD PARTITION

LOVE-MELANCHOLY

THE FIRST SECTION, MEMBER, SUBSECTION

The Preface

THERE will not be wanting, I presume, one or other that will much discommend some part of this treatise of love-melancholy, and object (which Erasmus in his preface to Sir Thomas More¹ suspects of his) "that it is too light for a divine, too comical a subject" to speak of love-symptoms, too phantastical, and fit alone for a wanton poet, a feeling young lovesick gallant, an effeminate courtier, or some such idle person. And 'tis true they say: for by the naughtiness of men it is so come to pass, as Caussin² observes, *ut castis auribus vox amoris suspecta sit, et invisæ*, the very name of love is odious to chaster ears; and therefore some again, out of an affected gravity, will dislike all for the name's sake before they read a word, dissembling with him in Petronius,³ and seem to be angry that their ears are violated with such obscene speeches, that so they may be admired for grave philosophers and staid carriage. They cannot abide to hear talk of love-toys, or amorous discourses, *vultu, gestu, oculis* [in expression, gestures, glances], in their outward actions averse, and yet in their cogitations they are all out as bad, if not worse than others.

*Erubuit, posuitque meum Lucretia librum,
Sed coram Bruto; Brute recede, legit.⁴*

[When Brutus came, she blushed and hid my book;
She 'll read again when Brutus does not look.]

But let these cavillers and counterfeit Catos know, that, as the Lord John answered the queen in that Italian Guazzo,⁵ an old, a grave, discreet man is fittest to discourse of love matters, because he hath likely more experience, observed more, hath a more staid judgment, can better discern, resolve, discuss,

advise, give better cautions and more solid precepts, better inform his auditors in such a subject, and by reason of his riper years sooner divert. Besides, *nihil in hac amoris voce subtimendum*, there is nothing here to be excepted at; love is a species of melancholy, and a necessary part of this my treatise, which I may not omit; *operi suscepto inserviendum fuit*: so Jacobus Micyllus pleadeth for himself in his translation of Lucian's Dialogues, and so do I; I must and will perform my task. And that short excuse of Mercerus for his edition of Aristænetus shall be mine: "If I have spent my time ill to write, let not them be so idle as to read."¹ But I am persuaded it is not so ill spent, I ought not to excuse or repent myself of this subject, on which many grave and worthy men have written whole volumes, Plato, Plutarch, Plotinus, Maximus Tyrius, Alcinous, Avicenna, Leon Hebræus in three large dialogues, Xenophon, *Sympos.*, Theophrastus, if we may believe Athenæus, *lib. 13, cap. 9*, Picus Mirandula, Marius Æquicola, both in Italian, Kornmannus, *de linea Amoris, lib. 3*, Petrus Godefridus hath handled in three books, P. Hædus, and which almost every physician, as Arnoldus Villanovanus, Valleriola, *Observat. med. lib. 2, observ. 7*, Ælian Montaltus and Laurentius in their treatises of melancholy, Jason Pratensis, *de morb. cap.*, Valescus de Taranta, Gordonius, Hercules de Saxonia, Savonarola, Langius, etc., have treated of apart, and in their works. I excuse myself, therefore, with Peter Godefridus, Valleriola, Ficinus, and in Langius' words: "Cadmus Milesius writ fourteen books of love, and why should I be ashamed to write an epistle in favour of young men, of this subject?"² A company of stern readers dislike the second of the *Æneids*, and Virgil's gravity, for inserting such amorous passions in an heroical subject; but Servius,³ his commentator, justly vindicates the poet's worth, wisdom, and discretion in doing as he did. Castalio would not have young men read the Canticles,⁴ because to his thinking it was too light and amorous a tract, a ballad of ballads, as our old English translation hath it. He might as well forbid the reading of Genesis, because of the loves of Jacob and Rachel, the stories of Sichem and Dinah, Judah and Tamar; reject the Book of Numbers, for the fornications of the people of Israel with the Moabites; that of Judges for Samson and Dalilah's embracings; that of the Kings, for David and Bathsheba's adulteries, the incest of Amnon and Tamar, Solomon's concubines, etc., the stories of Esther, Judith, Susanna, and many such. Dicæarchus, and some other, carp at Plato's

majesty, that he would vouchsafe to indite such love-toys: amongst the rest, for that dalliance with Agatho:

*Suavia dans Agathon, animam ipse in labra tenebam;
Ægra etenim properans tanquam abitura fuit.*

[When kissing Agathon, I held my very soul upon my lips, for it rushed thither as though it meant to leave me.]

For my part, saith Maximus Tyrius,¹ a great Platonist himself, *me non tantum admiratio habet, sed etiam stupor*, I do not only admire, but stand amazed to read that Plato and Socrates both should expel Homer from their city because he writ of such light and wanton subjects, *quod Junonem cum Jove in Ida concumbentes inducit, ab immortalī nube contextos*, Vulcan's net, Mars' and Venus' fopperies before all the gods; because Apollo fled when he was persecuted by Achilles, the gods were wounded and ran whining away,² as Mars that roared louder than Stentor, and covered nine acres of ground with his fall; Vulcan was a summer's day falling down from heaven, and in Lemnos Isle brake his leg, etc., with such ridiculous passages; whenas both Socrates and Plato, by his testimony, writ lighter themselves: *Quid enim tam distat* (as he follows it) *quam amans a temperante, formarum admirator a demente?* [What greater contrast can there be than between a lover and a man of self-restraint, an admirer of beauty and a madman?], what can be more absurd than for grave philosophers to treat of such fooleries, to admire Autolycus, Alcibiades, for their beauties as they did, to run after, to gaze, to dote on fair Phædrus, delicate Agatho, young Lysis, fine Charmides, *hæccine philosophum decent?* Doth this become grave philosophers? Thus peradventure Callias, Thrasy-machus, Polus, Aristophanes, or some of his adversaries and emulators might object; but neither they nor Anytus and Meletus, his bitter enemies, that condemned him for teaching Critias to tyrannize, his impiety for swearing by dogs and plane-trees, for his juggling sophistry, etc., never so much as upbraided him with impure love, writing or speaking of that subject; and therefore without question, as he concludes, both Socrates and Plato in this are justly to be excused.³ But suppose they had been a little overseen, should divine Plato be defamed? No; rather, as he said of Cato's drunkenness, if Cato were drunk, it should be no vice at all to be drunk. They reprove Plato then, but without cause (as Ficinus pleads);

"for all love is honest and good, and they are worthy to be loved that speak well of love."¹ "Being to speak of this admirable affection of love" (saith Valleriola²), "there lies open a vast and philosophical field to my discourse, by which many lovers become mad: let me leave my more serious meditations, wander in these philosophical fields, and look into those pleasant groves of the Muses, where with unspeakable variety of flowers we may make garlands to ourselves, not to adorn us only, but with their pleasant smell and juice to nourish our souls, and fill our minds desirous of knowledge," etc. After a harsh and unpleasing discourse of melancholy, which hath hitherto molested your patience and tired the author, give him leave with Godefridus the lawyer,³ and Laurentius (*cap.* 5), to recreate himself in this kind after his laborious studies, "since so many grave divines and worthy men have without offence to manners, to help themselves and others, voluntarily written of it." Heliodorus, a bishop, penned a love story of Theagenes and Chariclea, and when some Catos of his time reprehended him for it, chose rather, saith Nicephorus,⁴ to leave his bishopric than his book. Æneas Sylvius, an ancient divine, and past forty years of age, as he confesseth himself⁵ (after Pope Pius Secundus), indited that wanton history of Euryalus and Lucretia. And how many superintendents of learning could I reckon up, that have written of light phantastical subjects! Beroaldus, Erasmus; Alpherratus,⁶ twenty-four times printed in Spanish, etc. Give me leave then to refresh my Muse a little, and my weary readers, to expatiate in this delightsome field, *hoc deliciarum campo*, as Fonseca terms it, to season a surly discourse with a more pleasing aspersion of love matters.⁷ *Edulcare vitam convenit*, as the poet invites us, *curas nugis*, etc., 'tis good to sweeten our life with some pleasing toys to relish it, and, as Pliny tells us, *magna pars studiosorum amœnitates quærimus*, most of our students love such pleasant subjects.⁸ Though Macrobius teach us otherwise, "that those old sages banished all such light tracts from their studies to nurses' cradles, to please only the ear";⁹ yet out of Apuleius I will oppose as honourable patrons, Solon, Plato, Xenophon, Hadrian, etc.,¹⁰ that as highly approve of these treatises. On the other side methinks they are not to be disliked, they are not so unfit. I will not peremptorily say, as one did,¹¹ *tam suavia dicam facinora, ut male sit ei qui talibus non delectetur*, I will tell you such pretty stories, that foul befall him that is not pleased with them; *neque dicam ea quæ vobis usui sit audivisse, et voluptati meminisse* [nor will I

say things which you will hear with profit and remember with pleasure], with that confidence as Beroaldus doth his enarrations on Propertius. I will not expect or hope for that approbation which Lipsius gives to his Epictetus: *Pluris facio quum relego; semper ut novum, et quum repetivi, repelendum*, the more I read, the more shall I covet to read. I will not press you with my pamphlets, or beg attention, but if you like them you may. Pliny holds it expedient, and most fit, *severitatem jucunditate etiam in scriptis condire*, to season our works with some pleasant discourse; Synesius approves it, *licet in ludicris ludere* [it is permissible to trifle with trifles]; the poet¹ admires it:

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci;

[All votes to him the first place shall assign
Who with the sweet the useful can combine;]

and there be those, without question, that are more willing to read such toys than I am to write.² "Let me not live," saith Aretine's Antonia, "if I had not rather hear thy discourse than see a play!"³ No doubt but there be more of her mind, ever have been, ever will be, as Hierome⁴ bears me witness: "A far greater part had rather read Apuleius than Plato." Tully himself confesseth he could not understand Plato's *Timæus*, and therefore cared less for it; but every schoolboy hath that famous testament of Grunnius Corocotta Porcellus at his fingers' ends. The comical poet

*Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas,*

made this his only care and sole study, to please the people, tickle the ear, and to delight; but mine earnest intent is as much to profit as to please, *non tam ut populo placerem, quam ut populum juvarem*; and these my writings, I hope, shall take like gilded pills, which are so composed as well to tempt the appetite and deceive the palate, as to help and medicinally work upon the whole body; my lines shall not only recreate but rectify the mind. I think I have said enough; if not, let him that is otherwise minded remember that of Madaurensis; "he was in his life a philosopher" (as Ausonius apologizeth for him), "in his epigrams a lover, in his precepts most severe;⁵ in his epistle to Cærellia a wanton." Annianus, Sulpicius, Evenus, Menander, and many old poets besides, did *in scriptis prurire*, write Fescennines, Atellanes, and lascivious songs, *lætam materiam*; yet they had

in moribus censuram et severitatem, they were chaste, severe, and upright livers.

*Castum esse decet pium poetam
Ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est,
Qui tum denique habent salem et leporem.*

['Tis true, the poet should be chaste;
But need his lines, so they be graced
With wit, and captivate the taste?]

I am of Catullus' opinion, and make the same apology in mine own behalf: *Hoc etiam quod scribo, pendet plerumque ex aliorum sententia et auctoritate; nec ipse forsitan insanio, sed insanientes sequor. Atqui detur hoc insanire me; semel insanivimus omnes, et tute ipse opinor insanis aliquando, et is, et ille, et ego scilicet* [I write for the most part to satisfy the taste and judgment of others; I am not mad myself, but I follow those who are. Yet grant that this shows me mad; we have all raved once, and you yourself, I think, dote sometimes, and he, and he, and of course I too]. *Homo sum, humani a me nihil alienum puto* [I am a human being, I count nothing human foreign to myself]: and, which he urgeth for himself, accused of the like fault, I as justly plead, *Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est*; ¹ howsoever my lines err, my life is honest, *Vita verecunda est, musa jocosa mihi*.² But I presume I need no such apologies; I need not, as Socrates in Plato, cover his face when he spake of love, or blush and hide mine eyes, as Pallas did in her hood, when she was consulted by Jupiter about Mercury's marriage, *quod super nuptiis virgo consulitur*; ³ it is no such lascivious, obscene, or wanton discourse; I have not offended your chaster ears with anything that is here written, as many French and Italian authors in their modern language of late have done, nay, some of our Latin pontifical writers, Zanchius, Asorius, Abulensis, Burchardus, etc., whom Rivet ⁴ accuseth to be more lascivious than Virgil in *Priapeis*, Petronius in *Catalectis*, Aristophanes in *Lysistrata*, Martialis, or any other pagan profane writer, *qui tam atrociter* (one notes ⁵) *hoc genere peccarunt, ut multa ingeniosissime scripta obscœnitatum gratia castæ mentes abhorreant* [who have erred so grossly in this sort that much of their most ingenious writing repels pure minds by its obscenity]. 'Tis not scurrile this, but chaste, honest, most part serious, and even of religion itself. "Incensed" (as he said) "with the love of finding love, we have sought it, and found it." ⁶ More yet, I have augmented and added something to this light treatise (if light)

which was not in the former editions, I am not ashamed to confess it, with a good author,¹ *quod extendi et locupletari hoc subjectum plerique postulabant, et eorum importunitate victus, animum ulcunque renitentem eo adeg, ut jam sexta vice calamum in manum sumerem, scriptionique longe et a studiis et professione mea alienæ me accingerem, horas aliquas a seriis meis occupationibus interim suffuratus, easque veluti ludo cuidam ac recreationi destinans* [yielding to the solicitations of many who begged me to dwell at greater length on this topic, I overcame my reluctance and for the sixth time took the pen in my hand for a kind of composition very foreign to my studies and profession, stealing from my serious occupations a few hours to devote to lighter pursuits]:

*Cogor . . . retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Olim relictos,*²

[I am compelled to reverse my direction and retrace my course.]

etsi non ignorarem novos fortasse detractores novis hisce interpolationibus meis minime defuturos [although well aware that these additions would procure me fresh detractors].

And thus much I have thought good to say by way of preface, lest any man (which Godefridus feared in his book³) should blame in me lightness, wantonness, rashness, in speaking of love's causes, enticements, symptoms, remedies, lawful and unlawful loves, and lust itself. "I speak it only to tax and deter others from it, not to teach, but to show the vanities and fopperies of this heroical or herculean love," and to "apply remedies unto it."⁴ I will treat of this with like liberty as of the rest.

*Sed dicam vobis, vos porro dicite multis
Millibus, et facite hæc charta loquatur anus.*⁵

[I will tell you, and do you go and tell thousands more,
so that this page shall chatter like an old woman.]

Condemn me not, good reader, then, or censure me hardly, if some part of this treatise to thy thinking as yet be too light; but consider better of it. *Omnia munda mundis* [to the pure all things are pure], a naked man to a modest woman is no otherwise than a picture, as Augusta Livia truly said,⁶ and *mala mens, malus animus*⁷ [to construe it ill shows an evil will], 'tis as 'tis taken. If in thy censure it be too light, I advise thee as Lipsius did his reader for some places of Plautus, *Istos quasi Sirenium scopulos prætervehare* [to pass them by like rocks

of the Sirens], if they like thee not, let them pass; or oppose that which is good to that which is bad, and reject not therefore all. For to invert that verse of Martial, and with Hierome Wolfius to apply it to my present purpose, *sunt mala, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt bona plura*; some is good, some bad, some is indifferent. I say farther with him yet, I have inserted (*levicula quædam et ridicula ascribere non sum gravatus, circumforanea quædam e theatris, a plateis, etiam e popinis* ¹ [I have not refrained from putting down certain levities and absurdities, such as are current in the theatres, the market-places, and even the cook-shops]) some things more homely, light, or comical, *litans Gratiis* [sacrificing to the Graces], etc., which I would request every man to interpret to the best, and, as Julius Cæsar Scaliger besought Cardan, *Si quid urbaniuscule lusum a nobis, per deos immortales te oro, Hieronyme Cardane, ne me male capias* [if I have written anything in lighter vein, please do not take it amiss], I beseech thee, good reader, not to mistake me, or misconstrue what is here written; *per Musas et Charites, et omnia poetarum numina, benigne lector, oro te ne me male capias*. 'Tis a comical subject; in sober sadness I crave pardon of what is amiss, and desire thee to suspend thy judgment, wink at small faults, or to be silent at least; but if thou likest, speak well of it, and wish me good success. *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem* [grant me, Arethusa, to achieve this last labour].

I am resolved howsoever, *velis, nolis, audacter stadium intrare*, [whether thou wilt or not, to enter the arena boldly], in the Olympics, with those Elhensian wrestlers in Philostratus, boldly to show myself in this common stage, and in this tragi-comedy of love to act several parts, some satirically, some comically, some in a mixed tone, as the subject I have in hand gives occasion, and present scene shall require or offer itself.

SUBJECT. II.—*Love's Beginning, Object, Definition, Division*

"Love's limits are ample and great, and a spacious walk it hath, beset with thorns," and for that cause, which Scaliger ² reprehends in Cardan, "not lightly to be passed over." Lest I incur the same censure, I will examine all the kinds of love, his nature, beginning, difference, objects, how it is honest or dishonest, a virtue or vice, a natural passion or a disease, his power and effects, how far it extends: of which, although

something has been said in the first partition, in those sections of perturbations ("for love and hatred are the first and most common passions, from which all the rest arise, and are attendant," as Piccolomineus holds,¹ or, as Nich. Caussin, the *primum mobile* [first mover] of all other affections, which carry them all about them), I will now more copiously dilate, through all his parts and several branches, that so it may better appear what love is, and how it varies with the objects, how in defect, or (which is most ordinary and common) immoderate and in excess, causeth melancholy.

Love, universally taken, is defined to be a desire, as a word of more ample signification; and though Leon Hebræus, the most copious writer of this subject, in his third dialogue makes no difference, yet in his first he distinguisheth them again, and defines love by desire. "Love is a voluntary affection, and desire to enjoy that which is good."¹ Desire wisheth, love enjoys; the end of the one is the beginning of the other; that which we love is present; that which we desire is absent."² "It is worth the labour," saith Plotinus,⁴ "to consider well of love, whether it be a god or a devil, or passion of the mind, or partly god, partly devil, partly passion." He concludes love to participate of all three, to arise from desire of that which is beautiful and fair, and defines it to be "an action of the mind desiring that which is good." Plato calls it the great devil,⁵ for its vehemency, and sovereignty over all other passions, and defines it an appetite "by which we desire some good to be present."⁶ Ficinus in his comment adds the word fair to this definition: "Love is a desire of enjoying that which is good and fair." Austin dilates this common definition, and will have love to be a delectation of the heart, "for something which we seek to win, or joy to have, coveting by desire, resting in joy."⁷ Scaliger, *Exerc.* 301, taxeth these former definitions, and will not have love to be defined by desire or appetite; "for when we enjoy the things we desire, there remains no more appetite": as he defines it, "Love is an affection by which we are either united to the thing we love, or perpetuate our union";⁸ which agrees in part with Leon Hebræus.

Now this love varies as his object varies, which is always good, amiable, fair, gracious, and pleasant. "All things desire that which is good,"⁹ as we are taught in the Ethics, or at least that which to them seems to be good; *quid enim vis mali* (as Austin well infers), *dic mihi? puto nihil in omnibus actionibus*; thou wilt wish no harm, I suppose, no ill in all thine actions,

thoughts, or desires, *nihil mali vis*; thou wilt not have bad corn, bad soil, a naughty tree, but all good: a good servant, a good horse, a good son, a good friend, a good neighbour, a good wife.¹ From this goodness comes beauty; from beauty, grace and comeliness, which result as so many rays from their good parts, make us to love, and so to covet it: for were it not pleasing and gracious in our eyes, we should not seek. "No man loves," saith Aristotle, 9 *Mor. cap.* 5, "but he that was first delighted with comeliness and beauty."² As this fair object varies, so doth our love; for, as Proclus holds, *omne pulchrum amabile*, every fair thing is amiable, and what we love is fair and gracious in our eyes, or at least we do so apprehend and still esteem of it. "Amiability is the object of love, the scope and end is to obtain it, for whose sake we love, and which our mind covets to enjoy."³ And it seems to us especially fair and good; for good, fair, and unity cannot be separated. Beauty shines, Plato saith, and by reason of its splendour and shining causeth admiration; and the fairer the object is, the more eagerly it is sought. For, as the same Plato defines it, "Beauty is a lively shining or glittering brightness, resulting from effused good by ideas, seeds, reasons, shadows, stirring up our minds that by this good they may be united and made one."⁴ Others will have beauty to be the perfection of the whole composition, "caused out of the congruous symmetry, measure, order and manner of parts; and that comeliness which proceeds from this beauty is called grace, and from thence all fair things are gracious."⁵ For grace and beauty are so wonderfully annexed, "so sweetly and gently win our souls, and strongly allure, that they confound our judgment and cannot be distinguished. Beauty and grace are like those beams and shinings that come from the glorious and divine sun,"⁶ which are diverse, as they proceed from the diverse objects, to please and affect our several senses; as "the species of beauty are taken at our eyes, ears, or conceived in our inner soul,"⁷ as Plato disputes at large in his dialogue *de Pulchro*, *Phædrus*, *Hippias*, and, after many sophistical errors confuted, concludes that beauty is a grace in all things, delighting the eyes, ears, and soul itself; so that, as Valesius infers hence, whatsoever pleaseth our ears, eyes, and soul, must needs be beautiful, fair, and delightful to us. "And nothing can more please our ears than music, or pacify our minds."⁸ Fair houses, pictures, orchards, gardens, fields, a fair hawk, a fair horse is most acceptable unto us; whatsoever pleaseth our eyes and ears, we call beautiful and

fair; "Pleasure belongeth to the rest of the senses, but grace and beauty to these two alone."¹ As the objects vary and are diverse, so they diversely affect our eyes, ears, and soul itself; which gives occasion to some to make so many several kinds of love as there be objects: one beauty ariseth from God, of which and divine love St. Dionysius,² with many Fathers and neoterics, have written just volumes, *de amore dei* [concerning the love of God], as they term it, many parænetical discourses; another from His creatures: there is a beauty of the body, a beauty of the soul, a beauty from virtue, *formam martyrum* [a beauty of martyrs], Austin calls it, *quam videmus oculis animi*, which we see with the eyes of our mind; which beauty, as Tully saith, if we could discern with these corporal eyes, *admirabiles sui amores excitaret*, would cause admirable affections, and ravish our souls. This other beauty, which ariseth from those extreme parts, and graces which proceed from gestures, speeches, several motions, and proportions of creatures, men and women (especially from women, which made those old poets put the three Graces still in Venus' company, as attending on her and holding up her train), are infinite almost, and vary their names with their objects, as love of money, covetousness, love of beauty, lust, immoderate desire of any pleasure, concupiscence, friendship, love, good will, etc., and is either virtue or vice, honest, dishonest, in excess, defect, as shall be showed in his place; heroical love, religious love, etc., which may be reduced to a twofold division, according to the principal parts which are affected, the brain and liver: *amor et amicitia* [love and friendship], which Scaliger, *Exercitat.* 301, Valesius, and Melancthon warrant out of Plato, φιλεῖν and ἐρᾶν, from that speech of Pausanias, belike, that makes two Veneres and two loves. "One Venus is ancient without a mother, and descended from heaven, whom we call celestial; the younger, begotten of Jupiter and Dione, whom commonly we call Venus."³ Ficinus, in his comment upon this place, *cap.* 8, following Plato, calls these two loves two devils, or good and bad angels according to us, which are still hovering about our souls. "The one rears to heaven, the other depresseth us to hell;⁴ the one good, which stirs us up to the contemplation of that divine beauty for whose sake we perform justice and all godly offices, study philosophy, etc.;⁵ the other base, and though bad yet to be respected; for indeed both are good in their own natures: procreation of children is as necessary as that finding out of truth, but therefore called bad, because it is

abused, and withdraws our soul from the speculation of that other to viler objects." So far Ficinus. St. Austin, *lib. 15 de Civ. Dei, et sup. Ps. lxiv*, hath delivered as much in effect: "Every creature is good, and may be loved well or ill":¹ and "Two cities make two loves, Jerusalem and Babylon, the love of God the one, the love of the world the other; of these two cities we all are citizens, as by examination of ourselves we may soon find, and of which."² The one love is the root of all mischief, the other of all good. So, in his 15th *cap. lib. de amor. Ecclesiæ*, he will have those four cardinal virtues to be naught else but love rightly composed; in his 15th book *de Civ. Dei, cap. 22*, he calls virtue the order of love, whom Thomas following, 1, *part. 2, quæst. 55, art. 1*, and *quæst. 56, 3, quæst. 62, art. 2*, confirms as much, and amplifies in many words. Lucian, to the same purpose, hath a division of his own: "One love was born in the sea, which is as various and raging in young men's breasts as the sea itself, and causeth burning lust: the other is that golden chain which was let down from heaven, and with a divine fury ravisheth our souls, made to the image of God, and stirs us up to comprehend the innate and incorruptible beauty to which we were once created."³ Beroaldus hath expressed all this in an epigram of his:

*Dogmata divini memorant si vera Platonis,
Sunt geminæ Veneres, et geminatus amor.
Cælestis Venus est nullo generata parente,
Quæ casto sanctos nectit amore viros.
Altera sed Venus est totum vulgata per orbem,
Quæ divum mentes alligat, atque hominum;
Improba, seductrix, petulans, etc.*

If divine Plato's tenents they be true,
Two Veneres, two loves there be;
The one from heaven, unbegotten still,
Which knits our souls in unity.
The other famous over all the world,
Binding the hearts of gods and men;
Dishonest, wanton, and seducing she,
Rules whom she will, both where and when.

This twofold division of love Origen likewise follows, in his Comment on the Canticles, one from God, the other from the devil, as he holds (understanding it in the worse sense), which many others repeat and imitate. Both which (to omit all subdivisions) in excess or defect, as they are abused, or degenerate, cause melancholy in a particular kind, as shall be showed in his place. Austin, in another tract, makes a threefold division of

this love, which we may use well or ill: "God, our neighbour, and the world: God above us, our neighbour next us, the world beneath us. In the course of our desires, God hath three things, the world one, our neighbour two.¹ Our desire to God is either from God, with God, or to God, and ordinarily so runs. From God, when it receives from Him, whence, and for which it should love Him: with God, when it contradicts His will in nothing: to God, when it seeks to repose and rest itself in Him. Our love to our neighbour may proceed from him, and run with him, not to him: from him, as when we rejoice of his good safety and well doing: with him, when we desire to have him a fellow and companion of our journey in the way of the Lord: not in him, because there is no aid, hope, or confidence in man. From the world our love comes, when we begin to admire the Creator in His works, and glorify God in His creatures: with the world it should run, if, according to the mutability of all temporalities, it should be dejected in adversity, or over-elevated in prosperity: to the world, if it would settle itself in his vain delights and studies." Many such partitions of love I could repeat, and subdivisions, but lest (which Scaliger objects to Cardan, *Exercitat.* 501) "I confound filthy burning lust with pure and divine love,"² I will follow that accurate division of Leon Hebræus, *dial.* 2, betwixt Sophia and Philo, where he speaks of natural, sensible, and rational love, and handleth each apart. Natural love or hatred is that sympathy or antipathy which is to be seen in animate and inanimate creatures, in the four elements, metals, stones, *gravia tendunt deorsum* [heavy bodies tend downwards], as a stone to his centre, fire upward, and rivers to the sea. The sun, moon, and stars go still round, *amantes naturæ debita exercere*,³ for love of perfection. This love is manifest, I say, in inanimate creatures. How comes a loadstone to draw iron to it? jet chaff? the ground to covet showers, but for love? No creature, St. Hierome concludes, is to be found, *quod non aliquid amat* [that doth not love something], no stock, no stone, that hath not some feeling of love. 'Tis more eminent in plants, herbs, and is especially observed in vegetals; as between the vine and elm a great sympathy; between the vine and the cabbage, between the vine and the olive (*Virgo fugit Bromium*⁴ [the virgin shuns Bacchus]), between the vine and bays a great antipathy; "the vine loves not the bay, nor his smell, and will kill him, if he grow near him";⁵ the bur and the lentil cannot endure one another, the olive and the myrtle embrace each other in roots and branches if they

grow near.¹ Read more of this in Piccolomineus, *grad.* 7, *cap.* 1; Crescentius, *lib.* 5 *de agric.*; Baptista Porta, *de mag. lib.* 1, *cap. de plant. odio et element. sym.*; Fracastorius *de sym. et antip.* Of the love and hatred of planets, consult with every astrologer: Leon Hebræus gives many fabulous reasons, and moralizeth them withal.

Sensible love is that of brute beasts, of which the same Leon Hebræus, *dial.* 2, assigns these causes. First, for the pleasure they take in the act of generation, male and female love one another. Secondly, for the preservation of the species, and desire of young brood. Thirdly, for the mutual agreement, as being of the same kind: *Sus sui, canis cani, bos bovi, et asinus asino pulcherrimus videtur* [pig appears most beautiful to pig, ass to ass, ox to ox, dog to dog], as Epicharmus held, and according to that adage of Diogenianus, *Adsidet usque graculus apud graculum* [one daw sits by another], they much delight in one another's company, *Formicæ grata est formica, cicada cicadæ*² [ant likes ant and grasshopper grasshopper], and birds of a feather will gather together. Fourthly, for custom, use, and familiarity, as if a dog be trained up with a lion and a bear, contrary to their natures, they will love each other. Hawks, dogs, horses, love their masters and keepers: many stories I could relate in this kind, but see Gillius, *de hist. anim. lib.* 3, *cap.* 14, those two Epistles of Lipsius, of dogs and horses, A. Gellius, etc. Fifthly, for bringing up, as if a bitch bring up a kid, a hen ducklings, an hedge-sparrow a cuckoo, etc.

The third kind is *amor cognitionis*, as Leon calls it, rational love, *intellectivus amor*, and is proper to men, on which I must insist. This appears in God, angels, men. God is love itself, the fountain of love, the disciple of love, as Plato styles Him; the servant of peace, the God of love and peace; have peace with all men and God is with you.

*Quisquis veneratur Olympum,
Ipse sibi mundum subicit atque Deum.*³

[Whoever reveres heaven subjects to himself the world
and God.]

“By this love” (saith Gerson) “we purchase heaven,”⁴ and buy the kingdom of God. This love is either in the Trinity itself (for the Holy Ghost is the love of the Father and the Son, etc., John iii, 35, and v, 20, and xiv, 31), or towards us His creatures, as in making the world.⁵ *Amor mundum fecit*, love built cities, *mundi anima* [the soul of the world], invented

arts, sciences, and all good things, incites us to virtue and humanity, combines and quickens; keeps peace on earth, quietness by sea, mirth in the winds and elements, expels all fear, anger, and rusticity; ¹ *circulus a bono in bonum*, a round circle still from good to good; for love is the beginner and end of all our actions, the efficient and instrumental cause, as our poets in their symbols, impresses, emblems ² of rings, squares, etc., shadow unto us.

*Si rerum quæris fuerit quis finis et ortus,
Desine; nam causa est unica solus amor.*

If first and last of anything you wit,
Cease; love 's the sole and only cause of it.

Love, saith Leo,³ made the world, and afterwards, in redeeming of it, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son for it" (John iii, 16), "Behold what love the Father hath showed on us, that we should be called the sons of God" (1 John iii, 1). Or by His sweet Providence, in protecting of it; either all in general, or His saints elect and Church in particular, whom He keeps as the apple of His eye, whom He loves freely, as Hosea, xiv, 5, speaks, and dearly respects, *Carior est ipsis homo quam sibi* ⁴ [man is dearer to them than to himself]. Not that we are fair, nor for any merit or grace of ours, for we are most vile and base; but out of His incomparable love and goodness, out of His Divine Nature. And this is that Homer's golden chain, which reacheth down from heaven to earth, by which every creature is annexed, and depends on his Creator. He made all, saith Moses,⁵ "and it was good," and He loves it as good.

The love of angels and living souls is mutual amongst themselves, towards us militant in the Church, and all such as love God; as the sunbeams irradiate the earth from those celestial thrones, they by their well-wishes reflect on us, *in salute hominum promovenda alacres, et constantes administri* ⁶ [they are alert to promote the salvation of men, and are their constant supports], there is joy in heaven for every sinner that repenteth; they pray for us, are solicitous for our good, *casti genii* ⁷ [pure guardian angels].

*Ubi regnat caritas, suave desiderium,
Lætitaque e' amor Deo conjunctus.*

[Where reigneth charity, sweet desire, joy, and love
that unites with God.]

Love proper to mortal men is the third member of this subdivision, and the subject of my following discourse.

MEMB. II.

SUBJECT. I.—*Love of Men, which varies as his Objects,
Profitable, Pleasant, Honest*

VALESIUS, *lib. 3, contr. 13*, defines this love which is in men, "to be an affection of both powers, appetite and reason."¹ The rational resides in the brain, the other in the liver (as before hath been said out of Plato and others); the heart is diversely affected of both, and carried a thousand ways by consent. The sensitive faculty most part overrules reason, the soul is carried hoodwinked, and the understanding captive like a beast. "The heart is variously inclined, sometimes they are merry, sometimes sad, and from love arise hope and fear, jealousy, fury, desperation."² Now this love of men is diverse, and varies as the object varies by which they are enticed, as virtue, wisdom, eloquence, profit, wealth, money, fame, honour, or comeliness of person, etc. Leon Hebræus, in his first Dialogue, reduceth them all to these three, *utile, jucundum, honestum*, profitable, pleasant, honest (out of Aristotle, belike, 8 *Moral.*); of which he discourseth at large, and whatsoever is beautiful and fair is referred to them, or anyway to be desired. "To profitable is ascribed health, wealth, honour, etc., which is rather ambition, desire, covetousness, than love."³ Friends, children, love of women, all delightful and pleasant objects, are referred to the second.⁴ The love of honest things consists in virtue and wisdom, and is preferred before that which is profitable and pleasant: intellectual, about that which is honest. St. Austin calls "profitable, worldly; pleasant, carnal; honest, spiritual."⁵ Of and from all three, result charity, friendship, and true love, which respects God and our neighbour."⁶ Of each of these I will briefly dilate, and show in what sort they cause melancholy.

Amongst all these fair enticing objects, which procure love and bewitch the soul of man, there is none so moving, so forcible as profit, and that which carrieth with it a show of commodity. Health indeed is a precious thing, to recover and preserve which we will undergo any misery, drink bitter potions, freely give our goods: restore a man to his health, his purse lies open to thee, bountiful he is, thankful and beholding to thee; but give him wealth and honour, give him gold, or what shall be for his advantage and preferment, and thou shalt command his affections, oblige him eternally to thee; heart, hand, life, and

all is at thy service, thou art his dear and loving friend, good and gracious lord and master, his Mæcenas; he is thy slave, thy vassal, most devote, affectioned, and bound in all duty: tell him good tidings in this kind, there spoke an angel, a blessed hour that brings in gain, he is thy creature, and thou his creator, he hugs and admires thee; he is thine for ever. No loadstone so attractive as that of profit, none so fair an object as this of gold; nothing wins a man sooner than a good turn; bounty and liberality command body and soul: ¹

*Munera (crede mihi) placant hominesque deosque ;
Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis.*

Good turns doth pacify both God and men,
And Jupiter himself is won by them.

Gold of all other is a most delicious object; a sweet light, a goodly lustre it hath; *gratius aurum quam solem intuemur*, saith Austin, and we had rather see it than the sun. Sweet and pleasant in getting, in keeping; it seasons all our labours, intolerable pains we take for it, base employments, endure bitter flouts and taunts, long journeys, heavy burdens, all are made light and easy by this hope of gain; *At mihi plaudo ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca* [I am well pleased with myself at home as soon as I set eyes on the money in my strong-box]. The sight of gold refresheth our spirits and ravisheth our hearts, as that Babylonian garment and golden wedge did Achan in the camp,² the very sight and hearing sets on fire his soul with desire of it. It will make a man run to the antipodes, or tarry at home and turn parasite, lie, flatter, prostitute himself, swear and bear false witness; he will venture his body, kill a king, murder his father, and damn his soul to come at it. *Formosior auri massa*, as he³ well observed, the mass of gold is fairer than all your Grecian pictures, that Apelles, Phidias, or any doting painter could ever make: we are enamoured with it.

*Prima fere vota, et cunctis notissima templis,
Divitiæ ut crescant.*⁴

[Our first prayer, with which all the temples are familiar, is for an increase in wealth.]

All our labours, studies, endeavours, vows, prayers and wishes, are to get, how to compass it.

*Hæc est illa cui famulatur maximus orbis,
Diva potens rerum, domitrixque pecunia fati.*⁵

[This is she on whom the whole world waits hand and foot, the all-powerful and all-ruling goddess Money.]

This is the great goddess we adore and worship; this is the sole object of our desire. If we have it, as we think, we are made for ever, thrice happy, princes, lords, etc. If we lose it, we are dull, heavy, dejected, discontent, miserable, desperate, and mad. Our estate and *bene esse* [well-being] ebbs and flows with our commodity; and as we are endowed or enriched, so are we beloved and esteemed: it lasts no longer than our wealth; when that is gone, and the object removed, farewell friendship; as long as bounty, good cheer, and rewards were to be hoped, friends enough; they were tied to thee by the teeth, and would follow thee as crows do a carcass: but when thy goods are gone and spent, the lamp of their love is out, and thou shalt be contemned, scorned, hated, injured. Lucian's Timon,¹ when he lived in prosperity, was the sole spectacle of Greece, only admired; who but Timon? Everybody loved, honoured, applauded him, each man offered him his service, and sought to be kin to him; but when his gold was spent, his fair possessions gone, farewell Timon: none so ugly, none so deformed, so odious an object as Timon, no man so ridiculous on a sudden, they gave him a penny to buy a rope, no man would know him.

'Tis the general humour of the world, commodity steers our affections throughout, we love those that are fortunate and rich, that thrive, or by whom we may receive mutual kindness, hope for like courtesies, get any good, gain, or profit; hate those, and abhor on the other side, which are poor and miserable, or by whom we may sustain loss or inconvenience. And even those that were now familiar and dear unto us, our loving and long friends, neighbours, kinsmen, allies, with whom we have conversed and lived as so many Geryons² for some years past, striving still to give one another all good content and entertainment, with mutual invitations, feastings, disports, offices, for whom we would ride, run, spend ourselves, and of whom we have so freely and honourably spoken, to whom we have given all those turgent titles and magnificent elogiums, most excellent and most noble, worthy, wise, grave, learned, valiant, etc., and magnified beyond measure: if any controversy arise between us, some trespass, injury, abuse, some part of our goods be detained, a piece of land come to be litigious, if they cross us in our suit, or touch the string of our commodity, we detest and depress them upon a sudden: neither affinity, consanguinity, or old acquaintance can contain us, but *rupto jecore exierit caprificus*³ [the wild fig-tree breaks out from the shattered breast]. A golden apple sets all together by the ears, as if a marrow-

bone or honeycomb were flung amongst bears: father and son, brother and sister, kinsmen are at odds: and look what malice, deadly hatred can invent, that shall be done, *Terribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum* [terrible, dreadful, destructive, cruel, fierce], mutual injuries, desire of revenge, and how to hurt them, him and his, are all our studies. If our pleasures be interrupt, we can tolerate it; our bodies hurt, we can put it up and be reconciled; but touch our commodities, we are most impatient: fair becomes foul, the Graces are turned to Harpies, friendly salutations to bitter imprecations, mutual feastings to plotting villainies, minings and counterminings; good words to satires and invectives, we revile *e contra*, naught but his imperfections are in our eyes, he is a base knave, a devil, a monster, a caterpillar, a viper, an hog-rubber, etc. *Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne* [the beauteous woman tails off into a fish]; the scene is altered on a sudden, love is turned to hate, mirth to melancholy: so furiously are we most part bent, our affections fixed upon this object of commodity, and upon money, the desire of which in excess is covetousness: ambition tyrannizeth over our souls, as I have showed,¹ and in defect crucifies as much as if a man by negligence, ill husbandry, improvidence, prodigality, waste and consume his goods and fortunes, beggary follows, and melancholy, he becomes an abject, odious and "worse than an infidel, in not providing for his family."²

SUBJECT. II.—*Pleasant Objects of Love*

Pleasant objects are infinite, whether they be such as have life, or be without life. Inanimate are countries, provinces, towers, towns, cities, as he said, *Pulcherrimam insulam videmus, etiam cum non videmus*,³ we see a fair island by description, when we see it not. The sun never saw a fairer city,⁴ *Thessala Tempe* [another Tempe in Thessaly], orchards, gardens, pleasant walks, groves, fountains, etc. The heaven itself is said to be fair or foul;⁵ fair buildings, fair pictures,⁶ all artificial, elaborate, and curious works, clothes, give an admirable lustre; we admire, and gaze upon them, *ut pueri Junonis avem*, as children do on a peacock; a fair dog, a fair horse and hawk, etc.: *Thessalus amat equum pullinum, buculum Ægyptius, Lacedæmonius catalum*⁷ [the Thessalian is fond of a colt, the Egyptian of a bullock, the Lacedæmonian of a whelp], etc.; such things we love, are most gracious in our sight, acceptable unto us, and whatsoever else

may cause this passion, if it be superfluous or immoderately loved, as Guianerius observes. These things in themselves are pleasing and good, singular ornaments, necessary, comely, and fit to be had; but when we fix an immoderate eye, and dote on them overmuch, this pleasure may turn to pain, bring much sorrow and discontent unto us, work our final overthrow, and cause melancholy in the end. Many are carried away with those bewitching sports of gaming, hawking, hunting, and such vain pleasures, as I have said: ¹ some with immoderate desire of fame, to be crowned in the Olympics, knighted in the field, etc., and by these means ruin themselves. The lascivious dotes on his fair mistress, the glutton on his dishes, which are infinitely varied to please the palate, the epicure on his several pleasures, the superstitious on his idol, and fats himself with future joys, as Turks feed themselves with an imaginary persuasion of a sensual paradise: so several pleasant objects diversely affect divers men. But the fairest objects and enticings proceed from men themselves, which most frequently captivate, allure, and make them dote beyond all measure upon one another, and that for many respects. First, as some suppose, by that secret force of stars (*Quod me tibi temperat astrum?* [Which star fits me for thee?]). They do singularly dote on such a man, hate such again, and can give no reason for it. *Non amo te, Sabidi* ² [Sabidius, I love thee not], etc. Alexander admired Hephæstion, Hadrian Antinous, Nero Sporus, etc. The physicians refer this to their temperament, astrologers to trine and sextile aspects, or opposite of their several ascendants, lords of their genitures, love and hatred of planets; Cicogna ³ to concord and discord of spirits; but most to outward graces. A merry companion is welcome and acceptable to all men, and therefore, saith Gomesius, ⁴ princes and great men entertain jesters and players commonly in their courts. But *Pares cum paribus facillime congregantur*, ⁵ 'tis that similitude of manners which ties most men in an inseparable link, ⁶ as if they be addicted to the same studies or disports, they delight in one another's companies, "birds of a feather will gather together": if they be of diverse inclinations, or opposite in manners, they can seldom agree. Secondly, affability, custom, and familiarity may convert nature many times, ⁷ though they be different in manners, as if they be countrymen, fellow-students, colleagues, or have been fellow-soldiers, brethren in affliction ⁸ (*acerba calamitatum societas diversi etiam ingenii homines conjugit* ⁹), affinity, or some such accidental occasion, though they cannot

agree amongst themselves, they will stick together like burs, and hold against a third; so after some discontinuance, or death, enmity ceaseth:

Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit;

[Envy feeds on the living, after death 'tis still;]

or in a foreign place. *Et cecidere odia, et tristes mors obruit iras* [and hatred vanished, and anger was extinguished in death]. A third cause of love and hate may be mutual offices, *acceptum beneficium*; commend him, use him kindly, take his part in a quarrel, relieve him in his misery, thou winnest him for ever; do the opposite, and be sure of a perpetual enemy.¹ Praise and dispraise of each other do as much, though unknown, as Scioppius² by Scaliger and Casaubonus: *mulus mulum scabit* [mule scratches mule]; who but Scaliger with him? what encomiums, epithets, elogiums? *Antistes sapientiæ, perpetuus dictator, literarum ornamentum, Europæ miraculum* [the high priest and perpetual dictator of wisdom, the ornament of letters, the wonder of Europe], noble Scaliger, *incredibilis ingenii præstantia, etc., diis potius quam hominibus per omnia comparandus, scripta ejus aurea ancilia de cælo delapsa poplitibus veneramur flexis* [this incredible genius, comparable to gods rather than to men, we venerate his writings on bended knees, like the shield that fell from heaven], etc., but when they began to vary, none so absurd as Scaliger, so vile and base, as his books *de Burdonum familia*, and other satirical invectives, may witness. Ovid *in Ibin* [against Ibis], Archilochus himself, was not so bitter. Another great tie or cause of love is consanguinity: parents are dear to their children, children to their parents, brothers and sisters, cousins of all sorts, as a hen and chickens, all of a knot: every crow thinks her own bird fairest. Many memorable examples are in this kind, and 'tis *portenti simile* [monstrous] if they do not: "a mother cannot forget her child;"³ Solomon so found out the true owner; love of parents may not be concealed, 'tis natural, descends, and they that are inhuman in this kind are unworthy of that air they breathe, and of the four elements; yet many unnatural examples we have in this rank, of hard-hearted parents, disobedient children, of disagreeing brothers,⁴ nothing so common. The love of kinsmen is grown cold, "many kinsmen" (as the saying is), "few friends;" if thine estate be good, and thou able *par pari referre*, to requite their kindness, there will be mutual correspondence, otherwise thou art a burden, most odious to them above all others. The

last object that ties man and man, is comeliness of person, and beauty alone, as men love women with a wanton eye: which κατ' ἐξοχήν [*par excellence*] is termed heroical, or love-melancholy. Other loves (saith Piccolomineus¹) are so called with some contraction, as the love of wine, gold, etc., but this of women is predominant in a higher strain, whose part affected is the liver, and this love deserves a longer explication, and shall be dilated apart in the next section.

SUBJECT. III.—*Honest Objects of Love*

Beauty is the common object of all love, "as jet draws a straw, so doth beauty love":² virtue and honesty are great motives, and give as fair a lustre as the rest, especially if they be sincere and right, not fucate, but proceeding from true form and an incorrupt judgment; those two Venus' twins, Eros and Anteros, are then most firm and fast. For many times otherwise men are deceived by their flattering Gnathos,³ dissembling chameleons, outsides, hypocrites that make a show of great love, learning, pretend honesty, virtue, zeal, modesty, with affected looks and counterfeit gestures: feigned protestations often steal away the hearts and favours of men, and deceive them, *specie virtutis et umbra* [by the outward show of merit], whenas, *revera* and indeed, there is no worth or honesty at all in them, no truth, but mere hypocrisy, subtilty knavery, and the like. As true friends they are, as he that Cælius S cundus met by the highway side; and hard it is in this temporizing age to distinguish such companions, or to find them out. Such Gnathos as these for the most part belong to great men, and by this glozing flattery, affability, and such-like philters, so dive and insinuate into their favours, that they are taken for men of excellent worth, wisdom, learning, demi-gods, and so screw themselves into dignities, honours, offices; but these men cause harsh confusion often, and as many stirs as Rehoboam's counsellors in a commonwealth, overthrow themselves and others. Tandlerus and some authors make a doubt whether love and hatred may be compelled by philters or characters; Cardan and Marbodius by precious stones and amulets; astrologers by election of times, etc., as I shall elsewhere discuss.⁴ The true object of this honest love is virtue, wisdom, honesty, real worth,⁵ *interna forma* [the internal character], and this love cannot deceive or be compelled; *ut ameris amabilis esto* [to be loved

you must be lovable], love itself is the most potent *philtrum*, virtue and wisdom, *gratia gratum faciens*, the sole and only grace, not counterfeit, but open, honest, simple, naked, "descending from heaven,"¹ as our Apostle hath it, an infused habit from God, which hath given several gifts, as wit, learning, tongues, for which they shall be amiable and gracious (Eph. iv, 11), as to Saul stature and a goodly presence (1 Sam. ix, 1). Joseph found favour in Pharaoh's court (Gen. xxxix) for his person;² and Daniel with the princes of the eunuchs (Dan. i, 9). Christ was gracious with God and men (Luke ii, 52). There is still some peculiar grace, as of good discourse, eloquence, wit, honesty, which is the *primum mobile*, first mover, and a most forcible loadstone to draw the favours and good wills of men's eyes, ears, and affections unto them. When Jesus spake, "they were all astonied at his answers" (Luke ii, 47), "and wondered at his gracious words which proceeded from his mouth." An orator steals away the hearts of men, and as another Orpheus, *quo vult, unde vult* [whither he will and whence he will], he pulls them to him by speech alone: a sweet voice causeth admiration; and he that can utter himself in good words, in our ordinary phrase, is called a proper man, a divine spirit. For which cause helike, our old poets, *senatus populusque poetarum* [the poets' assembly], made Mercury the gentleman-usher to the Graces, captain of eloquence, and those *Charites* to be Jupiter's and Eurymone's daughters, descended from above. Though they be otherwise deformed, crooked, ugly to behold, those good parts of the mind denominate them fair. Plato commends the beauty of Socrates; yet who was more grim of countenance, stern and ghastly to look upon? So are and have been many great philosophers, as Gregory Nazianzen observes,³ "deformed most part in that which is to be seen with the eyes, but most elegant in that which is not to be seen." *Sæpe sub attrita latitat sapientia veste* [wisdom oft lurks beneath a shabby coat]. Æsop, Democritus, Aristotle, Politianus, Melancthon, Gesner, etc., withered old men, *Sileni Alcibiadis*⁴ [Silenuses of Alcibiades], very harsh and impolite to the eye; but who were so terse, polite, eloquent, generally learned, temperate and modest? No man then living was so fair as Alcibiades, so lovely *quoad superficiem*, to the eye, as Boethius observes,⁵ but he had *corpus turpissimum interne*, a most deformed soul. Honesty, virtue, fair conditions, are great enticers to such as are well given, and much avail to get the favour and good will of men. Abdonymus in Curtius, a poor man (but, which mine author

notes, "the cause of this poverty was his honesty"¹), for his modesty and continency from a private person (for they found him digging in his garden) was saluted king, and preferred before all the magnificoes of his time, *injecta ei vestis purpura auroque distincta*, "a purple embroidered garment was put upon him, and they bade him wash himself, and, as he was worthy, take upon him the style and spirit of a king,"² continue his continency and the rest of his good parts. Titus Pomponius Atticus, that noble citizen of Rome, was so fair conditioned, of so sweet a carriage, that he was generally beloved of all good men, of Cæsar, Pompey, Antony, Tully, of divers sects, etc., *multas hæreditates* (Cornelius Nepos writes³) *sola bonitate consecutus* [he obtained many legacies solely as a tribute to his good disposition]. *Operæ pretium audire*, etc., it is worthy of your attention, Livy cries, "you that scorn all but riches, and give no esteem to virtue, except they be wealthy withal, Q. Cincinnatus had but four acres, and by the consent of the senate was chosen dictator of Rome."⁴ Of such account were Cato, Fabricius, Aristides, Antonius, Probus, for their eminent worth: so Cæsar, Trajan, Alexander, admired for valour, Hephæstion loved Alexander, but Parmenio the king:⁵ *Titus, deliciæ humani generis*, and which Aurelius Victor hath of Vespasian, the dilling of his time, as Edgar Etheling was in England,⁶ for his excellent virtues: their memory is yet fresh, sweet, and we love them many ages after, though they be dead:⁷ *Suavem memoriam sui reliquit* [he left behind a pleasant memory], saith Lipsius of his friend, living and dead they are all one. "I have ever loved, as thou knowest" (so Tully wrote to Dolabella⁸), "Marcus Brutus for his great wit, singular honesty, constancy, sweet conditions; and believe it, there is nothing so amiable and fair as virtue."⁹ "I do mightily love Calvisinus" (so Pliny writes to Sossius), "a most industrious, eloquent, upright man, which is all in all with me":¹⁰ the affection came from his good parts. And, as St. Austin comments on the 84th Psalm, "there is a peculiar beauty of justice," and inward beauty, "which we see with the eyes of our hearts, love, and are enamoured with, as in martyrs, though their bodies be torn in picces with wild beasts, yet this beauty shines, and we love their virtues."¹¹ The Stoics are of opinion that a wise man is only fair;¹² and Cato in Tully, 3 *de Finibus*, contends the same, that the lineaments of the mind are far fairer than those of the body, incomparably beyond them: wisdom and valour, according to Xenophon, especially deserve the name of beauty,¹³

and denominate one fair, *et incomparabiliter pulchrior est* (as Austin holds) *veritas Christianorum quam Helena Græcorum* [Christian truth is incomparably fairer than Grecian Helen]. "Wine is strong, the king is strong, women are strong, but truth overcometh all things" (1 Esdras iii, 10, 11, 12). "Blessed is the man that findeth wisdom, and getteth understanding; for the merchandise thereof is better than silver, and the gain thereof better than gold; it is more precious than pearls, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared to her" (Prov. ii, 13, 14, 15). A wise, true, just, upright, and good man, I say it again, is only fair: it is reported¹ of Magdalen, Queen of France, and wife to Louis XI, a Scottish woman by birth, that walking forth in an evening with her ladies, she spied M. Alanus, one of the king's chaplains, a silly, old, hard-favoured man,² fast asleep in a bower, and kissed him sweetly; when the young ladies laughed at her for it, she replied, that it was not his person that she did embrace and reverence, but, with a Platonic love, the divine beauty of his soul.³ Thus in all ages virtue hath been adored, admired, a singular lustre hath proceeded from it: and the more virtuous he is, the more gracious, the more admired. No man so much followed upon earth as Christ Himself; and as the Psalmist saith, xlv, 2, "He was fairer than the sons of men." Chrysostom, *Hom. 8 in Mat.*; Bernard, *Ser. 1, de omnibus sanctis*; Austin, Cassiodore, Hierome, *in 9 Mat.*, interpret it of the beauty of His person;⁴ there was a divine majesty in His looks, it shined like lightning and drew all men to it: but Basil, Cyril, *lib. 6 super 55 Esaiaë*, Theodoret, Arnobius, etc., of the beauty of His divinity, justice, grace, eloquence, etc., Thomas, *in Ps. xlv*, of both; and so doth Baradius, and Peter Morales, *lib. de pulchritud. Jesu et Mariæ*, adding as much of Joseph and the Virgin Mary: *Hæc alios forma præcesserit omnes* [this one shall excel all others in beauty], according to that prediction of *Sibylla Cumæa* [the Sibyl of Cumæ]. Be they present or absent, near us or afar off, this beauty shines, and will attract men many miles to come and visit it. Plato and Pythagoras left their country to see those wise Egyptian priests: Apollonius travelled into Ethiopia, Persia, to consult with the Magi, Brachmanni, gymnosophists. The Queen of Sheba came to visit Solomon; and many, saith Hierome,⁵ went out of Spain and remote places a thousand miles, to behold that eloquent Livy: *Multi Romam non ut urbem pulcherrimam, aut urbis et orbis dominum Octavianum, sed ut hunc unum inviserent audirentque, a Gadibus projecti sunt*⁶ [many

went from Gades to Rome, not to behold the beauties of the city or Octavian the lord of the world, but to enjoy the company and conversation of this man alone]. No beauty leaves such an impression, strikes so deep, or links the souls of men closer than virtue.¹

*Non per deos aut pictor posset,
Aut statuarius ullus fingere
Talem pulchritudinem qualem virtus habet, **

no painter, no graver, no carver can express virtue's lustre, or those admirable rays that come from it, those enchanting rays that enamour posterity, those everlasting rays that continue to the world's end. Many, saith Favorinus, that loved and admired Alcibiades in his youth, knew not, cared not for Alcibiades a man, *nunc intuentes quærebant Alcibiadem*; but the beauty of Socrates is still the same; virtue's lustre never fades,³ is ever fresh and green, *semper viva* to all succeeding ages, and a most attractive loadstone, to draw and combine such as are present. For that reason, belike, Homer feigns the three Graces to be linked and tied hand in hand, because the hearts of men are so firmly united with such graces. "O sweet bands" (Seneca exclaims), "which so happily combine, that those which are bound by them love their binders, desiring withal much more harder to be bound,"⁴ and as so many Geryons to be united into one. For the nature of true friendship is to combine, to be like affected, of one mind,

*Velle et nolle ambobus idem, satiataque toto
Mens ævo,⁵*

as the poet saith, still to continue one and the same. And where this love takes place there is peace and quietness, a true correspondence, perfect amity, a diapason of vows and wishes, the same opinions, as between David and Jonathan,⁶ Damon and Pythias, Pylades and Orestes, Nisus and Euryalus,⁷ Theseus and Pirithous, they will live and die together, and prosecute one another with good turns⁸ (*nam vinci in amore turpissimum putant*⁹ [for they think it the greatest reproach to be surpassed in the display of affection]), not only living, but when their friends are dead, with tombs and monuments, *nænias* [funeral songs], epitaphs, elegies, inscriptions, pyramids, obelisks, statues, images, pictures, histories, poems, annals, feasts, anniversaries, many ages after (as Plato's scholars did) they will *parentare* still, omit no good office that may tend to the preservation of their names, honours, and eternal memory. *Illum*

coloribus, illum cera, illum ære, etc.,¹ "He did express his friends in colours, in wax, in brass, in ivory, marble, gold, and silver" (as Pliny reports of a citizen in Rome), "and in a great auditory not long since recited a just volume of his life." In another place, speaking of an epigram which Martial had composed in praise of him,² "He gave me as much as he might, and would have done more if he could: though what can a man give more than honour, glory, and eternity? But that which he wrote, peradventure, will not continue, yet he wrote it to continue."³ 'Tis all the recompense a poor scholar can make his well-deserving patron, Mæcenas, friend, to mention him in his works, to dedicate a book to his name, to write his life, etc., as all our poets, orators, historiographers have ever done, and the greatest revenge such men take of their adversaries, to persecute them with satires, invectives, etc.,⁴ and 'tis both ways of great moment, as Plato gives us to understand.⁵ Paulus Jovius, in the fourth book of the life and deeds of Pope Leo Decimus, his noble patron, concludes in these words: "Because I cannot honour him as other, rich men do, with like endeavour, affection, and piety I have undertaken to write his life; since my fortunes will not give me leave to make a more sumptuous monument, I will perform those rites to his sacred ashes, which a small, perhaps, but a liberal wit can afford."⁶ But I rove. Where this true love is wanting, there can be no firm peace, friendship from teeth outward, counterfeit, or, for some by-respects, so long dissembled till they have satisfied their own ends, which upon every small occasion breaks out into enmity, open war, defiance, heart-burnings, whispering, calumnies, contentions, and all manner of bitter melancholy discontents. And those men which have no other object of their love than greatness, wealth, authority, etc., are rather feared than beloved; *nec amant quemquam, nec amantur ab ullo* [they neither love nor are loved]; and howsoever borne with for a time, yet for their tyranny and oppression, griping, covetousness, currish hardness, folly, intemperance, imprudence, and such-like vices, they are generally odious, abhorred of all, both God and men.

*Non uxor saluum te vult, non filius, omnes
Vicini oderunt;*

wife and children, friends, neighbours, all the world forsakes them, would fain be rid of them, and are compelled many times to lay violent hands on them, or else God's judgments overtake them: instead of Graces, come Furies. So when fair

Abigail, a woman of singular wisdom, was acceptable to David, Nabal was churlish and evil-conditioned;¹ and therefore Mordecai was received when Haman was executed, Haman the favourite, "that had his seat above the other princes, to whom all the king's servants that stood in the gates bowed their knees and revered."² Though they flourish many times, such hypocrites, such temporizing foxes, and blear the world's eyes by flattery, bribery, dissembling their natures, or other men's weakness, that cannot so apprehend their tricks, yet in the end they will be discerned, and precipitated in a moment: "Surely," saith David, "thou hast set them in slippery places" (Ps. lxxiii, 18); as so many Sejani, they will come down to the Gemonian scales;³ and, as Eusebius in Ammianus,⁴ that was in such authority, *ad jubendum imperatorem*, be cast down headlong on a sudden. Or put case they escape, and rest unmasked to their lives' end, yet after their death their memory stinks as a snuff of a candle put out, and those that durst not so much as mutter against them in their lives, will prosecute their name with satires, libels, and bitter imprecations, they shall *male audire* [be in ill repute] in all succeeding ages, and be odious to the world's end.

MEMB. III.

Charity composed of all three Kinds, Pleasant, Profitable, Honest

BESIDES this love that comes from profit, pleasant, honest (for one good turn asks another in equity), that which proceeds from the law of nature, or from discipline and philosophy, there is yet another love compounded of all these three, which is charity, and includes piety, dilection, benevolence, friendship, even all those virtuous habits; for love is the circle equant of all other affections, of which Aristotle dilates at large in his Ethics, and is commanded by God, which no man can well perform, but he that is a Christian, and a true regenerate man. This is "to love God above all, and our neighbour as ourself";⁵ for this love is *lychnus accendens et accensus*, a communicating light, apt to illuminate itself as well as others. All other objects are fair, and very beautiful, I confess; kindred, alliance, friendship, the love that we owe to our country, nature, wealth, pleasure, honour, and such moral respects, etc., of which read copious

Aristotle in his *Morals*; ¹ a man is beloved of a man, in that he is a man; but all these are far more eminent and great, when they shall proceed from a sanctified spirit, that hath a true touch of religion and a reference to God. Nature binds all creatures to love their young ones; an hen to preserve her brood will run upon a lion, an hind will fight with a bull, a sow with a bear, a silly sheep with a fox. So the same nature urgeth a man to love his parents (*Dii me, pater, omnes oderint, ni te magis quam oculos amem meos!* ² [O father, may all the gods hate me if I love thee not more than my eyes!]), and this love cannot be dissolved, as Tully holds, "without detestable offence": ³ but much more God's commandment, which enjoins a filial love, and an obedience in this kind. "The love of brethren is great, and like an arch of stones, where if one be displaced, all comes down," ⁴ no love so forcible and strong, honest, to the combination of which, nature, fortune, virtue, happily concur; yet this love comes short of it. *Dulce et decorum pro patria mori* ['tis sweet and honourable to die for one's country], "it cannot be expressed, what a deal of charity that one name of country contains." ⁵ *Amor laudis et patriæ pro stipendio est* [love of praise and country can take the place of pay]; the Decii did *se devovere*, Horatii, Curii, Scævola, Regulus, Cœdrus, sacrifice themselves for their country's peace and good.

*Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes,
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.* ⁶

One day the Fabii stoutly warred,
One day the Fabii were destroyed.

Fifty thousand Englishmen lost their lives willingly near Battle Abbey, in defence of their country. P. Æmilius, *lib.* 6, speaks of six senators of Calais, that came with halters in their hands to the King of England, to die for the rest. ⁷ This love makes so many writers take such pains, so many historiographers, physicians, etc., or at least as they pretend, for common safety, and their country's benefit. *Sanctum nomen amicitia, sociorum communio sacra:* ⁸ friendship is a holy name, and a sacred communion of friends. "As the sun is in the firmament, so is friendship in the world," ⁹ a most divine and heavenly band. As nuptial love makes, this perfects mankind, and is to be preferred (if you will stand to the judgment of Cornelius Nepos ¹⁰) before affinity or consanguinity; *plus in amicitia valet similitudo morum, quam affinitas*, etc., the cords of love bind faster than any other wreath whatsoever. Take this away, and take all

pleasure, joy, comfort, happiness, and true content out of the world; 'tis the greatest tie, the surest indenture, strongest band, and, as our modern Maro¹ decides it, is much to be preferred before the rest.

Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deem,
When all three kinds of love together meet;
And do dispart the heart with power extreme,
Whether shall weigh the balance down; to wit,
The dear affection unto kindred sweet,
Or raging fire of love to women kind,
Or zeal of friends, combin'd by virtues meet;
But of them all the band of virtuous mind,
Methinks the gentle heart should most assured bind.

For natural affection soon doth cease,
And quenched is with Cupid's greater flame;
But faithful friendship doth them both suppress,
And them with mastering discipline doth tame,
Through thoughts aspiring to eternal fame
For as the soul doth rule the earthly mass,
And all the service of the body frame,
So love of soul doth love of body pass,
No less than perfect gold surmounts the meanest brass.

A faithful friend is better than gold,^{2 3} a medicine of misery, an only possession;⁴ yet this love of friends, nuptial, heroical, profitable, pleasant, honest, all three loves put together, are little worth, if they proceed not from a true Christian illuminated soul, if it be not done *in ordine ad Deum*, for God's sake. "Though I had the gift of prophecy, spake with tongues of men and angels, though I feed the poor with all my goods, give my body to be burned, and have not this love, it profiteth me nothing" (1 Cor. xiii, 1, 2, 3); 'tis *splendidum peccatum* [a splendid sin], without charity. This is an all-apprehending love, a deifying love, a refined, pure, divine love, the quintessence of all love, the true philosopher's stone, *Non potest enim*, as Austin infers,⁵ *veraciter amicus esse hominis, nisi fuerit ipsius primitus veritatis*, he is no true friend that loves not God's truth. And therefore this is true love indeed, the cause of all good to mortal men, that reconciles all creatures, and glues them together in perpetual amity and firm league, and can no more abide bitterness, hate, malice, than fair and foul weather, light and darkness, sterility and plenty may be together. As the sun in the firmament (I say), so is love in the world; and for this cause 'tis love without an addition, love *κατ' ἐξουχην* [*par excellence*], love of God, and love of men. "The love of God begets the love of

man; and by this love of our neighbour the love of God is nourished and increased."¹ By this happy union of love, "all well-governed families and cities are combined, the heavens annexed, and divine souls complicated, the world itself composed, and all that is in it conjoined in God, and reduced to one."² "This love causeth true and absolute virtues, the life, spirit, and root of every virtuous action,"³ it finisheth prosperity, easeth adversity, corrects all natural encumbrances, inconveniences, sustained by faith and hope, which with this our love make an indissoluble twist, a Gordian knot, an equilateral triangle, "and yet the greatest of them is love" (1 Cor. xiii, 13), "which inflames our souls with a divine heat, and being so inflamed, purged, and so purgeth, elevates to God, makes an atonement, and reconciles us unto Him."⁴ "That other love infects the soul of man, this cleanseth; that depresses, this rears; that causeth cares and troubles, this quietness of mind; this informs, that deforms our life; that leads to repentance, this to heaven."⁵ For if once we be truly linked and touched with this charity, we shall love God above all, our neighbour as ourself, as we are enjoined (Mark xii, 31, Matt. xix, 19), perform those duties and exercises, even all the operations of a good Christian.

"This love suffereth long, it is bountiful, envieth not, boasteth not itself, is not puffed up, it deceiveth not, it seeketh not his own things, is not provoked to anger, it thinketh not evil, it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but in truth. It suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things" (1 Cor. xiii, 4, 5, 6, 7); "it covereth all trespasses" (Prov. x, 12); "a multitude of sins" (1 Pet. 4); as our Saviour told the woman in the Gospel, that washed His feet, "many sins were forgiven her, for she loved much" (Luke vii, 47); "it will defend the fatherless and the widow" (Isa. i, 17); "will seek no revenge, or be mindful of wrong" (Levit. xix, 18); "will bring home his brother's ox if he go astray, as it is commanded" (Deut. xxii, 1); "will resist evil, give to him that asketh, and not turn from him that borroweth, bless them that curse him, love his enemy" (Matt. v); "bear his brother's burthen" (Gal. vi, 7). He that so loves will be hospitable, and distribute to the necessities of the saints; he will, if it be possible, have peace with all men, "feed his enemy if he be hungry, if he be athirst give him drink"; he will perform those seven works of mercy, "he will make himself equal to them of the lower sort, rejoice with them that rejoice, weep with them that weep" (Rom. xii); he will speak

truth to his neighbour, be courteous and tender-hearted, "forgiving others for Christ's sake, as God forgave him" (Eph. iv, 32); he will be "like-minded" (Phil. ii, 2), "of one judgment; be humble, meek, long-suffering" (Col. iii), "forbear, forget and forgive" (vv. 12, 13, 23), and what he doth shall be heartily done to God, and not to men; "Be pitiful and courteous" (1 Pet. iii), "seek peace and follow it." He will love his brother, not in word and tongue, but in deed and truth (1 John iii, 18), "and he that loves God, Christ will love him that is begotten of him" (1 John v, 1), etc. Thus should we willingly do, if we had a true touch of this charity, of this divine love, if we could perform this which we are enjoined, forget and forgive, and compose ourselves to those Christian laws of love.

*O felix hominum genus,
Si vestros animos amor
Quo cælum regitur regat !¹*

[O happy race of men, did but love which rules the
heaven rule your souls!]

Angelical souls, how blessed, how happy should we be, so loving, how might we triumph over the devil, and have another heaven upon earth!

But this we cannot do; and which is the cause of all our woes, miseries, discontent, melancholy, want of this charity.² We do *invicem angariare* [constrain one another by turns], condemn, insult, vex, torture, molest, and hold one another's noses to the grindstone hard, provoke, rail, scoff, calumniate, challenge, hate, abuse (hardhearted, implacable, malicious, peevish, inexorable as we are), to satisfy our lust or private spleen, for toys, trifles, and impertinent occasions,³ spend ourselves, goods, friends, fortunes, to be revenged on our adversary, to ruin him and his. 'Tis all our study, practice, and business how to plot mischief, mine, countermine, defend and offend, ward ourselves, injure others, hurt all; as if we were born to do mischief, and that with such eagerness and bitterness, with such rancour, malice, rage, and fury, we prosecute our intended designs, that neither affinity or consanguinity, love or fear of God or men can contain us: no satisfaction, no composition will be accepted, no offices will serve, no submission; though he shall upon his knees, as Sarpedon did to Glaucus in Homer, acknowledging his error, yield himself with tears in his eyes, beg his pardon, we will not relent, forgive, or forget, till we have confounded him and his, "made dice of his bones," as they say, see him rot in

prison, banish his friends, followers, *et omne invisum genus* [and the whole hated tribe], rooted him out and all his posterity. Monsters of men as we are, dogs, wolves, tigers,¹ fiends, incarnate devils, we do not only contend, oppress, and tyrannize ourselves, but as so many firebrands we set on and animate others: our whole life is a perpetual combat, a conflict, a set battle, a snarling fit. *Eris dea* [the goddess Strife] is settled in our tents, *Omnia de lite*² [all things arose from strife], opposing wit to wit, wealth to wealth, strength to strength, fortunes to fortunes, friends to friends; as at a sea-fight we turn our broadsides, or [as] two millstones with continual attrition we fire ourselves, or break [one] another's backs, and both are ruined and consumed in the end. Miserable wretches, to fat and enrich ourselves, we care not how we get it—*Quocunque modo rem*—how many thousands we undo, whom we oppress, by whose ruin and downfall we arise, whom we injure, fatherless children, widows, common societies, to satisfy our own private lust. Though we have myriads, abundance of wealth and treasure (pitiless, merciless, remorseless, and uncharitable in the highest degree), and our poor brother in need, sickness, in great extremity, and now ready to be starved for want of food, we had rather, as the fox told the ape, his tail should sweep the ground still, than cover his buttocks; rather spend it idly, consume it with dogs, hawks, hounds, unnecessary buildings, in riotous apparel, ingurgitate, or let it be lost, than he should have part of it; rather take from him that little which he hath than relieve him.³

Like the dog in the manger, we neither use it ourselves, let others make use of or enjoy it; part with nothing while we live; for want of disposing our household and setting things in order, set all the world together by the ears after our death. Poor Lazarus lies howling at his gates for a few crumbs, he only seeks chippings, offals; let him roar and howl, famish, and eat his own flesh, he respects him not. A poor decayed kinsman of his sets upon him by the way in all his jollity, and runs begging bareheaded by him, conjuring by those former bonds of friendship, alliance, consanguinity, etc., uncle, cousin, brother, father,

*Per ego has lachrymas, dextramque tuam te,
Si quidquam de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam.
Dulce meum, miserere mei.*

[By these tears, by thy right hand I beseech thee, if ever I did thee a service or gave thee pleasure, pity me.]

"Show some pity for Christ's sake, pity a sick man, an old man," etc., he cares not, ride on: pretend sickness, inevitable loss of limbs, goods, plead suretyship, or shipwreck, fires, common calamities, show thy wants and imperfections,

*Et si per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim,
Credule, non ludo, crudeles tollite claudum.*

[And if he swear by Osiris, "I jest not, believe me, be not so cruel, pick up a lame man."]

Swear, protest, take God and all His angels to witness, *Quære peregrinum* [tell that to the marines], thou art a counterfeit crank, a cheater, he is not touched with it, *pauper ubique jacet* [there are beggars everywhere], ride on, he takes no notice of it. Put up a supplication to him in the name of a thousand orphans, an hospital, a spital, a prison, as he goes by, they cry out to him for aid, ride on, *surdo narras* [you speak to deaf ears], he cares not, let them eat stones, devour themselves with vermin, rot in their own dung, he cares not. Show him a decayed haven, a bridge, a school, a fortification, etc., or some public work, ride on; "Good your worship, your honour, for God's sake, your country's sake," ride on. But show him a roll wherein his name shall be registered in golden letters and commended to all posterity, his arms set up, with his devices to be seen, then peradventure he will stay and contribute; or if thou canst thunder upon him, as papists do, with satisfactory and meritorious works, or persuade him by this means he shall save his soul out of hell, and free it from purgatory (if he be of any religion), then in all likelihood he will listen and stay; or that he have no children, no near kinsman, heir, he cares for at least, or cannot well tell otherwise how or where to bestow his possessions (for carry them with him he cannot), it may be then he will build some school or hospital in his life, or be induced to give liberally to pious uses after his death. For I dare boldly say, vainglory, that opinion of merit, and this enforced necessity, when they know not otherwise how to leave, or what better to do with them, is the main cause of most of our good works. I will not urge this to derogate from any man's charitable devotion, or bounty in this kind, to censure any good work; no doubt there be many sanctified, heroical, and worthy-minded men, that in true zeal and for virtue's sake (divine spirits), that out of commiseration and pity extend their liberality, and as much as in them lies do good to all men, clothe the naked, feed the hungry, comfort the sick and needy, relieve all, forget

and forgive injuries, as true charity requires; yet most part there is *simulatum quid*, a deal of hypocrisy in this kind, much default and defect. Cosmus Medices,¹ that rich citizen of Florence, ingenuously confessed to a near friend of his, that would know of him why he built so many public and magnificent palaces and bestowed so liberally on scholars, not that he loved learning more than others, "but to eternize his own name, to be immortal by the benefit of scholars; for when his friends were dead, walls decayed, and all inscriptions gone, books would remain to the world's end."² The lanthorn in Athens was built by Xenocles, the theatre by Pericles,³ the famous port Piræus by Muscles, Pallas' Palladium by Phidias, the Pantneon by Callicrates; but these brave monuments are decayed all, and ruined long since, their builders' names alone flourish by mediation of writers. And as he⁴ said of that Marian oak, now cut down and dead, *nullius agricolæ manu culta stirps tam diuturna, quam quæ poetæ versu seminari potest*, no plant can grow so long as that which is *ingenio sata*, set and manured by those ever-living wits. Allon-bachuth, that weeping oak, under which Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, died and was buried,⁵ may not survive the memory of such everlasting monuments. Vainglory and emulation (as to most men) was the cause efficient, and to be a trumpeter of his own fame Cosmus' sole intent, so to do good that all the world might take notice of it. Such for the most part is the charity of our times, such our benefactors, Mæcenates and patrons. Show me amongst so many myriads a truly devout, a right, honest, upright, meek, humble, a patient, innocuous, innocent, a merciful, a loving, a charitable man! *Probus quis nobiscum vivit?*⁶ [What honest man lives among us?] Show me a Caleb or a Joshua! *Dic mihi, Musa, virum!* Show a virtuous woman, a constant wife, a good neighbour, a trusty servant, an obedient child, a true friend, etc. Crows in Africa are not so scant. He that shall examine this iron age wherein we live,⁷ where love is cold, *et jam terras Astræa reliquit*, Justice fled with her assistants, virtue expelled,

*Justitiæ soror,
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,*

[Uncorrupted Honesty, sister of Justice, and naked Truth,]

all goodness, gone, where vice abounds, the devil is loose, and see one man vilify and insult over his brother, as if he were an innocent or a block, oppress, tyrannize, prey upon. torture

him, vex, gall, torment and crucify him, starve him, where is charity? He that shall see men swear and forswear,² lie and bear false witness, to advantage themselves, prejudice others, hazard goods, lives, fortunes, credit, all, to be revenged on their enemies, men so unspeakable in their lusts, unnatural in malice, such bloody designments, Italian blaspheming, Spanish renouncing, etc., may well ask where is charity? He that shall observe so many lawsuits, such endless contentions, such plotting, undermining, so much money spent with such eagerness and fury, every man for himself his own ends, the devil for all; so many distressed souls, such lamentable complaints, so many factions, conspiracies, seditions, oppressions, abuses, injuries, such grudging, repining, discontent, so much emulation, envy, so many brawls, quarrels, monomachies, etc., may well require what is become of charity? when we see and read of such cruel wars, tumults, uproars, bloody battles, so many men slain,² so many cities ruined, etc. (for what else is the subject of all our stories almost, but bills, bows, and guns?), so many murders and massacres, etc., where is charity? Or see men wholly devote to God, churchmen, professed divines, holy men, "to make the trumpet of the gospel the trumpet of war,"³ a company of hell-born Jesuits, and fiery-spirited friars, *facem præferre* [apply the torch] to all seditions, as so many firebrands set all the world by the ears (I say nothing of their contentious and railing books, whole ages spent in writing one against another, and that with such virulency and bitterness, *Bionis sermonibus et sale nigro*), and by their bloody inquisitions, that in thirty years, Bale saith, consumed 39 princes, 148 earls, 235 barons, 14,755 commons, worse than those ten persecutions, may justly doubt where is charity? *Obsecro vos quales hi demum Christiani!* Are these Christians? I beseech you, tell me. He that shall observe and see these things may say to them as Cato to Cæsar, *Credo quæ de inferis dicuntur falsa existimas*, Sure I think thou art of opinion there is neither heaven nor hell. Let them pretend religion, zeal, make what shows they will, give alms, peace-makers, frequent sermons if we may guess at the tree by the fruit, they are no better than hypocrites, epicures, atheists; with the "fool in their hearts they say there is no God."⁴ 'Tis no marvel then if being so uncharitable, hard-hearted as we are, we have so frequent and so many discontents, such melancholy fits, so many bitter pangs, mutual discords, all in a combustion, often complaints, so common grievances, general mischiefs, *si tantæ*

in terris tragædiæ, quibus labefactatur et misere laceratur humanum genus [if there are so many calamities to shake and rend the human race], so many pestilences, wars, uproars, losses, deluges, fires, inundations, God's vengeance, and all the plagues of Egypt come not upon us, since we are so currish one towards another, so disrespectful of God and our neighbours, and by our crying sins pull these miseries upon our own heads. Nay more, 'tis justly to be feared, which Josephus once said of his countrymen Jews,¹ "If the Romans had not come when they did to sack their city, surely it had been swallowed up with some earthquake, deluge, or fired from heaven as Sodom and Gomorrah; their desperate malice, wickedness, and peevishness was such." 'Tis to be suspected, if we continue these wretched ways, we may look for the like heavy visitations to come upon us. If we had any sense or feeling of these things, surely we should not go on as we do, in such irregular courses, practise all manner of impieties; our whole carriage would not be so averse from God. If a man would but consider, when he is in the midst and full career of such prodigious and uncharitable actions, how displeasing they are in God's sight, how noxious to himself, as Solomon told Joab (1 Kings, ii), "The Lord shall bring this blood upon their heads"; Prov. i, 27: "Sudden desolation and destruction shall come like a whirlwind upon them, affliction, anguish"; "The reward of his hand shall be given him" (Isa. iii, 11), etc.; "They shall fall into the pit they have digged for others," and when they are scraping, tyrannizing, getting, wallowing in their wealth, "This night, O fool, I will take away thy soul," what a severe account they must make; and how gracious on the other side a charitable man is in God's eyes,² *haurit sibi gratiam* [he draws to himself grace]; Matt. v, 7: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy"; "He that lendeth to the poor, gives to God"; and how it shall be restored to them again, how "by their patience and long-suffering they shall heap coals on their enemies' heads" (Rom. xii), "and he that followeth after righteousness and mercy shall find righteousness and glory"; surely they would check their desires, curb in their unnatural, inordinate affections, agree amongst themselves, abstain from doing evil, amend their lives, and learn to do well. "Behold how comely and good a thing it is for brethren to live together in union:³ it is like the precious ointment," etc. How odious to contend one with the other! *Miseri quid luctatiunculis hisce volumus? ecce mors supra caput est, et supremum illius tribunal, ubi et dicta et facta nostra*

*examinanda sunt. Sapiamus!*¹ Why do we contend and vex one another? behold, death is over our heads, and we must shortly give an account of all our uncharitable words and actions; think upon it, and be wise.

SECT. II. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Heroical Love causing Melancholy. His Pedigree, Power, and Extent*

IN the precedent section mention was made, amongst other pleasant objects, of this comeliness and beauty which proceeds from women, that causeth heroical, or love-melancholy, is more eminent above the rest, and properly called love. The part affected in men is the liver, and therefore called heroical, because commonly gallants, noblemen, and the most generous spirits are possessed with it. His power and extent is very large, and in that twofold division of love,² φιλεῖν and ἐρᾶν,³ those two *Veneres* which Plato and some other make mention of, it is most eminent, and κατ' ἐξοχήν [*par excellence*] called Venus, as I have said, or love itself. Which although it be denominated from men, and most evident in them, yet it extends and shows itself in vegetal and sensible creatures, those incorporeal substances (as shall be specified), and hath a large dominion of sovereignty over them. His pedigree is very ancient, derived from the beginning of the world, as Phædrus contends,⁴ and his parentage of such antiquity, that no poet could ever find it out.⁵ Hesiod makes Terra and Chaos to be Love's parents, before the gods were born:⁶ *Ante deos omnes primum generavit Amorem.* Some think it is the self-same fire Prometheus fetched from heaven. Plutarch, *Amator. libello*, will have Love to be the son of Iris and Favonius; but Socrates in that pleasant dialogue of Plato, when it came to his turn to speak of love (of which subject Agatho the rhetorician, *magniloquus* Agatho, that chanter Agatho, had newly given occasion), in a poetical strain, telleth this tale: When Venus was born, all the gods were invited to a banquet, and amongst the rest, Porus the god of bounty and wealth;⁷ Penia or Poverty came a-begging to the door; Porus, well whittled with nectar (for there was no wine in those days), walking in Jupiter's

garden, in a bower met with Penia, and in his drink got her with child, of whom was born Love; and because he was begotten on Venus' birthday, Venus still attends upon him. The moral of this is in Ficinus.¹ Another tale is there borrowed out of Aristophanes: In the beginning of the world, men had four arms and four feet, but for their pride, because they compared themselves with the gods, were parted into halves, and now peradventure by love they hope to be united again and made one.² Otherwise thus: Vulcan met two lovers, and bid them ask what they would and they should have it; but they made answer, *O Vulcane faber Deorum*, etc., "O Vulcan the gods' great smith, we beseech thee to work us anew in thy furnace, and of two make us one; which he presently did, and ever since true lovers are either all one, or else desire to be united."³ Many such tales you shall find in Leon Hebræus, *Dial.* 3, and their moral to them. The reason why Love was still painted young, (as Phornutus and others will ⁴) "is because young men are most apt to love; soft, fair, and fat, because such folks are soonest taken; naked, because all true affection is simple and open; he smiles, because merry and given to delights; hath a quiver, to show his power, none can escape; is blind, because he sees not where he strikes, whom he hits," etc.⁵ His power and sovereignty is expressed by the poets, in that he is held to be a god, and a great commanding god, above Jupiter himself; ⁶ *magnus dæmon* [a mighty spirit], as Plato calls him, the strongest and merriest of all the gods according to Alcinous and Athenæus.⁷ *Amor virorum rex, Amor rex et deum*, as Euripides, [Love is] the god of gods and governor of men; for we must all do homage to him, keep an holiday for his deity, adore in his temples, worship his image (*numen enim hoc non est nudum nomen* [for this is a deity and not merely a name]), and sacrifice to his altar, that conquers all, and rules all:⁸

*Mallem cum icone, cervo et apro Æolico,
Cum Antæo et Stymphalicis avibus luctari
Quam cum amore,* ⁹

I had rather contend with bulls, lions, bears, and giants, than with Love; he is so powerful, enforceth all to pay tribute to him, domineers over all, and can make mad and sober whom he list; insomuch that Cæcilius, in Tully's Tusculans, holds him to be no better than a fool or an idiot that doth not acknowledge Love to be a great god,

*Cui in manu sit quem esse dementem velit,
Quem sapere, quem sanari, quem in morbum injici,* etc.⁴

[that can make mad whom he will, or sane], that can make sick and cure whom he list. Homer and Stesichorus were both made blind, if you will believe Leon Hebræus,¹ for speaking against his godhead: and though Aristophanes degrade him, and say that he was scornfully rejected from the council of the gods, had his wings clipped besides, that he might come no more amongst them, and to his farther disgrace banished heaven for ever, and confined to dwell on earth,² yet he is of that power, majesty, omnipotency, and dominion, that no creature can withstand him.³

*Imperat Cupido etiam diis pro arbitrio,
Et ipsum arcere ne armipotens potest Jupiter.*⁴

[Cupid rules over the gods too as he listeth, and not even Jupiter can keep him at bay.]

He is more than quarter master with the gods;

*Tenet
Thetide æquor, umbras Æaco, cælum Jove,*

[He shares the empire of the sea with Thetis, of the shades with Æacus, of the sky with Jove,]

and hath not so much possession as dominion. Jupiter himself was turned into a satyr, shepherd, a bull, a swan, a golden shower, and what not, for love; that as Lucian's⁵ Juno right well objected to him, *Ludus amoris tu es*, Thou art Cupid whirligig. How did he insult over all the other gods, Mars, Neptune, Pan, Mercury, Bacchus, and the rest! Lucian⁶ brings in Jupiter complaining of Cupid that he could not be quiet for him, and the Moon lamenting that she was so impotently besotted on Endymion, even Venus herself confessing as much, how rudely and in what sort her own son Cupid had used her, being his mother, "now drawing her to Mount Ida, for the love of that Trojan Anchises, now to Libanus for that Assyrian youth's sake."⁷ And although she threatened to break his bow and arrows, to clip his wings, and whipped him besides on the bare buttocks with her pantofle,⁸ yet all would not serve, he was too headstrong and unruly." That monster-conquering Hercules was tamed by him:

*Quem non mille feræ, quem non Sthenelerus hostis,
Nec potuit Juno vincere, vicit amor.*

Whom neither beasts nor enemies could tame,
Nor Juno's might subdue, Love quell'd the same.

Your bravest soldiers and most generous spirits are enervated

with it, *ubi muliebribus blanditiis permittunt se, et inquinantur amplexibus*.¹ Apollo, that took upon him to cure all diseases, could not help himself of this;² and therefore Socrates calls Love a tyrant,³ and brings him triumphing in a chariot, whom Petrarch imitates in his Triumph of Love, and Fracastorius in an elegant poem expreseth at large, Cupid riding, Mars and Apollo following his chariot, Psyche weeping, etc.

In vegetal creatures what sovereignty love hath, by many pregnant proofs and familiar examples may be proved, especially of palm-trees, which are both he and she, and express not a sympathy but a love-passion, as by many observations have been confirmed.

*Vivunt in venerem frondes, omnisque vicissim
Felix arbor amat, nutant et mutua palmæ
Fœdera, populeo suspirat populus ictu,
Et platano platanus, alnoque assibilat alnus.*⁴

[Boughs live for love, every tree in turn grows amorous,
they nod their troth, poplar sighs to poplar and
plane to plane, and alder whispers to alder.]

Constantine, *de agric. lib. 10, cap. 4*, gives an instance out of Florentius his Georgics, of a palm-tree that loved most fervently, "and would not be comforted until such time her love applied herself unto her; you might see the two trees bend, and of their own accords stretch out their boughs to embrace and kiss each other: they will give manifest signs of mutual love."⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, *lib. 24*, reports that they marry one another, and fall in love if they grow in sight; and when the wind brings the smell to them they are marvellously affected. Philostratus, *in Imaginibus*, observes as much, and Galen, *lib. 6 de locis affectis, cap. 5*; they will be sick for love, ready to die and pine away, which the husbandmen perceiving, saith Constantine, "stroke many palms that grow together, and so stroking again the palm that is enamoured, they carry kisses from the one to the other";⁶ or tying the leaves and branches of the one to the stem of the other, will make them both flourish and prosper a great deal better: "which are enamoured, they can perceive by the bending of boughs and inclination of their bodies."⁷ If any man think this which I say to be a tale, let him read that story of two palm-trees in Italy, the male growing at Brundisium, the female at Otranto (related by Jovianus Pontanus in an excellent poem, sometime tutor to Alphonsus Junior, King of Naples, his secretary of state, and a great philosopher), "which were barren, and so continued a long time," till they

came to see one another growing up higher, though many stadiums asunder. Pierius, in his Hieroglyphics, and Melchior Guilandinus, *mem. 3, tract. de papyro*, cites this story of Pontanus for a truth. See more in Salmuth, *Comment. in Pancirol. de nova rept. tit. 1, de novo orbe*, Mizaldus, *Arcanorum lib. 2*, Sandys' *Voyages, lib. 2, fol. 103*, etc.

If such fury be in vegetals, what shall we think of sensible creatures? how much more violent and apparent shall it be in them!

*Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,
Et genus æquoreum, pecudes, pictæque volucres
In furias ignemque ruunt; amor omnibus idem.*¹

All kinds of creatures in the earth,
And fishes of the sea,
And painted birds do rage alike;
Thus love bears equal sway.

*Hic deus et terras et maria alta domat*²

[This deity subdues both land and sea.]

Common experience and our sense will inform us how violently brute beasts are carried away with this passion, horses above the rest, *furor est insignis equarum*. Cupid in Lucian bids Venus his mother be of good cheer, for he was now familiar with lions, and oftentimes did get on their backs, hold them by the mane, and ride them about like horses, and they would fawn upon him with their tails.³ Bulls, bears, and boars are so furious in this kind, they kill one another: but especially cocks, lions,⁴ and harts, which are so fierce that you may hear them fight half a mile off, saith Turberville,⁵ and many times kill each other, or compel them to abandon the rut, that they may remain masters in their places; "and when one hath driven his corral away, he raiseth his nose up into the air, and looks aloft, as though he gave thanks to nature," which affords him such great delight. How birds are affected in this kind, appears out of Aristotle; he will have them to sing *ob futuram venerem*, for joy or in hope of their venery which is to come.

*Aeriæ primum volucres te, diva, tuumque
Significant initum, percussæ corda tua vi.*⁶

[First the birds of the air welcome Venus and proclaim her approach, smitten deep with her passion.]

"Fishes pine away for love and wax lean," if Gomesius'⁷ authority may be taken, and are rampant too, some of them: Peter Gillius,

lib. 10 de hist. animal., tells wonders of a triton in Epirus: there was a well not far from the shore, where the country wenches fetched water; the triton, *stupri causa*, would set upon them and carry them to the sea, and there drown them if they would not yield;¹ so love tyrannizeth in dumb creatures. Yet this is natural for one beast to dote upon another of the same kind; but what strange fury is that, when a beast shall dote upon a man? Saxo Grammaticus, *lib. 10 Dan. Hist.*, hath a story of a bear that loved a woman, kept her in his den a long time and begot a son of her, out of whose loins proceeded many northern kings: this is the original belike of that common tale of Valentine and Orson. Ælian, Pliny, Peter Gillius, are full of such relations. A peacock in Leucadia loved a maid, and when she died the peacock pined. "A dolphin loved a boy called Hernias, and when he died, the fish came on land, and so perished."² The like adds Gillius, *lib. 10, cap. 22*, out of Apion, *Ægypt. lib. 15*; a dolphin at Puteoli loved a child, would come often to him, let him get on his back, and carry him about, "and when by sickness the child was taken away, the dolphin died."³ "Every book is full" (saith Busbequius, the emperor's orator with the Grand Signior, not long since, *ep. 3, Legat. Turc.*), "and yields such instances, to believe which I was always afraid, lest I should be thought to give credit to fables, until I saw a lynx, which I had from Assyria, so affected towards one of my men, that it cannot be denied but that he was in love with him."⁴ When my man was present, the beast would use many notable enticements and pleasant motions, and when he was going, hold him back, and look after him when he was gone, very sad in his absence, but most jocund when he returned: and when my man went from me, the beast expressed his love with continual sickness, and after he had pined away some few days, died." Such another story he hath of a crane of Majorca, that loved a Spaniard, that would walk any way with him, and in his absence seek about for him, make a noise that he might hear her, and knock at his door, "and when he took his last farewell, famished herself."⁵ Such pretty pranks can love play with birds, fishes, beasts:

*Cælestis ætheris, ponti, terræ claves habet Venus,
Solaque istorum omnium imperium obtinet :⁶*

[Venus hath the keys of sky, sea, and earth, and is
sole mistress of them all:]

and, if all be certain that is credibly reported, with the spirits

of the air, and devils of hell themselves, who are as much enamoured and dote (if I may use that word) as any other creatures whatsoever. For if those stories be true that are written of incubus and succubus, of nymphs, lascivious fauns, satyrs, and those heathen gods which were devils, those lascivious Telchines, of whom the Platonists tell so many fables, or those familiar meetings in our days, and company of witches and devils, there is some probability for it. I know that Biarmannus, Wierus, *lib. 1, cap. 19 et 24*, and some others stoutly deny it, that the devil hath any carnal copulation with women, that the devil takes no pleasure in such facts, they be mere phantasies, all such relations of incubi, succubi, lies and tales; but Austin, *lib. 15 de Civit. Dei*, doth acknowledge it; Erastus, *de lamiis*; Jacobus Sprenger and his colleagues, etc.; Zanchius, *cap. 16, lib. 4, de oper. Dei*; ¹ Dandinus, in *Arist. de anima, lib. 2, text. 29, com. 30*; Bodine, *lib. 2, cap. 7*, and Paracelsus, a great champion of this tenent amongst the rest, which give sundry peculiar instances, by many testimonies, proofs, and confessions evince it. Hector Boethius, in his Scottish History, hath three or four such examples, which Cardan confirms out of him, *lib. 16, cap. 43*, of such as have had familiar company many years with them, and that in the habit of men and women. Philostratus, in his fourth book *de vita Apollonii*, hath a memorable instance in this kind, which I may not omit, of one Menippus Lycius, a young man twenty-five years of age, that going between Cenchreas and Corinth, met such a phantasm in the habit of a fair gentlewoman, which, taking him by the hand, carried him home to her house in the suburbs of Corinth, and told him she was a Phœnician by birth, and if he would tarry with her, "he should hear her sing and play, and drink such wine as never any drank, and no man should molest him; but she being fair and lovely would live and die with him, that was fair and lovely to behold." ² The young man, a philosopher, otherwise staid and discreet, able to moderate his passions, though not this of love, tarried with her awhile to his great content, and at last married her, to whose wedding, amongst other guests, came Apollonius, who, by some probable conjectures, found her out to be a serpent, a lamia, and that all her furniture was like Tantalus' gold described by Homer, no substance, but mere illusions. When she saw herself descried, she wept, and desired Apollonius to be silent, but he would not be moved, and thereupon she, plate, house, and all that was in it, vanished in an instant: "many thousands took notice of this

fact, for it was done in the midst of Greece." ¹ Sabine, in his Comment on the tenth of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, at the tale of Orpheus, telleth us of a gentleman of Bavaria, that for many months together bewailed the loss of his dear wife; at length the devil in her habit came and comforted him, and told him, because he was so importunate for her, that she would come and live with him again, on that condition he would be new married, never swear and blaspheme as he used formerly to do; for if he did, she should be gone: "he vowed it, married, and lived with her, she brought him children, and governed his house, but was still pale and sad," ² and so continued, till one day falling out with him, he fell a-swearing; she vanished thereupon, and was never after seen. This I have heard," saith Sabine, "from persons of good credit, which told me that the Duke of Bavaria did tell it for a certainty to the Duke of Saxony." ³ One more I will relate out of Florilegus, *ad annum* 1058, an honest historian of our nation, because he telleth it so confidently, as a thing in those days talked of all over Europe. A young gentleman of Rome, the same day that he was married, after dinner with the bride and his friends went a-walking into the fields, and towards evening to the tennis-court to recreate himself; whilst he played, he put his ring upon the finger of Venus' statua, which was thereby, made in brass; after he had sufficiently played, and now made an end of his sport, he came to fetch his ring, but Venus had bowed her finger in, and he could not get it off; whereupon, loath to make his company tarry, at the present there left it, intending to fetch it the next day or at some more convenient time, went thence to supper, and so to bed. In the night, when he should come to perform those nuptial rites, Venus steps between him and his wife (unseen or felt of her), and told her that she was his wife, that he had betrothed himself unto her by that ring which he put upon her finger: she troubled him for some following nights. He, not knowing how to help himself, made his moan to one Palumbus, a learned magician in those days, who gave him a letter, and bid him at such a time of the night, in such a cross-way, at the town's end, where old Saturn would pass by with his associates in procession, as commonly he did, deliver that script with his own hands to Saturn himself; the young man, of a bold spirit, accordingly did it; and when the old fiend had read it, he called Venus to him, who rode before him, and commanded her to deliver his ring, which forthwith she did, and so the gentleman was freed. Many such stories I find in several

authors¹ to confirm this which I have said; as that more notable amongst the rest, of Philinium and Machates in Phlegon's tract *de rebus mirabilibus*,² and though many be against it, yet I, for my part, will subscribe to Lactantius, *lib. 14, cap. 15*, "God sent angels to the tuition of men; but whilst they lived amongst us, that mischievous all-commander of the earth, and hot in lust, enticed them by little and little to this vice, and defiled them with the company of women;"³ and to Anaxagoras, *de Resurrect.*, "Many of those spiritual bodies, overcome by the love of maids, and lust, failed, of whom those were born we call giants."⁴ Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Sulpicius Severus, Eusebius, etc., to this sense make a twofold fall of angels, one from the beginning of the world, another a little before the deluge, as Moses teacheth us, openly professing that these genii can beget, and have carnal copulation with women.⁵ At Japan in the East Indies, at this present (if we may believe the relation of travellers⁶), there is an idol called Teuchedy, to whom one of the fairest virgins in the country is monthly brought, and left in a private room, in the *fotoqui*, or church, where she sits alone to be deflowered. At certain times the Teuchedy (which is thought to be the devil) appears to her, and knoweth her carnally. Every month a fair virgin is taken in; but what becomes of the old, no man can tell. In that goodly temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon, there was a fair chapel, saith Herodotus,⁷ an eye-witness of it, in which was *splendide stratus lectus et apposita mensa aurea*, a brave bed, a table of gold, etc., into which no creature came but one only woman, which their god made choice of, as the Chaldean priests told him, and that their god lay with her himself,⁸ as at Thebes in Egypt was the like done of old. So that you see this is no news; the devils themselves, or their juggling priests, have played such pranks in all ages. Many divines stiffly contradict this; but I will conclude with Lipsius, that since "examples, testimonies, and confessions of those unhappy women are so manifest on the other side, and many even in this our town of Louvain, that it is likely to be so."⁹ One thing I will add, that I suppose that in no age past, I know not by what destiny of this unhappy time, have there ever appeared or showed themselves so many lecherous devils, satyrs, and genii, as in this of ours, as appears by the daily narrations and judicial sentences upon record."¹⁰ Read more of this question in Plutarch, *vit. Numæ*; Austin, *de Civ. Dei*, *lib. 15*; Wierus, *lib. 3 de præstig. Dæm.*; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerar. Camb. lib. 1*; Malleus

malefic. quæst. 5, *part.* 1; Jacobus Reussus, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 6, *fol.* 54; Godelman, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 4; Erastus; Valesius, *de sacra philo.* *cap.* 40; John Nider, *Formicar.* *lib.* 5, *cap.* 9; Stroz. Cicogna, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 3; Delrio; Lipsius; Bodine, *Dæmonol.* *lib.* 2, *cap.* 7; Pererius, *in Gen.* *lib.* 8, *in* 6 *cap.* *ver.* 2; King James, etc.

SUBJECT. II.—*How Love tyrannizeth over men. Love, or Heroical Melancholy, his definition, part affected*

You have heard how this tyrant Love rageth with brute beasts and spirits; now let us consider what passions it causeth amongst men.

*Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?*¹ [Cruel Love, to what dost thou not force the hearts of men?] How it tickles the hearts of mortal men, *horresco referens*, I am almost afraid to relate, amazed, and ashamed,² it hath wrought such stupend and prodigious effects, such foul offences. Love indeed (I may not deny) first united provinces, built cities, and by a perpetual generation makes and preserves mankind, propagates the Church; but if it rage, it is no more love, but burning lust, a disease, frenzy, madness, hell. *Est orcus ille, vis est immedicabilis, est rabies insana*; ³ 'tis no virtuous habit this, but a vehement perturbation of the mind, a monster of nature, wit, and art, as Alexis in Athenæus⁴ sets it out, *viriliter audax, muliebriter timidum, furore præceps, labore infractum, mell felleum, blanda percussio* [of masculine boldness and female timidity, headstrong and untamed, bitter honey, pleasant punishment], etc. It subverts kingdoms, overthrows cities, towns, families, mars, corrupts, and makes a massacre of men; thunder and lightning, wars, fires, plagues, have not done that mischief to mankind, as this burning lust, this brutish passion. Let Sodom and Gomorrah, Troy (which Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis will make good), and I know not how many cities bear record, *et fuit ante Helenam* [and these were also before Helen], etc.; all succeeding ages will subscribe: Joanna of Naples in Italy, Fredegunde and Brunhalt in France, all histories are full of these basilisks. Besides those daily monomachies, murders, effusion of blood, rapes, riot, and immoderate expense, to satisfy their lusts, beggary, shame, loss, torture, punishment, disgrace, loathsome diseases that proceed from thence, worse than calentures and pestilent fevers, those often

gouts, pox, arthritis, palsies, cramps, sciatica, convulsions, aches, combustions, etc., which torment the body, that feral melancholy which crucifies the soul in this life, and everlastingly torments in the world to come.

Notwithstanding they know these and many such miseries, threats, tortures, will surely come upon them, rewards, exhortations, *e contra* [on the other hand]; yet either out of their own weakness, a depraved nature, or love's tyranny, which so furiously rageth, they suffer themselves to be led like an ox to the slaughter; (*Facilis descensus Averni*) they go down headlong to their own perdition, they will commit folly with beasts, men "leaving the natural use of women," as Paul saith,¹ "burned in lust one towards another, and man with man wrought filthiness."

Semiramis equo, Pasiphae tauro, Aristo Ephesius asinae se commiscuit, Fulvius equae, alii canibus, capris, etc., unde monstrantur aliquando, Centauri, Sylvani, et ad terrorem hominum prodigiosa spectra. Nec cum brutis, sed ipsis hominibus rem habent, quod peccatum Sodomiae vulgo dicitur; et frequens olim vitium apud Orientalis illos fuit, Græcos nimirum, Italos, Afros, Asianos: Hercules Hylam habuit, Polycletum, Dionem, Perithoonta, Abderum et Phryga;² alii et Euristium ab Hercule amatum tradunt. Socrates pulchrorum adolescentum causa frequens gymnasium adibat, flagitiosoque spectaculo pascebat oculos, quod et Philebus et Phædo rivales, Charmides et reliqui Platonis dialogi satis superque testatum faciunt:³ quod vero Alcibiades de eodem Socrate loquatur, lubens conticesco, sed et abhorreo; tantum incitamentum præbet libidini. At hunc perstrinxit Theodoretus, lib. de curat. Græc. affect. cap. ultimo. Quin et ipse Plato suum demiratur Agathonem, Xenophon Cliniam, Virgilius Alexin, Anacreon Bathyllum. Quod autem de Nerone, Claudio, cæterorumque portentosa libidine memoriæ proditum, mallet a Petronio, Suetonio, cæterisque petatis, quando omnem fidem excedat, quam a me expectetis; sed vetera querimus. Apud Asianos, Turcas,⁴ Italos, nunquam frequentius hoc quam hodierno die vitium; Diana Romanorum Sodomia; officinae horum alicubi apud Turcas, qui saxis semina mandant, arenas arantes; et frequentes querelæ, etiam inter ipsos conjuges hac de re, quæ virorum concubitus illicitum calceo in oppositam partem verso magistratui indicant; nullum apud Italos familiare magis peccatum, qui et post Lucianum⁵ et Tatium,⁶ scriptis voluminibus defendunt. Johannes de la Casa, Beventinus Episcopus, divinum opus vocat, suave scelus, adeoque jactat se non alia usum Venere.

Nihil usitatius apud monachos, cardinales, sacrificulos, etiam furor hic ad mortem, ad insaniam.¹ Angelus Politianus,² ob pueri amorem, violentas sibi manus injecit. Et horrendum sane dictu, quantum apud nos patrum memoria, scelus detestandum hoc sævierit! Quum enim, anno 1538, prudentissimus Rex Henricus Octavus cucullatorum cœnobîa, et sacrificorum collegia, votariorum, per venerabiles legum Doctores Thomam Leum, Richardum Laytonum visitari fecerat, etc., tanto numero reperti sunt apud eos scortatores, cinædi, ganeones, pædicones, puerarii, pæderastæ, Sodomitæ (Balei³ verbis ulor), Ganymedes, etc., ut in unoquoque eorum novam credideris Gomorrhæam. Sed vide si lubet eorundem catalogum apud eundem Baleum; Puellæ (inquit) in lectis dormire non poterant ob fratres necromanticos. Hæc si apud votarios, monachos, sanctos scilicet homunciones, quid in foro, quid in aula factum suspiceris? quid apud nobiles, quid inter fornice, quam non fœditatem, quam non spurcitiem? Sileo interim turpes illas, et ne nominandas quidem, monachorum mastrupationes, masturbatores.⁴ Rodericus a Castro⁵ vocat, tum et eos qui se invicem ad Venerem excitandam flagris cœdunt, spintrias, succubas, ambubeias, et lasciviente lumbo tribadas illas mulierculas, quæ se invicem fricant, et præter eunuchos etiam ad Venerem explendam, artificiosa illa veretra habent. Immo quod magis mirere, femina feminam Constantinopoli non ita pridem deperiit, ausa rem plane incredibilem, mutato cultu mentita virum de nuptiis sermonem init, et brevi nupta est: sed auctorem ipsum consule, Busbequium. Omitto salinarios illos Ægyptiacos, qui cum formosarum cadaveribus concumbunt;⁶ et eorum vesanam libidinem, qui etiam idola et imagines depereunt. Nota est fabula Pygmalionis apud Ovidium;⁷ Mundi et Paulini apud Hegesippum, Belli Jud. lib. 2, cap. 4; Pontius, C. Cæsaris legatus, referente Plinio, lib. 35, cap. 3, quem suspicor eum esse qui Christum crucifixit, picturis Atalantæ et Helenæ adeo libidine incensus, ut tollere eas vellet si natura tectorii permisisset; alius statuam Bonæ Fortunæ deperiit (Ælianus, lib. 9, cap. 37), alius Bonæ Deæ, et ne qua pars probro vacet, raptus ad stupra (quod ait ille⁸) et ne os quidem a libidine exceptum.⁹ Heliogabalus per omnia cava corporis libidinem recepit (Lamprid. vita ejus). Hostius¹⁰ quidam specula fecit, et ita disposuit, ut quum virum ipse pateretur, aversus omnes admisarii motus in speculo videret, ac deinde falsa magnitudine ipsius membri tanquam vera gauderet, simul virum et feminam passus, quod dictu fœdum et abominandum. Ut veram plane sit, quod apud Plutarchum¹¹ Gryllus Ulyssi objecit. Ad hunc usque diem apud nos neque mas marem, neque femina feminam amavit,

qualia multa apud vos memorabiles et præclari viri fecerunt: ut viles missos faciam, Hercules imberbem sectans socium, amicos deseruit, etc. Vestræ libidines intra suos naturæ fines coerceri non possunt, quin instar fluvii exundantis atrocem fœditatem, tumultum, confusionemque naturæ gignant in re venerea: nam et capras, porcos, equos inierunt viri, et feminæ insano bestiarum amore exarserunt, unde Minotauri, Centauri, Sylvani, Sphinges, etc. *Sed ne consulando doceam, aut ea foras efferam, quæ non omnes scire convenit (hæc enim doctis solummodo, quod causa non absimili Rodericus,¹ scripta velim) ne levissimis ingeniis et depravatis mentibus fœdissimi sceleris notitiam, etc., nolo quem diutius hisce sordibus inquinare.*

I come at last to that heroical love, which is proper to men and women, is a frequent cause of melancholy, and deserves much rather to be called burning lust, than by such an honourable title. There is an honest love, I confess, which is natural, *laqueus occultus captivans corda hominum, ut a mulieribus non possint separari*, a secret snare to captivate the hearts of men, as Christopher Fonseca proves,² a strong allurements, of a most attractive, occult, adamantine property and powerful virtue, and no man living can avoid it. *Et qui vim non sensit amoris, aut lapis est, aut bellua*³ [he who does not feel the power of love is either a stone or an animal]. He is not a man but a block, a very stone, *aut numen, aut Nebuchadnezzar*⁴ [either a god or Nebuchadnezzar], he hath a gourd for his head, a *pepon* [pumpkin] for his heart, that hath not felt the power of it, and a rare creature to be found, one in an age, *Qui nunquam visæ flagravît amore puellæ* [in whom the sight of a maiden has never kindled love]; for *semel insanivimus omnes*, dote we either young or old, as he⁵ said, and none are excepted but Minerva and the Muses: so Cupid in Lucian⁶ complains to his mother Venus, that amongst all the rest his arrows could not pierce them. But this nuptial love is a common passion, an honest, for men to love in the way of marriage; *ut materia appetit formam, sic mulier virum* [as matter seeks form, so does woman man]. You know marriage is honourable, a blessed calling, appointed by God Himself in Paradise; it breeds true peace, tranquillity, content, and happiness, *qua nulla est aut fuit unquam sanctior conjunctio* [than which there is not nor ever has been any holier union], as Daphnæus in Plutarch⁷ could well prove, *et quæ generi humano immortalitatem parat* [which makes the human race immortal], when they live without jarring, scolding, lovingly as they should do.

*Felices ter et amplius
Quos irrupta tenent copula, nec ullis
Divulsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvit amor die.*¹

Thrice happy they, and more than that,
Whom bond of love so firmly ties,
That without brawls till death them part,
'Tis undissolv'd and never dies.

As Seneca lived with his Paulina, Abraham and Sarah, Orpheus and Eurydice, Arria and Pætus, Artemisia and Mausolus, Rubenius Celer, that would needs have it engraven on his tomb, he had led his life with Ennea, his dear wife, forty-three years eight months, and never fell out. There is no pleasure in this world comparable to it, 'tis *summum mortalitatis bonum* [the highest good of humanity], *hominum divinumque voluptas*, *Alma Venus*² [the delight of men and gods, bountiful Venus]; *latet enim in muliere aliquid majus potentiusque omnibus aliis humanis voluptatibus*, as one³ holds, there's something in a woman beyond all human delight; a magnetic virtue, a charming quality, an occult and powerful motive. The husband rules her as head, but she again commands his heart, he is her servant, she his only joy and content: no happiness is like unto it, no love so great as this of man and wife, no such comfort as *placens uxor*,⁴ a sweet wife:

*Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major;*⁵

[Love is ever great,
But greatest in the wedded state;]

when they love at last as fresh as they did at first, *caraque caro consenescit conjugi*⁶ [still dear companions as the years go on], as Homer brings Paris kissing Helen, after they had been married ten years, protesting withal that he loved her as dear as he did the first hour that he was betrothed. And in their old age, when they make much of one another, saying, as he did to his wife in the poet,

*Uxor, vivamus quod viximus, et moriamur,
Servantes nomen sumpsimus in thalamo;
Nec ferat ulla dies ut commutemur in ævo,
Quin tibi sim juvenis, tuque puella mihi.*⁷

Dear wife, let's live in love, and die together,
As hitherto we have in all good will:
Let no day change or alter our affections,
But let's be young to one another still.

Such should conjugal love be, still the same, and as they are

one flesh, so should they be of one mind, as in an aristocratical government, one consent, Geryon-like,¹ *coalescere in unum*, have one heart in two bodies, will and nill the same. A good wife, according to Plutarch, should be as a looking-glass to represent her husband's face and passion: if he be pleasant, she should be merry; if he laugh, she should smile; if he look sad, she should participate of his sorrow, and bear a part with him, and so they should continue in mutual love one towards another.

*Et me ab amore tuo deducet nulla senectus,
Sive ego Tithonus, sive ego Nestor ero.*²

No age shall part my love from thee, sweet wife,
Though I live Nestor or Tithonus' life.

And she again to him, as the bride saluted the bridegroom of old in Rome,³ *Ubi tu Caius, ego semper Caia*, Be thou still Caius, I'll be Caia.

'Tis a happy state this indeed, when the fountain is blessed (saith Solomon, Prov. v, 18), "and he rejoiceth with the wife of his youth, and she is to him as the loving hind and pleasant roe, and he delights in her continually." But this love of ours is immoderate, inordinate, and not to be comprehended in any bounds. It will not contain itself within the union of marriage, or apply to one object, but is a wandering, extravagant, a domineering, a boundless, an irrefragable, a destructive passion: sometimes this burning lust rageth after marriage, and then it is properly called jealousy; sometimes before, and then it is called heroical melancholy; it extends sometimes to corrivals, etc., begets rapes, incests, murders: *Marcus Antonius compressit Faustinae sororem, Caracalla Juliam novercam, Nero matrem, Caligula sorores, Cinyras Myrrham filiam, etc.* But it is confined within no terms of blood, years, sex, or whatsoever else. Some furiously rage before they come to discretion or age. Quartilla in Petronius never remembered she was a maid;⁴ and the Wife of Bath, in Chaucer, cracks,

Since I was twelve years old, believe,
Husbands at kirk-door had I five.

Aretine's Lucretia sold her maidenhead a thousand times before she was twenty-four years old, *plus millies vendiderant virginitatem, etc., neque te celabo, non deerant qui ut integram ambirent.*⁵ Rahab, that harlot, began to be a professed quean at ten years of age, and was but fifteen when she hid the spies, as Hugh Broughton proves,⁶ to whom Serrarius the Jesuit, *quæst. 6 in cap. 2 Josue*, subscribes. Generally women begin *pubescere*,

as they call it, or *catulire*, as Julius Pollux cites, *lib. 2, cap. 3*, *Onomast.* out of Aristophanes, at fourteen years old, then they do offer themselves, and some plainly rage.¹ Leo Afer saith,² that in Africa a man shall scarce find a maid at fourteen years of age, they are so forward, and many amongst us after they come into the teens do not live without husbands, but linger. What pranks in this kind the middle age have played is not to be recorded, *Si mihi sint centum linguæ, sint oraque centum* [if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths], no tongue can sufficiently declare, every story is full of men and women's insatiable lust, Neros, Heliogabali, Bonosi, etc. *Cælius Aufilenus, et Quintius Aufilenam depercut, etc.*³ They neigh after other men's wives (as Jeremy, *cap. v, 8*, complaineth) like fed horses, or range like town bulls, *raptores virginum et viduarum* [ravishers of widows and maids], as many of our great ones do. Solomon's wisdom was extinguished in this fire of lust, Samson's strength enervated, piety in Lot's daughters quite forgot, gravity of priesthood in Eli's sons, reverend old age in the Elders that would violate Susanna, filial duty in Absalom to his stepmother, brotherly love in Amnon towards his sister. Human, divine laws, precepts, exhortations, fear of God and men, fair, foul means, fame, fortunes, shame, disgrace, honour cannot oppose, stave off, or withstand the fury of it, *omnia vincit amor* [love subdues all], etc. No cord nor cable can so forcibly draw, or hold so fast, as love can do with a twined thread. The scorching beams under the equinoctial, or extremity of cold within the circle Arctic, where the very seas are frozen, cold or torrid zone cannot avoid or expel this heat, fury, and rage of mortal men.

*Quo fugis? ah, demens! nulla est fuga, tu licet usque
Ad Tanaim fugias, usque sequetur amor.*⁴

[Whither fleest thou, poor fool? There is no escape;
though thou flee to farthest Tanais, love will
still pursue thee.]

Of women's unnatural, insatiable lust, what country, what village doth not complain?⁵ Mother and daughter sometimes dote on the same man; father and son, master and servant on one woman.

*Sed amor, sed ineffrenata libido,
Quid castum in terris intentatumque reliquit?*⁶

[From the assaults of love and of unbridled passion
what upon earth has escaped chaste and inviolate?]

What breach of vows and oaths, fury, dotage, madness, might I reckon up! Yet this is more tolerable in youth, and such as are still in their hot blood; but for an old fool to dote, to see an old lecher, what more odious, what can be more absurd? and yet what so common? Who so furious? *Amare ea ætate si occiperint, multo insaniunt acrius*¹ [if they commence to love at that age, they become much more crazy]. Some dote then more than ever they did in their youth. How many decrepit, hoary, harsh, writhen, bursten-bellied, crooked, toothless, bald, blear-eyed, impotent, rotten old men shall you see flickering still in every place? One gets him a young wife, another a courtesan, and when he can scarce lift his leg over a sill, and hath one foot already in Charon's boat, when he hath the trembling in his joints, the gout in his feet, a perpetual rheum in his head, a continue cough, "his sight fails him, thick of hearing, his breath stinks,"² all his moisture is dried up and gone, may not spit from him, a very child again, that cannot dress himself, or cut his own meat, yet he will be dreaming of, and honing after wenches; what can be more unseemly? Worse it is in women than in men; when she is *ætate declivis, diu vidua, mater olim, parum decore matrimonium sequi videtur*, an old widow, a mother so long since (in Pliny's opinion³), she doth very unseemly seek to marry; yet whilst she is so old a crone,⁴ a beldam, she can neither see nor hear, go nor stand, a mere carcass,⁵ a witch, and scarce feel, she caterwauls, and must have a stallion, a champion, she must and will marry again, and betroth herself to some young man, that hates to look on [her] but for her goods,⁶ abhors the sight of her; to the prejudice of her good name, her own undoing, grief of friends, and ruin of her children.

But to enlarge or illustrate this power and effects of love is to set a candle in the sun. It rageth with all sorts and conditions of men,⁷ yet is most evident among such as are young and lusty, in the flower of their years, nobly descended, high fed, such as live idly and at ease; and for that cause (which our divines call burning lust) this *ferinus insanus amor*,⁸ this mad and beastly passion, as I have said, is named by our physicians heroical love, and a more honourable title put upon it, *amor nobilis*, as Savonarola styles it,⁹ because noble men and women make a common practice of it, and are so ordinarily affected with it. Avicenna, *lib. 3, fen. 1, tract. 4, cap. 23*, calleth this passion *Ilishi*, and defines it to be "a disease or melancholy vexation, or anguish of mind, in which a man continually meditates of the beauty, gesture, manners of his mistress, and

troubles himself about it";¹ "desiring" (as Savonarola adds) "with all intentions and eagerness of mind to compass or enjoy her; as commonly hunters trouble themselves about their sports, the covetous about their gold and goods, so is he tormented still about his mistress."² Arnoldus Villanovanus, in his book of heroical love, defines it "a continual cogitation of that which he desires, with a confidence or hope of compassing it";³ which definition his commentator cavils at. For continual cogitation is not the *genus*, but a symptom of love; we continually think of that which we hate and abhor, as well as that which we love; and many things we covet and desire, without all hope of attaining. Carolus à Lorme, in his Questions, makes a doubt, *an amor sit morbus*, whether this heroical love be a disease: Julius Pollux, *Onomast. lib. 6, cap. 44*, determines it. They that are in love are likewise sick;⁴ *lascivus, salax, lasciviens, et qui in venerem furit, vere est ægrotus*. Arnoldus will have it improperly so called, and a malady rather of the body than mind. Tully, in his Tusculans, defines it a furious disease of the mind; Plato, madness itself; Ficinus, his commentator, *cap. 12*, a species of madness, "for many have run mad for women" (1 Esdras, iv, 26); but Rhasis, "a melancholy passion";⁵ and most physicians make it a species or kind of melancholy (as will appear by the symptoms), and treat of it apart; whom I mean to imitate, and to discuss it in all his kinds, to examine his several causes, to show his symptoms, indications, prognostics, effects, that so it may be with more facility cured.

The part affected in the meantime, as Arnoldus supposeth,⁶ "is the former part of the head for want of moisture," which his commentator rejects. Langius, *Med. epist. lib. 1, cap. 24*, will have this passion sited in the liver, and to keep residence in the heart, "to proceed first from the eyes so carried by our spirits, and kindled with imagination in the liver and heart";⁷ *cogit amare jecur* [the liver compels to love], as the saying is. *Medium ferit per hepar* [he strikes right through the liver], as Cupid in Anacreon. For some such cause belike Homer⁸ feigns Titius' liver (who was enamoured of Latona) to be still gnawed by two vultures day and night in hell, "for that young men's bowels thus enamoured are so continually tormented by love."⁹ Gordonius, *cap. 2, part. 2*, "will have the testicles an immediate subject or cause, the liver an antecedent."¹⁰ Fracastorius agrees in this with Gordonius, *inde primitus imaginatio venerea, erectio, etc., titillatissimam partem vocat, ita ut nisi extruso*

semine gestiens voluptas non cessat, nec assidua veneris recordatio, addit Guastavinus, Comment. 4 sect. prob. 27 Arist. But properly it is a passion of the brain, as all other melancholy, by reason of corrupt imagination,¹ and so doth Jason Pratensis, *cap. 19 de morb. cerebri* (who writes copiously of this erotical love), place and reckon it amongst the affections of the brain. Melancthon, *de anima*,² confutes those that make the liver a part affected, and Guianerius, *tract. 15, cap. 13 et 17*, though many put all the affections in the heart, refers it to the brain. Ficinus, *cap. 7, in Convivium Platonis*, "will have the blood to be the part affected." Jo. Freitagius, *cap. 14 Noct. med.*, supposeth all four affected, heart, liver, brain, blood; but the major part concur upon the brain, 'tis *imaginatio læsa* [a disordered imagination], and both imagination and reason are misaffected; because of his corrupt judgment, and continual meditation of that which he desires, he may truly be said to be melancholy.³ If it be violent, or his disease inveterate, as I have determined in the precedent partitions, both imagination and reason are misaffected, first one, then the other.

MEMB. II.

SUBJECT. I.—*Causes of Heroical Love, Temperature, full Diet, Idleness, Place, Climate, etc.*

OF all causes the remotest are stars. Ficinus, *cap. 19*,⁴ saith they are most prone to this burning lust, that have Venus in Leo in their horoscope, when the Moon and Venus be mutually aspected, or such as be of Venus' complexion. Plutarch interprets astrologically that tale of Mars and Venus, "in whose genitures ♂ and ♀ are in conjunction," they are commonly lascivious, and if women, queans;⁵ as the goodwife of Bath confessed in Chaucer:

I followed aye mine inclination,
By virtue of my constellation.

But of all those astrological aphorisms which I have ever read, that of Cardan is most memorable, for which howsoever he is bitterly censured by Marinus Marcennus,⁶ a malapert friar, and some others (which he himself suspected⁷), yet methinks it is free, downright, plain and ingenuous. In his eighth

geniture,¹ or example, he hath these words of himself: *ꝛ ꝑ^h et ꝑ^h in ꝑ^h dignitatibus assiduam mihi venereorum cogitationem præstabant, ita ut nunquam quiescam.* Et paulo post, *Cogitatio venereorum me torquet perpetuo, et quam facto implere non licuit, aut fecisse potentem puduit, cogitatione assidua mentitus sum voluptatem.* Et alibi, *Ob ꝑ^h et ꝑ^h dominium et radiorum mixtionem, profundum fuit ingenium, sed lascivum, egoque turpi libidini deditus et obscænus.* So far Cardan of himself, *quod de se fatetur ideo ut utilitatem adferat studiosis hujusce disciplinæ,*² and for this he is traduced by Marcennus, whenas in effect he saith no more than what Gregory Nazianzen of old to Chilo his scholar, *Offerebant se mihi visendæ mulieres, quarum præcellenti elegantia et decore spectabili tentabatur meæ integritas pudicitiae. Et quidem flagitium vitavi fornicationis, at munditiæ virginalis florem arcana cordis cogitatione fœdavi. Sed ad rem.* Aptiores ad masculinam venerem sunt quorum genesi Venus est in signo masculino, et in Saturni finibus aut oppositione, etc. Ptolemæus in *Quadripart.* plura de his et specialia habet aphorismata, longo procul dubio usu confirmata, et ab experientia multa perfecta, inquit commentator ejus Cardanus. Tho. Campanella, *Astrologiæ lib. 4, cap. 8, articulis 4 et 5*, insaniam amatoriam remonstrantia, multa præ cæteris accumulât aphorismata, quæ qui volet, consulat. Chiromantici ex cingulo Veneris plerumque conjecturam faciunt, et monte Veneris, de quorum decretis, Taisnierum, Johan. de Indagine, Goclenium, ceterosque si lubet, inspicias. Physicians divine wholly from the temperature and complexion; phlegmatic persons are seldom taken, according to Ficinus, *Comment. cap. 9*; naturally melancholy less than they, but once taken they are never freed; though many are of opinion flatuous or hypochondriacal melancholy are most subject of all others to this infirmity. Valescus assigns their strong imagination for a cause, Bodine abundance of wind, Gordonius of seed, and spirits or atomi in the seed, which cause their violent and furious passions. Sanguine thence are soon caught, young folks most apt to love, and by their good wills, saith Lucian,³ "would have a bout with every one they see": the colt's evil is common to all complexions. Theomnestus, a young and lusty gallant, acknowledgeth (in the said author) all this to be verified in him: "I am so amorously given, you may sooner number the sea-sands, and snow falling from the skies, than my several loves. Cupid had shot all his arrows at me, I am deluded with various desires, one love succeeds another, and that so soon, that before one is ended, I begin with

a second; she that is last is still fairest, and she that is present pleaseth me most: as an hydra's head my loves increase, no Iolaus can help me. Mine eyes are so moist a refuge and sanctuary of love, that they draw all beauties to them, and are never satisfied. I am in a doubt what fury of Venus this should be. Alas, how have I offended her so to vex me? what Hippolytus am I?"¹ What Telchin is my genius? or is it a natural imperfection, an hereditary passion? Another in Anacreon² confesseth that he had twenty sweethearts in Athens at once, fifteen at Corinth, as many at Thebes, at Lesbos, and at Rhodes, twice as many in Ionia, thrice in Caria, twenty thousand in all: or in a word, *el φύλλα πάντα*, etc.:

*Folia arborum omnium si
Nosti referre cuncta,
Aut computare arenas
In æquore universas,
Solum meorum amorum
Te fecero logistam.*

Canst count the leaves in May,
Or sand i' th' ocean sea?
Then count my loves I pray.

His eyes are like a balance, apt to propend each way, and to be weighed down with every wench's looks, his heart a weather-cock, his affection tinder, or naphtha itself, which every fair object, sweet smile, or mistress' favour sets on fire. Guianerius, *tract. 15 cap. 14*, refers all this to "the hot temperature of the testicles";³ Ferrandus, a Frenchman, in his *Erotique Mel.* (which book came first to my hands after the third edition⁴) to certain atomi in the seed, "such as are very spermatic and full of seed." I find the same in *Aristotle, sect. 4, prob. 17, Si non secernatur semen, cessare lentigines non possunt*, as Guastavinus his commentator translates it: for which cause these young men that be strong set, of able bodies, are so subject to it. Hercules de Saxonia hath the same words in effect. But most part, I say, such are aptest to love that are young and lusty, live at ease, stall-fed, free from cares, like cattle in a rank pasture, idle and solitary persons, they must needs *hirquitallire* [play the goat], as Guastavinus recites out of Censorinus.

*Mens erit apta capi tum quum latissima rerum.
Ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo.*⁵

The mind is apt to lust, and hot or cold,
As corn luxuriates in a better mould.

The place itself makes much wherein we live, the clime, air, and discipline if they concur. In our Mysia, saith Galen, near to Pergamus, thou shalt scarce find an adulterer, but many at Rome, by reason of the delights of the seat. It was that plenty of all things, which made Corinth¹ so infamous of old, and the opportunity of the place to entertain those foreign comers; every day strangers came in, at each gate, from all quarters. In that one temple of Venus a thousand whores did prostitute themselves, as Strabo writes, besides Lais and the rest of better note: all nations resorted thither, as to a school of Venus. Your hot and southern countries are prone to lust, and far more incontinent than those that live in the north, as Bodine discourseth at large, *Method. hist. cap. 5. Molles Asiatici* [the Orientals are amorous]; so are Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, even all that latitude; and in those tracts, such as are more fruitful, plentiful, and delicious, as Valence in Spain, Capua in Italy, *domicilium luxus* [a home of luxury] Tully terms it, and (which Hannibal's soldiers can witness) Canopus in Egypt, Sybaris, Phæacia, Baiæ, Cyprus, Lamp-sacus.² In Naples³ the fruits of the soil and pleasant air enervate their bodies, and alter constitutions: insomuch that Florus calls it *certamen Bacchi et Veneris* [a contest between Bacchus and Venus], but Foliot⁴ admires it. In Italy and Spain they have their stews in every great city, as in Rome, Venice, Florence, wherein, some say, dwell ninety thousand inhabitants, of which ten thousand are courtesans; and yet for all this, every gentleman almost hath a peculiar mistress; fornications, adulteries, are nowhere so common: *urbs est jam tota lupanar*; how should a man live honest amongst so many provocations? Now if vigour of youth, greatness, liberty I mean, and that impunity of sin which grandees take unto themselves in this kind shall meet, what a gap must it needs open to all manner of vice, with what fury will it rage! For, as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist observes,⁵ *libido consecuta quum fuerit materiam improbam, et præruptam licentiam, et effrenatam audaciam* [when lust finds a vicious subject with unrestrained passion and utter shamelessness], etc., what will not lust effect in such persons? For commonly princes and great men make no scruple at all of such matters, but with that whore in Spartian, *quicquid libet licet*, they think they may do what they list, profess it publicly, and rather brag with Proculus (that writ to a friend of his in Rome, what famous exploits he had done in that kind⁶) than any way be abashed at it. Nicholas Sanders relates of Henry VIII⁷

(I know not how truly), *quod paucas vidit pulchriores quas non concupierit, et paucissimas non concupierit quas non violarit*, he saw very few [pretty] maids that he did not desire, and desired fewer whom he did not enjoy: nothing so familiar amongst them, 'tis most of their business: Sardanapalus, Messalina, and Joan of Naples are not comparable to meaner men and women¹; Solomon of old had a thousand concubines; Ahasuerus his eunuchs and keepers; Nero his Tigellinus, panders, and bawds; the Turks, Muscovites, Mogors, Xeriffs of Barbary, and Persian Sophies, are no whit inferior to them in our times. *Delectus fit omnium puellarum toto regno forma præstantiorum* (saith Jovius²) *pro imperatore; et quas ille linquit, nobiles habent* [there is a levy throughout the kingdom of girls of striking beauty for the emperor; and those whom he leaves go to the nobles]; they press and muster up wenches as we do soldiers, and have their choice of the rarest beauties their countries can afford, and yet all this cannot keep them from adultery, incest, sodomy, buggery, and such prodigious lusts. We may conclude, that if they be young, fortunate, rich, high-fed, and idle withal, it is almost impossible that they should live honest, not rage, and precipitate themselves into these inconveniences of burning lust.

*Otium et reges prius et beatas
Perdidit urbes.*³

[Rich kings and cities fair to naught
By idle dalliance have been brought.]

Idleness overthrows all, *Vacuo pectore regnat amor*, love tyrannizeth in an idle person. *Amore abundas, Antipho* [thou overflowest with love, Antipho]. If thou hast nothing to do, *Invidia vel amore miser torquerere*.⁴ thou shalt be haled in pieces with envy, lust, some passion or other. *Homines nihil agendo male agere discunt* [through doing nothing men learn to do ill]. 'Tis Aristotle's simile, "As match or touchwood takes fire, so doth an idle person love."⁵ *Quæritur Ægisthus quare sit factus adulter*, etc., why was Ægisthus a whoremaster? You need not ask a reason of it. Ismenodora stole Baccho, a woman forced a man, as Aurora did Cephalus:⁶ no marvel, saith Plutarch,⁷ *luxurians opibus more hominum mulier agit*: she was rich, fortunate and jolly, and doth but as men do in that case, as Jupiter did by Europa, Neptune by Amymone. The poets therefore did well to feign all shepherds lovers, to give themselves to songs and dalliances, because they lived such idle lives. For

love, as Theophrastus defines it, is *otiosi animi affectus*,¹ an affection of an idle mind,² or as Seneca describes it, *Juventa gignitur, luxu nutritur, feriis alitur, otioque inter lætæ fortunæ bona*, youth begets it, riot maintains it, idleness nourisheth it, etc., which makes Gordonius the physician, *cap. 20, part. 2*, call this disease the proper passion of nobility.³ Now if a weak judgment and a strong apprehension do concur, how, saith Hercules de Saxonia, shall they resist? Savonarola appropriates it almost to "monks, friars, and religious persons, because they live solitarily, fare daintily, and do nothing":⁴ and well he may, for how should they otherwise choose?

Diet alone is able to cause it: a rare thing to see a young man or a woman that lives idly and fares well, of what condition soever, not to be in love. Alcibiades⁵ was still dallying with wanton young women, immoderate in his expenses, effeminate in his apparel, ever in love, but why? he was over-delicate in his diet, too frequent and excessive in banquets. *Ubicunque securitas, ibi libido dominatur*: lust and security domineer together, as St. Hierome averreth. All which the Wife of Bath in Chaucer freely justifies:

For all to sicker, as cold engrendreth hail,
A liquorish tongue must have a liquorish tail.

Especially if they shall further it by choice diet, as many times those Sybarites and Phæaces do, feed liberally, and by their good will eat nothing else but lascivious meats. *Vinum imprimis generosum*,⁶ *legumen, fabas, radices omnium generum bene conditas, et largo pipere aspersas, carduos hortulanos, lactucas, erucas*,⁷ *rapas, porros, cæpas, nucem piceam, amygdalas dulces, electuaria, syrupos, succos, cochleas, conchas, pisces optime præparatos, aviculas, testiculos animalium, ova, condimenta diversorum generum, molles lectos, pulvinaria, etc. Et quicquid fere medici impotentia rei venereæ laboranti præscribunt, hoc quasi diasatyron habent in deliciis, et his dapes multo delicatiores; mulsum, exquisitas et exoticas fruges, aromata, placentas, expressos succos multis ferculis variatos, ipsumque vinum suavitate vincentes, et quicquid culina, pharmacopœia, aut quæque fere officina subministrare possit.* [First and foremost strong wine, vegetables, beans, roots of all kinds, well seasoned and with plenty of pepper, garden radishes, lettuces, rocket, rapes, leeks, onions, pine-nuts, sweet almonds, electuaries, syrups, juices, snails, shell-fish, fish tastefully cooked, poultry, testicles of animals, eggs, various sauces, soft beds and couches, etc. Also . . . more delicate

dishes, mulled wine, choice fruits, scents, cakes, essences more tasty than wine, and all the products of the kitchen, the chemist's shop, or any other factory.] *Et hoc plerumque victu quum se ganeones infarciant, ut ille¹ ob Chrysidem suam, se bulbis et cochleis curavit; etiam ad Venerem se parent, et ad hanc palæstram se exerceant, qui fieri possit, ut non misere depereant, ut non penitus insaniant?*² *Æstuans venter cito despuat in libidinem, Hieronymus ait. Post prandia Callyroen da.*³ *Quis enim continere se potest? Luxuriosa res vinum,*⁴ *fomentum libidinis vocat Augustinus; blandum dæmonem, Bernardus; lac veneris, Aristophanes. Non Ætna, non Vesuvius tantis ardoribus æstuant, ut juveniles medullæ vino plenæ, addit Hieronymus:*⁵ *unde ob optimum vinum Lampsacus olim Priapo sacer: et venerandi Bacchi socia, apud Orpheum:*⁶ *Venus audit. Hæc si vinum simplex, et per se sumptum præstare possit (nam, Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum? ⁷), quam non insaniam, quem non furorem a cæteris expectemus? Gomesius*⁸ *salem enumerat inter ea quæ intempestivam libidinem provocare solent, et salaciores fieri feminas ob esum salis contendit: Venerem ideo dicunt ab Oceano ortam.*

*Unde tot in Veneta scortorum millia cursant?
In promptu causa est, est Venus orta mari.**

Et hinc fœta mater Salacea Oceani conjux, *verbumque fortasse salax a sale effluxit. Mala Bacchica tantum olim in amoribus prævaluerunt, ut coronæ ex illis statuæ Bacchi ponerentur. Cubebis in vino maceratis utuntur Indi Orientales ad Venerem excitandum,*¹⁰ *et Surax radice Africani.*¹¹ *Chinæ radix eosdem effectus habet, talisque herbæ meminit, Mag. nat. lib. 2, cap. 16, Baptista Porta ex India allatæ,*¹² *cujus mentionem facit et Theophrastus. Sed infinita his similia apud Rhasin, Matthiolum, Mizaldum, cæterosque medicos occurrunt, quorum ideo mentionem feci, ne quis imperitior in hos scopulos impingat, sed pro virili tanquam syrtes et cautes consilio effugiat.*

SUBJECT. II.—*Other causes of Love-Melancholy, Sight, Beauty from the face, eyes, other parts, and how it pierceth*

Many such causes may be reckoned up, but they cannot avail, except opportunity be offered of time, place, and those other beautiful objects, or artificial enticements, as kissing, conference, discourse, gestures, concur, with such-like lascivious

provocations. Kornmannus, in his book *de linea amoris*, makes five degrees of lust, out of Lucian¹ belike, which he handles in five chapters, *Visus*, *Colloquium*, *Convictus*, *Oscula*, *Tactus* [sight, converse, companionship, kissing, touch]. Sight, of all other, is the first step of this unruly love, though sometimes it be prevented by relation or hearing, or rather incensed. For there be those so apt, credulous, and facile to love, that if they hear of a proper man, or woman, they are in love before they see them, and that merely by relation, as Achilles Tatius observes. "Such is their intemperance and lust, that they are as much maimed by report as if they saw them."² Callisthenes, a rich young gentleman of Byzance in Thrace, hearing of Leucippe, Sostratus' fair daughter, was far in love with her, and, out of fame and common rumour, so much incensed, that he would needs have her to be his wife."³ And sometimes by reading they are so affected, as he in Lucian confesseth of himself, "I never read that place of Panthea in Xenophon, but I am as much affected as if I were present with her."⁴ Such persons commonly feign a kind of beauty to themselves;⁵ and so did those three gentlewomen in Balthasar Castilio⁶ fall in love with a young man whom they never knew, but only heard him commended: or by reading of a letter; for there is a grace cometh from hearing, as a moral philosopher informeth us, "as well from sight; and the species of love are received into the phantasy by relation alone":⁷ *ut cupere ab aspectu, sic velle ab auditu*,⁸ both senses affect. *Interdum et absentes amamus*, sometimes we love those that are absent, saith Philostratus, and gives instance in his friend Athenorodus, that loved a maid at Corinth whom he never saw; *non oculi sed mens videt*, we see with the eyes of our understanding.

But the most familiar and usual cause of love is that which comes by sight, which conveys those admirable rays of beauty and pleasing graces to the heart. Plotinus derives love from sight, *ἔργως quasi ὁραοῖς*. *Si nescis, oculi sunt in amore duces*,⁹ the eyes are the harbingers of love, and the first step of love is sight, as Lilius Giralduus proves at large, *Hist. deor. syntag.* 13;¹⁰ they as two sluices let in the influences of that divine, powerful, soul-ravishing, and captivating beauty, which, as one saith,¹¹ "is sharper than any dart or needle, wounds deeper into the heart; and opens a gap through our ears to that lovely wound, which pierceth the soul itself." "Through it love is kindled like a fire" (Ecclus. ix, 8). This amazing, confounding, admirable, amiable beauty, "than which in all nature's treasure"

(saith Isocrates) "there is nothing so majestical and sacred, nothing so divine, lovely, precious,"¹ 'tis nature's crown, gold and glory; *bonum si non summum, de summis tamen non infrequenter triumphans* [if it is not the highest good, it yet frequently triumphs over the highest], whose power hence may be discerned: we condemn and abhor generally such things as are foul and ugly to behold, account them filthy, but love and covet that which is fair. 'Tis beauty in all things which pleaseth and allureth us,² a fair hawk, a fine garment, a goodly building, a fair house, etc. That Persian Xerxes, when he destroyed all those temples of the gods in Greece, caused that of Diana *in integrum servari*, to be spared alone for that excellent beauty and magnificence of it. Inanimate beauty can so command. 'Tis that which painters, artificers, orators, all aim at, as Erixymachus, the physician in Plato, contends. "It was beauty first that ministered occasion to art, to find out the knowledge of carving, painting, building, to find out models, perspectives, rich furnitures, and so many rare inventions."³ Whiteness in the lily, red in the rose, purple in the violet, a lustre in all things without life, the clear light of the moon, the bright beams of the sun, splendour of gold, purple, sparkling diamond, the excellent feature of the horse, the majesty of the lion, the colour of birds, peacocks' tails, the silver scales of fish, we behold with singular delight and admiration. "And [that] which is rich in plants, delightful in flowers, wonderful in beasts, but most glorious in men,"⁴ doth make us affect and earnestly desire it, as when we hear any sweet harmony, an eloquent tongue, see any excellent quality, curious work of man, elaborate art, or aught that is exquisite, there ariseth instantly in us a longing for the same. We love such men, but most part for comeliness of person; we call them gods and goddesses, divine, serene, happy, etc. And of all mortal men they alone (Calcagninus holds⁵) are free from calumny; *qui divitiis, magistratu et gloria florent, injuria laceessimus*, we backbite, wrong, hate renowned, rich, and happy men, we repine at their felicity, they are undeserving, we think, fortune is a stepmother to us, a parent to them. "We envy" (saith Isocrates⁶) "wise, just, honest men, except with mutual offices and kindnesses, some good turn or other, they extort this love from us; only fair persons we love at first sight, desire their acquaintance, and adore them as so many gods: we had rather serve them than command others, and account ourselves the more beholding to them, the more service they enjoin us,"

though they be otherwise vicious, dishonest; we love them, favour them, and are ready to do them any good office for their beauty's sake,¹ though they have no other good quality beside. *Dic igitur, o formose adolescens* (as that eloquent Phavorinus breaks out in Stobæus²), *dic, Autolyce, suavius nectare loqueris; dic, o Telemache, vehementius Ulysse dicis; dic, Alcibiades, ut-cunque ebrius, libentius tibi licet ebrio auscultabimus*. "Speak, fair youth, speak, Autolycus, thy words are sweeter than nectar; speak, O Telemachus, thou art more powerful than Ulysses; speak, Alcibiades, though drunk, we will willingly hear thee as thou art." Faults in such are no faults: for when the said Alcibiades³ had stolen Anytus his gold and silver plate, he was so far from prosecuting so foul a fact (though every man else condemned his impudence and insolency) that he wished it had been more, and much better (he loved him dearly) for his sweet sake. No worth is eminent in such lovely persons, all imperfections hid; *non enim facile de his quos plurimum diligimus, turpitudinem suspicamur* [we do not readily suspect baseness in those whom we love], for hearing, sight, touch, etc., our mind and all our senses are captivated, *omnes sensus formosus delectat*. Many men have been preferred for their person alone, chosen kings, as amongst the Indians, Persians,⁴ Ethiopians of old the properest man of person the country could afford was elected their sovereign lord: *Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus* [worth pleases more in a fair bearer]; and so have many other nations thought and done, as Curtius observes; *ingens enim in corporis maiestate veneratio est*, for there is a majestical presence in such men; and so far was beauty adored amongst them, that no man was thought fit to reign that was not in all parts complete and supereminent. Agis, King of Lacedæmon, had like to have been deposed, because he married a little wife; they would not have their royal issue degenerate. Who would ever have thought that Adrian the Fourth, an English monk's bastard (as Papirius Massovius writes in his life⁶), *inops a suis relictus, squalidus et miser*, a poor forsaken child, should ever come to be Pope of Rome? But why was it? *Erat acri ingenio, facundia expedita, eleganti corpore, facieque læta ac hilari* (as he follows it out of Nubrigensis,⁷ for he ploughs with his heifer), he was wise, learned, eloquent, of a pleasant, a promising countenance, a goodly, proper man; he had, in a word, a winning look of his own, and that carried it, for that he was especially advanced. So "Saul was a goodly person and a fair." Maximinus elected

emperor, etc. Branchus, the son of Apollo, whom he begot of Jance, Succron's daughter (saith Lactantius), when he kept King Admetus' herds in Thessaly, now grown a man, was an earnest suitor to his mother to know his father; the nymph denied him, because Apollo had conjured her to the contrary; yet overcome by his importunity at last she sent him to his father; when he came into Apollo's presence, *malas dei reverenter osculatus* [having reverently kissed the cheeks of the god], he carried himself so well, and was so fair a young man, that Apollo was infinitely taken with the beauty of his person, he could scarce look off him, and said he was worthy of such parents, gave him a crown of gold, the spirit of divination, and in conclusion made him a demigod. *O vis superba formæ!* [What proud strength is in beauty!], a goddess beauty is, whom the very gods adore, *nam pulchros dii amant*; she is *amoris domina* [love's mistress], love's harbinger, love's loadstone, a witch, a charm, etc. Beauty is a dower of itself, a sufficient patrimony, an ample commendation, an accurate epistle, as Lucian,¹ Apuleius,² Tiraquellus, and some others conclude. *Imperio digna forma*, beauty deserves a kingdom, saith Abulensis, *Paradox. 2, cap. 110*, immortality; and "more have got this honour and eternity for their beauty, than for all other virtues besides":³ and such as are fair "are worthy to be honoured of God and men."⁴ That Idalian Ganymede was therefore fetched by Jupiter into heaven. Hephæstion dear to Alexander, Antinous to Hadrian. Plato calls beauty for that cause a privilege of nature, *naturæ gaudentis opus*, nature's masterpiece, a dumb comment; Theophrastus, a silent fraud; still rhetoric, Carneades, that persuades without speech, a kingdom without a guard, because beautiful persons command as so many captains; Socrates, a tyranny, "which tyrannizeth over tyrants themselves"; which made Diogenes belike call proper women queens, *quod facerent homines quæ præciperent*, because men were so obedient to their commands. They will adore, cringe, compliment, and bow to a common wench (if she be fair) as if she were a noblewoman, a countess, a queen, or a goddess. Those intemperate young men of Greece erected at Delphi a golden image with infinite cost, to the eternal memory of Phryne the courtesan, as Ælian relates,⁵ for she was a most beautiful woman, insomuch, saith Athenæus, that Apelles and Praxiteles drew Venus' picture from her. Thus young men will adore and honour beauty; nay kings themselves I say will do it, and voluntarily submit their sovereignty to a lovely woman.

"Wine is strong, kings are strong, but a woman strongest" (1 Esdras iii, 10), as Zorobabel proved at large to King Darius, his princes and noblemen. "Kings sit still and command sea and land, etc., all pay tribute to the king; but women make kings pay tribute, and have dominion over them. When they have got gold and silver, they submit all to a beautiful woman, give themselves wholly to her, gape and gaze on her, and all men desire her more than gold or silver, or any precious thing: they will leave father and mother, and venture their lives for her, labour and travel to get, and bring all their gains to women, steal, fight, and spoil for their mistresses' sakes. And no king so strong, but a fair woman is stronger than he is. All things" (as he proceeds¹) "fear to touch the king; yet I saw him and Apame his concubine, the daughter of the famous Bartacus, sitting on the right hand of the king, and she took the crown off his head, and put it on her own, and stroke him with her left hand; yet the king gaped and gazed on her, and when she laughed he laughed, and when she was angry he flattered to be reconciled to her." So beauty commands even kings themselves; nay, whole armies and kingdoms are captivated together with their kings. *Forma vincit armatos, ferrum pulchritudo captivat; vincentur specie, qui non vincentur prælio*² [beauty conquers warriors, grace overcomes the sword; they will be subdued by beauty who are not subdued in battle]. And 'tis a great matter, saith Xenophon,³ "and of which all fair persons may worthily brag, that a strong man must labour for his living if he will have aught, a valiant man must fight and endanger himself for it, a wise man speak, show himself, and toil; but a fair and beautiful person doth all with ease, he compasseth his desire without any painstaking": God and men, heaven and earth conspire to honour him; every one pities him above other, if he be in need, and all the world is willing to do him good.⁴ Chariclea fell into the hand of pirates, but when all the rest were put to the edge of the sword, she alone was preserved for her person.⁵ When Constantinople was sacked by the Turk, Irene escaped, and was so far from being made a captive, that she even captivated the Grand Signior himself.⁶ So did Rosamond insult over King Henry the Second:

I was so fair an object;
Whom fortune made my king, my love made subject;
He found by proof the privilege of beauty,
That it had power to countermand all duty.⁷

It captivates the very gods themselves, *morosiora numina* [the more austere deities]:

Deus ipse deorum
*Factus ob hanc formam bos, equus, imber, olor.*¹

[The king of the gods for the sake of this beauty made himself a bull, a horse, a shower, a swan.]

And those *mali genii* [evil spirits] are taken with it, as I have already proved.² *Formosam barbari verentur, et ad aspectum pulchrum immanis animus mansuescit* (Heliodorus, *lib. 5*): the barbarians stand in awe of a fair woman, and at a beautiful aspect a fierce spirit is pacified. For whenas Troy was taken, and the wars ended (as Clemens Alexandrinus³ quotes out of Euripides), angry Menelaus, with rage and fury armed, came with his sword drawn, to have killed Helena with his own hands, as being the sole cause of all those wars and miseries; but when he saw her fair face, as one amazed at her divine beauty, he let his weapon fall, and embraced her besides; he had no power to strike so sweet a creature. *Ergo hebetantur enses pulchritudine*, the edge of a sharp sword (as the saying is) is dulled with a beautiful aspect, and severity itself is overcome. Hyperides the orator, when Phryne his client was accused at Athens for her lewdness, used no other defence in her cause, but tearing her upper garment, disclosed her naked breast to the judges, with which comeliness of her body and amiable gesture they were so moved and astonished that they did acquit her forthwith, and let her go. O noble piece of justice! mine author exclaims: and who is he that would not rather lose his seat and robes, forfeit his office, than give sentence against the majesty of beauty? Such prerogatives have fair persons, and they alone are free from danger. Parthenopæus was so lovely and fair, that when he fought in the Theban wars, if his face had been by chance bare, no enemy would offer to strike at or hurt him, such immunities hath beauty. Beasts themselves are moved with it. Sinalda was a woman of such excellent feature, and a queen, that when she was to be trodden on by wild horses for a punishment, "the wild beasts stood in admiration of her person" (Saxo Grammaticus, *lib. 8 Dan. Hist.*) "and would not hurt her."⁴ Wherefore did that royal virgin in Apuleius,⁵ when she fled from the thieves' den, in a desert, make such an apostrophe to her ass on whom she rode (for what knew she to the contrary, but that he was an ass?): *Si me parentibus et proco formoso reddideris, quas tibi gratias,*

quos honores habebo, quos cibos exhibebo? [If you take me back to my parents and my fair betrothed I shall be grateful to you and honour you without end, I shall give you the finest food.] She would comb him, dress him, feed him, and trick him every day herself, and he should work no more, toil no more, but rest and play, etc. And besides, she would have a dainty picture drawn, in perpetual remembrance, a virgin riding upon an ass's back, with this motto, *Asino vectore regia virgo fugiens captivitatem* [a royal maid riding upon an ass to escape captivity]. Why said she all this? why did she make such promises to a dumb beast? but that she perceived the poor ass to be taken with her beauty; for he did often *obliquo collo pedes puellæ decoros basiare*, kiss her feet as she rode, *et ad delicatulas vocolas tentabat adhinnire*, offer to give consent as much as in him was to her delicate speeches, and besides he had some feeling, as she conceived, of her misery. And why did Theagines' horse in Heliodorus¹ curvet, prance, and go so proudly, *exultans alacriter et superbiens*, etc., but that sure, as mine author supposeth, he was in love with his master? *dixisses ipsum equum pulchrum intelligere pulchram domini formam* [you would have said that the horse itself was aware of the beauty of its master]. A fly lighted on Malthius' cheek as he lay asleep:² but why? Not to hurt him, as a parasite of his, standing by, well perceived, *non ut pungeret, sed ut oscularetur*, but certainly to kiss him, as ravished with his divine looks. Inanimate creatures, I suppose, have a touch of this. When a drop of Psyche's candle fell on Cupid's shoulder,³ I think sure it was to kiss it. When Venus ran to meet her rose-cheeked Adonis, as an elegant poet of ours⁴ sets her out,

The bushes in the way
Some catch her neck, some kiss her face,
Some twine about her legs to make her stay,
And all did covet her for to embrace.

Aer ipse amore inficitur, as Heliodorus holds, the air itself is in love: for when Hero played upon her lute,

The wanton air in twenty sweet forms danc't
After her fingers,⁵

and those lascivious winds stayed Daphne when she fled from Apollo:

*Nudabant corpora venti,
Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes.*⁶

[The wind exposed her limbs as her garments fluttered
in the breeze.]

Boreas ventus [the North Wind] loved Hyacinthus, and Orithyia, Erectheus' daughter of Athens: *vi rapuit*, etc., he took her away by force, as she was playing with other wenches at Ilissus, and begat Zetes and Calais his two sons of her. That seas and waters are enamoured with this our beauty, is all out as likely as that of the air and winds; for when Leander swimm'd in the Hellespont, Neptune with his trident did beat down the waves, but they

Still mounted up, intending to have kissed him,
And fell in drops like tears because they missed him.

The river Alpheus was in love with Arethusa, as she tells the tale herself:¹

*Viridesque manu siccata capillos,
Fluminis Alpher veteres recitavit amores :
Pars ego Nympharum, etc.*

[As with her hand she wiped the moisture from her green tresses, she thus recounted the bygone love of the stream Alpheus. "I was once a nymph," etc.]

When our Thame and Isis meet,

*Oscula mille sonant, connexu brachia pallent,
Mutuaque explicitis connectunt colla lacertis*²

[They exchanged a thousand kisses, and with arms intertwined hang on each other's neck.]

Inachus and Peneus, and how many loving rivers can I reckon up, whom beauty hath enthralled! I say nothing all this while of idols themselves that have committed idolatry in this kind, of looking-glasses that have been rapt in love (if you will believe poets³), when their ladies and mistresses looked on to dress them.

*Et si non habeo sensum, tua gratia sensum
Exhibet, et calidi sentio amoris onus.
Dirigis huc quoties spectantia lumina, flamma
Succendunt inopi saucia membra mihi.*

Though I no sense at all of feeling have,
Yet your sweet looks do animate and save;
And when your speaking eyes do this way turn,
Methinks my wounded members live and burn.

I could tell you such another story of a spindle that was fired by a fair lady's looks,⁴ or fingers, some say, I know not well whether, but fired it was by report, and of a cold bath that suddenly smoked and was very hot when naked Cælia came

into it: *Miramur quis sit tantus et unde vapor* [we marvel whence comes this great steam], etc. But of all the tales in this kind, that is the most memorable of Death himself, when he should have stroken a sweet young virgin with his dart, he fell in love with the object.¹ Many more such could I relate which are to be believed with a poetical faith. So dumb and dead creatures dote, but men are mad, stupefied many times at the first sight of beauty, amazed, as that fisherman in Aristænetus, that spied a maid bathing herself by the sea-side:²

*Soluta mihi sunt omnia membra
A capite ad calcem, sensusque omnis periiit
De pectore, iam immensus stupor animam invasit mihi.*³

[My limbs quivered, I shook from head to foot, my senses left me, I was utterly dazed and stupefied.]

And as Lucian, in his Images, confesses of himself, that he was at his mistress's presence void of all sense, immovable, as if he had seen a Gorgon's head:⁴ which was no such cruel monster (as Cælius interprets it, *lib. 3, cap. 9*⁵), "but the very quintessence of beauty," some fair creature, as without doubt the poet understood in the first fiction of it, at which the spectators were amazed. *Miseri quibus intentata nites*,⁶ poor wretches are compelled at the very sight of her ravishing looks to run mad, or make away themselves.

They wait the sentence of her scornful eyes;
And whom she favours lives, the other dies.⁷

Heliodorus, *lib. 1*, brings in Thyamis almost besides himself, when he saw Chariclea first, and not daring to look upon her a second time, "for he thought it impossible for any man living to see her and contain himself."⁸ The very fame of beauty will fetch them to it many miles off (such an attractive power this loadstone hath), and they will seem but short, they will undertake any toil or trouble, long journeys, Penia or Atalanta shall not overgo them, through seas, deserts, mountains, and dangerous places, as they did to gaze on Psyche: "many mortal men came far and near to see that glorious object of her age";⁹ Paris for Helena, Corebus to Troy,

*Illis Trojam qui forte diebus
Venerat insano Cassandra incensus amore.*

[Who chanced to have then arrived in Troy, drawn by his burning passion for Cassandra.]

King John of France, once prisoner in England, came to visit

his old friends again, crossing the seas; but the truth is, his coming was to see the Countess of Salisbury, the nonpareil of those times, and his dear mistress. That infernal god Plutus came from hell itself, to steal Proserpina; Achilles left all his friends for Polyxena's sake, his enemy's daughter; and all the Grecian gods forsook their heavenly mansions for that fair lady, Philo Dioneus' daughter's sake, the paragon of Greece in those days;¹ *ea enim venustate fuit, ut eam certatim omnes dii conjugem expeterent* [for she was of such surpassing beauty that all the gods contended for her love]: *Formosa divis imperat puella*² [the beautiful maid commands the gods]. They will not only come to see, but as a falconer makes an hungry hawk, hover about, follow, give attendance and service, spend goods, lives, and all their fortunes to attain:

Were beauty under twenty locks kept fast,
Yet love breaks through, and picks them all at last.

When fair Hero came abroad, the eyes, hearts, and affections of her spectators were still attendant on her.³

*Et medios inter vultus supereminet omnes,
Perque urbem aspiciunt venientem numinis instar.*⁴

So far above the rest fair Hero shined,
And stole away the enchanted gazer's mind.⁵

When Peter Aretine's Lucretia⁶ came first to Rome, and that the fame of her beauty *ad urbanarum deliciarum sectatores venerat, nemo non ad videndam eam*, etc., was spread abroad, they came in (as they say) "thick and threefold" to see her, and hovered about her gates, as they did of old to Lais of Corinth, and Phryne of Thebes, *Ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores*⁷ [at whose gates lay all Greece]. "Every man sought to get her love, some with gallant and costly apparel, some with an affected pace, some with music, others with rich gifts, pleasant discourse, multitude of followers; others with letters, vows, and promises, to commend themselves, and to be gracious in her eyes."⁸ Happy was he that could see her, thrice happy that enjoyed her company. Charmides in Plato was a proper young man, in comeliness of person, "and all good qualities, far exceeding others; whensoever fair Charmides came abroad, they seemed all to be in love with him" (as Critias describes their carriage), "and were troubled at the very sight of him; many came near him, many followed him wheresoever he went,"⁹ as those *formarum spectatores* [who were looking out for beauties] did

Acontius, if at any time he walked abroad:¹ the Athenian lasses stared on Alcibiades; Sappho and the Mitylenian women on Phaon the fair. Such lovely sights do not only please, entice, but ravish and amaze. Cleonymus, a delicate and tender youth, present at a feast which Androcles his uncle made in *Piræo* [in the *Piræus*] at Athens, when he sacrificed to Mercury, so stupefied the guests, Dineas, Aristippus, Agasthenes, and the rest (as Charidemus in Lucian² relates it), that they could not eat their meat, they sat all supper-time gazing, glancing at him, stealing looks, and admiring of his beauty. Many will condemn these men that are so enamoured for fools; but some again commend them for it; many reject Paris' judgment, and yet Lucian approves of it, admiring Paris for his choice; he would have done as much himself, and by good desert in his mind; beauty is to be preferred "before wealth or wisdom."³ Athenæus, *Deipnosophist. lib. 13, cap. 7*, holds it not such indignity for the Trojans and Greeks to contend ten years, to spend so much labour,⁴ lose so many men's lives for Helen's sake, for so fair a lady's sake:⁵

*Ob talem uxorem cui præstantissima forma,
Nil mortale refert.*

[Compared with a woman of such peerless beauty,
nothing human matters.]

That one woman was worth a kingdom, an hundred thousand other women, a world itself. Well might Stesichorus be blind for carping at so fair a creature,⁶ and a just punishment it was. The same testimony gives Homer of the old men of Troy, that were spectators of that single combat between Paris and Menelaus at the Scæan gate, when Helena stood in presence; they said all, the war was worthily prolonged and undertaken for her sake.⁷ The very gods themselves (as Homer and Isocrates⁸ record) fought more for Helena than they did against the giants. When Venus lost her son Cupid,⁹ she made proclamation by Mercury, that he that could bring tidings of him should have seven kisses; a noble reward some say, and much better than so many golden talents; seven such kisses to many men were more precious than seven cities, or so many provinces. One such a kiss alone would recover a man if he were a-dying: *Suaviolum Stygia sic te de valle reducet*, etc.¹⁰ Great Alexander married Roxane, a poor man's child, only for her person.¹¹ 'Twas well done of Alexander, and heroically done; I admire him for it. Orlando was mad for Angelica, and who doth not condole his

mishap? Thisbe died for Pyramus, Dido for Æneas; who doth not weep, as (before his conversion) Austin did, in commiseration of her estate?¹ she died for him; "methinks" (as he said) "I could die for her."

But this is not the matter in hand; what prerogative this beauty hath, of what power and sovereignty it is, and how far such persons that so much admire and dote upon it are to be justified—no man doubts of these matters; the question is, how and by what means beauty produceth this effect? By sight: the eye betrays the soul, and is both active and passive in this business; it wounds and is wounded, is an especial cause and instrument, both in the subject and in the object. "As tears, it begins in the eyes, descends to the breast";² it conveys these beauteous rays, as I have said, unto the heart. *Ut vidi, ut perii*! [I saw, I was undone]. *Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit*³ [Mars sees her and straightway desires her]. Shechem saw Dinah the daughter of Leah, and defiled her (Gen. xxxiv, 3); Jacob, Rachel (xxix, 17), "for she was beautiful and fair"; David spied Bathsheba afar off (2 Sam. xi, 2); the Elders, Susanna, as that Orthomenian Strato saw fair Aristoclea, the daughter of Theophanes, bathing herself at that Hercyne well in Lebadea,⁴ and were captivated in an instant. *Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammæ* [the eyes beheld, the heart was straight aflame]. Amnon fell sick for Tamar's sake (2 Sam. xiii, 2). The beauty of Esther was such, that she found favour not only in the sight of Ahasuerus, "but of all those that looked upon her." Gerson, Origen, and some others contended that Christ Himself was the fairest of the sons of men, and Joseph next unto Him, *speciosus præ filiis hominum*, and they will have it literally taken; His very person was such that He found grace and favour of all those that looked upon Him. Joseph was so fair, that, as the ordinary gloss hath it, *filiæ decurrerent per murum, et ad fenestras*, they ran to the top of the walls and to the windows to gaze on him, as we do commonly to see some great personage go by: and so Matthew Paris describes Matilda the Empress going through Cologne. P. Morales the Jesuit⁵ saith as much of the Virgin Mary. Antony no sooner saw Cleopatra, but, saith Appian, *lib. 1*, he was enamoured of her. Theseus at the first sight of Helen was so besotted, that he esteemed himself the happiest man in the world if he might enjoy her,⁶ and to that purpose kneeled down, and made his pathetical prayers unto the gods. Charicles, by chance espying that curious picture of smiling Venus naked in

her temple, stood a great while gazing, as one amazed; at length he brake into that mad passionate speech, "O fortunate god Mars, that wast bound in chains, and made ridiculous for her sake!"¹ He could not contain himself, but kissed her picture, I know not how oft, and heartily desired to be so disgraced as Mars was. And what did he that his betters had not done before him?

*Atque aliquis de dis non tristibus optat
Sic fieri turpis.*²

When Venus came first to heaven, her comeliness was such, that (as mine author saith) "all the gods came flocking about, and saluted her, each of them went to Jupiter, and desired he might have her to be his wife."³ When fair Autolycus came in presence, as a candle in the dark his beauty shined,⁴ all men's eyes (as Xenophon describes the manner of it) "were instantly fixed on him, and moved at the sight, insomuch that they could not conceal themselves, but in gesture or looks it was discerned and expressed." Those other senses, hearing, touching, may much penetrate and affect, but none so much, none so forcible as sight. *Forma Briseis mediis in armis movit Achillem*, Achilles was moved in the midst of a battle by fair Briseis, Ajax by Tecmessa; Judith captivated that great captain Holofernes: Delilah, Samson; Rosamund, Henry the Second;⁵ Roxalana, Solyman the Magnificent, etc.

Νικά δὲ καὶ σιδηρον
Καὶ πῦρ καλὴ τις οὖσα.⁶

A fair woman overcomes fire and sword.

Naught under heaven so strongly doth allure
The sense of man and all his mind possess,
As beauty's loveliest bait, that doth procure
Great warriors erst their rigour to suppress,
And mighty hands forget their manliness,
Driven with the power of an heart-burning eye,
And lapt in fetters of a golden tress,
That can with melting pleasure mollify
Their harden'd hearts inur'd to cruelty.⁷

Clitiphon ingenuously confesseth,⁸ that he no sooner came in Leucippe's presence, but that he did *corde tremere, et oculis lascivius intueri*; he was wounded at the first sight, his heart panted, and he could not possibly turn his eyes from her.⁹ So doth Calasiris in Heliodorus, *lib. 2*, Isis' priest, a reverend old man, complain, who by chance at Memphis seeing that Thracian

Rhodopis, might not hold his eyes off her: "I will not conceal it, she overcame me with her presence, and quite assaulted my continency which I had kept unto mine old age; I resisted a long time my bodily eyes with the eyes of my understanding; at last I was conquered, and as in a tempest carried headlong." ¹ Xenopithes, a philosopher, railed at women downright for many years together, scorned, hated, scoffed at them; coming at last into Daphnis a fair maid's company (as he condoles his mishap to his friend Demaretus), though free before, *contactus nullis ante cupidinibus*, was far in love, and quite overcome upon a sudden.² *Victus sum, fateor, a Daphnide*, etc., I confess I am taken,

*Sola hac inflexit sensus, animumque labentem
Impulit,*³

[She alone hath made me waver and turned my mind,]

I could hold out no longer. Such another mishap, but worse, had Stratocles the physician, that blear-eyed old man, *muco plenus* (so Prodrumus describes him ⁴); he was a severe woman-hater all his life, *fxæda et contumeliosa semper in feminas profatus*, a bitter persecutor of the whole sex, *humanas aspides et viperas appellabat* [he called them asps and vipers in human shape], he forswore them all still, and mocked them wheresoever he came, in such vile terms, *ut matrem et sorores odisses*, that if thou hadst heard him, thou wouldst have loathed thine own mother and sisters for his word's sake. Yet this old doting fool was taken at last with that celestial and divine look of Myrilla, the daughter of Anticles the gardener, that smirking wench, that he shaved off his bushy beard, painted his face, curled his hair,⁵ wore a laurel crown to cover his bald pate, and for her love besides was ready to run mad. For the very day that he married he was so furious, *ut solis occasum minus expectare posset* (a terrible, a monstrous long day), he could not stay till it was night, *sed omnibus insalutatis in thalamum festinans irrupit*, the meat scarce out of his mouth, without any leave-taking, he would needs go presently to bed. What young man, therefore, if old men be so intemperate, can secure himself? Who can say, I will not be taken with a beautiful object, I can, I will contain? No, saith Lucian ⁶ of his mistress, she is so fair, that if thou dost but see her, "she will stupefy thee, kill thee straight, and, Medusa-like, turn thee to a stone; thou canst not pull thine eyes from her, but, as an adamant doth iron, she will carry thee bound headlong whither she will

herself," infect thee like a basilisk. It holds both in men and women. Dido was amazed at Æneas' presence: *Obstupuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*; and, as he feelingly verified out of his experience:

*Quam ego postquam vidi, non ita amavi ut sani solent
Homines, sed eodem pacto ut insani solent.*¹

I lov'd her not as others soberly,
But as a madman rageth, so did I.

So Musæus of Leander, *nusquam lumen detorquet ab illa* [he never turned his eyes from her]; and Chaucer of Palamon,²

He cast his eye upon Emilia,
And therewith he blent and cried ha, ha,
As though he had been stroke unto the heart.

If you desire to know more particularly what this beauty is, how it doth *influere* [influence], how it doth fascinate (for, as all hold, love is a fascination), thus in brief. "This comeliness or beauty ariseth from the due proportion of the whole, or from each several part."³ For an exact delineation of which, I refer you to poets, historiographers, and those amorous writers, to Lucian's *Imagines* and *Charidemus*, Xenophon's description of Panthea, Petronius' *Catalecta*, Heliodorus' Chariclea, Tatius' Leucippe, Longus Sophista's Daphnis and Chloe, Theodorus Prodromus his Rhodanthe, Aristænetus' and Philostratus' Epistles, Balthasar Castilio, *lib. 4 de aulico*, Laurentius, *cap. 10 de melan.*, Æneas Sylvius his Lucretia, and every poet almost, which have most accurately described a perfect beauty, an absolute feature, and that through every member, both in men and women. Each part must concur to the perfection of it; for as Seneca saith, *Ep. 33, lib. 4, Non est formosa mulier cujus crus laudatur et brachium, sed illa cujus simul universa facies admirationem singulis partibus dedit*: she is no fair woman, whose arm, thigh, etc., are commended, except the face and all the other parts be correspondent. And the face especially gives a lustre to the rest: the face is it that commonly denominates fair or foul: *arx formæ facies*, the face is beauty's tower; and though the other parts be deformed, yet a good face carries it (*facies non uxor amatur* ['tis the face, not the wife, that is loved]), that alone is most part respected, principally valued, *deliciis suis ferox*, and of itself able to captivate.

*Urit te Glycæræ nitor,
Urit grata protervitas
Et vultus nimium lubricus aspici.*⁴

Glycera's too fair a face was it that set him on fire, too fine to be beheld. When Chærea¹ saw the singing-wench's sweet looks, he was so taken, that he cried out, *O faciem pulchram, deleo omnes dehinc ex animo mulieres, tædet quotidianarum harum formarum!* "O fair face, I'll never love any but her, look on any other hereafter but her; I am weary of these ordinary beauties, away with them!" The more he sees her, the worse he is, *uritque videndo*; as in a burning-glass the sunbeams are re-collected to a centre, the rays of love are projected from her eyes. It was Æneas' countenance ravished Queen Dido, *os humerosque deo similis*, he had an angelical face.

*O sacros vultus Baccho vel Apolline dignos,
Quos vir, quos tuto femina nulla videt!*²

O sacred looks, befitting majesty,
Which never mortal wight could safely see!

Although for the greater part this beauty be most eminent in the face, yet many times those other members yield a most pleasing grace, and are alone sufficient to enamour. An high brow like unto the bright heavens, *Cæli pulcherrima plaga, Frons ubi vivit honor, frons ubi ludit amor* [a brow where honour dwells and love disports], white and smooth like the polished alabaster, a pair of cheeks of vermilion colour, in which love lodgeth: *Amor qui mollibus genis puellæ pernoctas* [love that dallies on a maid's soft cheeks]; a coral lip, *suaviorum delubrum* [a shrine of kisses], in which *Basia mille patent, basia mille latent* [a thousand kisses show, a thousand lie hid], *gratiarum sedes gratissima*³ [sweetest abode of sweetness]; a sweet-smelling flower, from which bees may gather honey:

*Mellilegæ volucres, quid adhuc cava thyma rosasque, etc.
Omnes ad dominæ labra venite meæ,
Illa rosas spirat, etc.*⁴

[Ye honey-gathering bees, wherefore seek ye thyme and roses? Come all to the lips of my mistress, she breathes roses, etc.]

A white and round neck, that *via lactea* [milky way]; dimple in the chin, black eyebrows, *Cupidinis arcus* [Cupid's bow], sweet breath, white and even teeth; [that] which some call the sale-piece, a fine soft round pap, gives an excellent grace, *Quale decus tumidis Pario de marmore mammis!*⁵ and make a pleasant valley, *lacteum sinum*, between two chalky hills,⁶ *sororiantes papillulas, et ad pruritum frigidos amatores solo aspectu excitantes.*

*Unde is, Forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!*¹—Again, *Urebant oculos duræ stantesque mamillæ.*

A flaxen hair: golden hair was even in great account, for which Virgil commends Dido, *Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpinina crinem* [not yet had Proserpine put up her golden hair], *Et crines nodantur in aurum* [the hair is tied in a golden knot]. Apollonius (*Argonaut. lib. 4, Jasonis flava coma incendit cor Medæ*) will have Jason's golden hair to be the main cause of Medea's dotage on him. Castor and Pollux were both yellow-haired; Paris, Menelaus, and most amorous young men have been such in all ages, *molles ac suaves*, as Baptista Porta infers, *Physiog. lib. 2.*² lovely to behold. Homer so commends Helen, makes Patroclus and Achilles both yellow-haired; *pulchricoma* [fair-haired] Venus; and Cupid himself was yellow-haired, *in aurum coruscante et crispante capillo* [with bright curly golden locks], like that neat picture of Narcissus in Callistratus, for so Psyche spied him asleep;³ Briseis, Polyxena, etc., *flavicomæ omnes* [were all yellow-haired],

And Hero the fair,
Whom young Apollo courted for her hair.

Leland commends Guithera, King Arthur's wife, for a fair flaxen hair: so Paulus Æmilius sets out Clodoveus, that lovely king of France. Synesius⁴ holds every effeminate fellow or adulterer is fair-haired: and Apuleius adds that Venus herself, Goddess of Love, cannot delight, "though she come accompanied with the Graces, and all Cupid's train to attend upon her, girt with her own girdle, and smell of cinnamon and balm, yet if she be bald or bad-haired, she cannot please her Vulcan."⁵ Which belike makes our Venetian ladies at this day to counterfeit yellow hair so much, great women to calamistrate and curl it up, *vibrantes ad gratiam crines, et lot orbibus in captivitatem flexos*, to adorn their heads with spangles, pearls, and made flowers; and all courtiers to affect a pleasing grace in this kind. In a word, "the hairs are Cupid's nets, to catch all comers, a brushy wood, in which Cupid builds his nest, and under whose shadow all loves a thousand several ways sport themselves."⁶

A little soft hand, pretty little mouth, small, fine long fingers (*Gratia quæ digitis*, 'tis that which Apollo did admire in Daphne: *laudat digitosque manusque*), a straight and slender body, a small foot, and well-proportioned leg hath an excellent lustre, *cui totum incumbit corpus uti fundamento ædes*⁷ [on which the whole body rests as a house on its foundation]. Clearchus

vowed to his friend Amynander in Aristænetus,¹ that the most attractive part in his mistress, to make him love and like her first, was her pretty leg and foot: a soft and white skin, etc., have their peculiar graces: *Nebula haud est mollior ac hujus cutis est, edepol papillam bellulam*² [a cloud cannot be softer than this maid's skin; a pretty little pap, forsooth]. Though in men these parts are not so much respected; a grim Saracen sometimes, *nudus membra Pyracmon* [a bare-limbed Cyclops], a martial hirsute face pleaseth best; a black man is a pearl in a fair woman's eye, and is as acceptable as lame³ Vulcan was to Venus; for he, being a sweaty fuliginous blacksmith, was dearly beloved of her, when fair Apollo, nimble Mercury were rejected, and the rest of the sweet-faced gods forsaken. Many women (as Petronius observes⁴) *sordibus calent* [fall in love with low fellows] (as many men are more moved with kitchen-wenches, and a poor market-maid, than all these illustrious court and city dames), will sooner dote upon a slave, a servant, a dirt-dauber, a Brontes, a cook, a player, if they see his naked legs or arms, *torosaque brachia* [brawny arms], etc.,⁵ like that huntsman Meleager in Philostratus, though he be all in rags, obscene and dirty, besmeared like a ruddle-man, a gipsy, or a chimney-sweeper, than upon a noble gallant, Nireus, Hephæstion, Alcibiades, or those embroidered courtiers full of silk and gold. Justin's wife, a citizen of Rome, fell in love with Pylades a player, and was ready to run mad for him, had not Galen himself helped her by chance.⁶ Faustina the empress doted on a fencer.

Not one of a thousand falls in love, but there is some peculiar part or other which pleaseth most, and inflames him above the rest. A company of young philosophers on a time fell at variance,⁷ which part of a woman was most desirable and pleased best? some said the forehead, some the teeth, some the eyes, cheeks, lips, neck, chin, etc.; the controversy was referred to Lais of Corinth to decide; but she, smiling, said they were a company of fools; for suppose they had her where they wished, what would they first seek?⁸ Yet, this notwithstanding, I do easily grant, *neque quis vestrum negaverit, opinor* [and none of you, I think, will gainsay it], all parts are attractive, but especially the eyes,⁹

*Videt igne micantes,
Sideribus similes oculos,*

[He sees her eyes sparkling like the stars,]

which are love's fowlers, *aucupium amoris*; the shoeing-horns, "the hooks of love" (as Arandus will), "the guides, touchstone, judges, that in a moment cure madmen and make sound folks mad, the watchmen of the body; what do they not? how vex they not?"¹ All this is true, and (which Athenæus, *lib. 13 Deipnosoph. cap. 5*, and Tatius² hold) they are the chief seats of love, and as James Lernutius hath facetely expressed in an elegant ode of his:³

*Amorem ocellis flammeolis heræ
Vidi insidentem, credite posteri,
Fratresque circum ludibundos
Cum pharetra volitare et arcu, etc.*

I saw Love sitting in my mistress' eyes
Sparkling, believe it all posterity,
And his attendants playing round about
With bow and arrows ready for to fly.

Scaliger calls the eyes "Cupid's arrows;"⁴ the tongue, the lightning of love; the paps, the tents": Balthasar Castilio,⁵ the causes, the chariots, the lamps of love:

*Æmula lumina stellis,
Lumina quæ possent sollicitare deos;*

Eyes emulating stars in light,
Enticing gods at the first sight;

Love's orators, Petronius:

*O blandos oculos, et o faretos,
Et quadam propria nota loquaces:
Illic est Venus, et leves amores,
Atque ipsa in medio sedet voluptas;*

O sweet and pretty speaking eyes,
Where Venus, love, and pleasure lies;

Love's torches, touch-box, naphtha, and matches, Tibullus:⁶

*Illius ex oculis quum vult exurere divos,
Accendit geminas lampadas acer amor.*

Tart Love, when he will set the gods on fire,
Lightens the eyes as torches to desire.

Leander, at the first sight of Hero's eyes, was incensed, saith Musæus:

*Simul in oculorum radiis⁷ crescebat fax amorum,
Et cor fervebat inveci ignis impetu;*

*Pulchritudo enim celebris immaculatæ feminæ,
Acutior hominibus est veloci sagitta.
Oculus vero via est, ab oculi ictibus
Vulnus dilabitur, et in præcordia viri manat.*

Love's torches 'gan to burn first in her eyes,
And set his heart on fire which never dies:
For the fair beauty of a virgin pure
Is sharper than a dart, and doth inure
A deeper wound, which pierceth to the heart
By the eyes, and causeth such a cruel smart.

A modern poet ¹ brings in Amnon complaining of Tamar:

*Et me fascino
Occidit ille risus et formæ lepos,
Ille nitor, illa gratia, et verus decor,
Illæ æmulantes purpuram, et rosas genæ,²
Oculique vinculaque aureo nodo comæ.*

It was thy beauty, 'twas thy pleasing smile,
Thy grace and comeliness did me beguile;
Thy rose-like cheeks and unto purple fair,
Thy lovely eyes and golden knotted hair.

Philostratus Lemnius ³ cries out on his mistress' basilisk eyes, *ardentes faces*, those two burning-glasses, they had so inflamed his soul, that no water could quench it. "What a tyranny" (saith he), "what a penetration of bodies is this! thou drawest with violence, and swallowest me up, as Charybdis doth sailors, with thy rocky eyes: he that falls into this gulf of love can never get out." Let this be the corollary then, the strongest beams of beauty are still darted from the eyes.

*Nam quis lumina tanta, tanta
Possei luminibus suis tueri,
Non statim trepidansque, palpitansque,
Præ desiderii æstuantis aura? etc.⁴*

For who such eyes with his can see,
And not forthwith enamoured be!

And as men catch dotterels by putting out a leg or an arm, with those mutual glances of the eyes they first inveigle one another. *Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis* ⁵ ['twas with her eyes that Cynthia first led me captive]. Of all eyes (by the way) black are most amiable, enticing and fairest, which the poet observes in commending of his mistress, *Spectandum*

*nigris oculis, nigroque capillo*¹ [notable for black eyes and black hair], which Hesiod admires in his Alcmena,

*Cujus a vertice ac nigricantibus oculis,
Tale quiddam spirat ac ab aurea Venere.*²

From her black eyes, and from her golden face,
As if from Venus came a lovely grace

and Triton in his Milane, *Nigra oculos formosa mihi*³ [a black-eyed maid to me is beautiful]. Homer⁴ useth that epithet of ox-eyed in describing Juno, because a round black eye is the best, the son of beauty, and farthest from black the worse; which Polydore Virgil⁵ taxeth in our nation: *Angli ut plurimum cæsiis oculis*, we have grey eyes for the most part. Baptista Porta, *Physiognom. lib. 3*, puts grey colour upon children, they be childish eyes, dull and heavy. Many commend on the other side Spanish ladies, and those Greek dames⁶ at this day, for the blackness of their eyes, as Porta doth his Neapolitan young wives. Suetonius describes Julius Cæsar to have been *nigris vegetisque oculis micantibus*, of a black quick sparkling eye: and although Averroes, in his *Colliget*, will have such persons timorous, yet without question they are most amorous.

Now, last of all, I will show you by what means beauty doth fascinate, bewitch, as some hold, and work upon the soul of a man by the eye. For certainly I am of the poet's mind, love doth bewitch and strangely change us.

*Ludit amor sensus, oculos perstringit, et aufert
Libertatem animi, mira nos fascinat arte.
Credo aliquis dæmon subiens præcordia flammam
Concitat, et raptam tollit de cardine mentem.*⁷

Love mocks our senses, curbs our liberties,
And doth bewitch us with his art and rings,
I think some devil gets into our entrails,
And kindles coals, and heaves our souls from th' hinges.

Heliodorus, *lib. 3*, proves at large that love is witchcraft, "it gets in at our eyes, pores, nostrils, engenders the same qualities and affections in us, as were in the party whence it came."⁸ The manner of the fascination, as Ficinus, 10 *cap. Com. in Plat.*, declares it, is thus: "Mortal men are then especially bewitched, whenas by often gazing one on the other they direct sight to sight, join eye to eye, and so drink and suck in love between them; for the beginning of this disease is the eye."⁹ And therefore he that hath a clear eye, though he be otherwise deformed, by often looking upon him, will make one

mad, and tie him fast to him by the eye.”¹ Leonard. Varius, *lib. 1, cap. 2, de fascinat.*, telleth us that by this interview “the purer spirits are infected,”² the one eye pierceth through the other with his rays, which he sends forth, and many men have those excellent piercing eyes, that, which Suetonius relates of Augustus, their brightness is such, they compel their spectators to look off, and can no more endure them than the sunbeams. Barradius, *lib. 6, cap. 10, de Harmonia Evangel.*, reports as much of our Saviour Christ, and Peter Morales³ of the Virgin Mary, whom Nicephorus⁴ describes likewise to have been yellow-haired, of a wheat colour, but of a most amiable and piercing eye. The rays, as some think, sent from the eyes, carry certain spiritual vapours with them, and so infect the other party, and that in a moment. I know, they that hold *visio fit intra mittendo* [sight comes from receiving the images] will make a doubt of this; but Ficinus proves it from blear-eyes, “that by sight alone make others blear-eyed; and it is more than manifest that the vapour of the corrupt blood doth get in together with the rays, and so by the contagion the spectator’s eyes are infected.”⁵ Other arguments there are of a basilisk, that kills afar off by sight, as that Ephesian did of whom Philostratus speaks,⁶ of so pernicious an eye, he poisoned all he looked steadily on: and that other argument, *menstruæ feminae*, out of Aristotle’s Problems, *morbosæ* Capivaccius adds, and Septalius the Commentator,⁷ that contaminate a looking-glass with beholding it. “So the beams that come from the agent’s heart, by the eyes, infect the spirits about the patients, inwardly wound, and thence the spirits infect the blood.”⁸ To this effect she complained in Apuleius,⁹ “Thou art the cause of my grief; thy eyes, piercing through mine eyes to mine inner parts, have set my bowels on fire, and therefore pity me that am now ready to die for thy sake.” Ficinus illustrates this with a familiar example of that Marrhusian Phædrus and Theban Lycias: “Lycias he stares on Phædrus’ face, and Phædrus fastens the balls of his eyes upon Lycias, and with those sparkling rays sends out his spirits. The beams of Phædrus’ eyes are easily mingled with the beams of Lycias’, and spirits are joined to spirits. This vapour, begot in Phædrus’ heart, enters into Lycias’ bowels: and that which is a greater wonder, Phædrus’ blood is in Lycias’ heart, and thence come those ordinary love-speeches, My sweetheart Phædrus! and mine own self, my dear bowels! And Phædrus again to Lycias, O my light, my joy, my soul, my life! Phædrus follows Lycias, because his heart

would have his spirits; and Lycias follows Phædrus, because he loves the seat of his spirits; both follow, but Lycias the earnestest of the two: the river hath more need of the fountain than the fountain of the river; as iron is drawn to that which is touched with a loadstone, but draws not it again, so Lycias draws Phædrus."¹ But how comes it to pass, then, that a blind man loves, that never saw? We read, in the Lives of the Fathers, a story of a child that was brought up in the wilderness, from his infancy, by an old hermit: now come to man's estate, he saw by chance two comely women wandering in the woods: he asked the old man what creatures they were, he told him fairies; after a while, talking *obiter* [casually], the hermit demanded of him, which was the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life? He readily replied, the two fairies he spied in the wilderness.² So that, without doubt, there is some secret loadstone in a beautiful woman, a magnetic power, a natural inbred affection, which moves our concupiscence; and, as he sings,

Methinks I have a mistress yet to come,
And still I seek, I love, I know not whom.

'Tis true indeed of natural and chaste love, but not of this heroical passion, or rather brutish burning lust of which we treat; we speak of wandering, wanton, adulterous eyes, which, as he saith,³ "lie still in wait as so many soldiers, and when they spy an innocent spectator fixed on them, shoot him through, and presently bewitch him: especially when they shall gaze and gloat, as wanton lovers do one upon another, and with a pleasant eye-conflict participate each other's souls." Hence you may perceive how easily and how quickly we may be taken in love; since at the twinkling of an eye, Phædrus' spirits may so perniciously infect Lycias' blood. "Neither is it any wonder, if we but consider how many other diseases closely, and as suddenly, are caught by infection, plague, itch, scabs, flux," etc.⁴ The spirits, taken in, will not let him rest that hath received them, but egg him on, *idque petit corpus mens unde est saucia amore*⁵ [and the mind seeks the body whence it received its love-wound]; and we may manifestly perceive a strange eduction of spirits, by such as bleed at nose after they be dead, at the presence of the murderer; but read more of this in Lemnius, *lib. 2 de occult. nat. mir. cap. 7*, Valleriola, *lib. 2 Observ. cap. 7*, Valesius, *Controv.*, Ficinus, Cardan, Libanius *de cruentis cadaveribus*, etc.

SUBJECT. III.—*Artificial Allurements of Love, Causes and Provocations to Lust; Gestures, Clothes, Dower, etc.*

Natural beauty is a stronger loadstone of itself, as you have heard, a great temptation, and pierceth to the very heart;¹ *forma verecundæ nocuit mihi visa puellæ* [I am smitten with the beauty of a modest maid whom I have seen]; but much more when those artificial enticements and provocations of gestures, clothes, jewels, pigments, exornations, shall be annexed unto it; those other circumstances, opportunity of time and place, shall concur, which of themselves alone were all-sufficient, each one in particular, to produce this effect. It is a question much controverted by some wise men, *forma debeat plus arti an naturæ?* whether natural or artificial objects be more powerful? but not decided: for my part, I am of opinion that, though beauty itself be a great motive, and give an excellent lustre *in sordibus*, in beggary, as a jewel on a dunghill will shine and cast his rays, it cannot be suppressed, which Heliodorus feigns of Chariclea, though she were in beggar's weeds: yet, as it is used, artificial is of more force, and much to be preferred.

*Sic dentata sibi videtur Ægle,
Emptis ossibus Indicoque cornu;
Sic quæ nigrior est cadente moro,
Cerussata sibi placet Lycoris.²*

So toothless Ægle seems a pretty one,
Set out with new-bought teeth of Indy bone:
So foul Lycoris blacker than berry
Herself admires, now finer than cherry.

John Leriſus the Burgundian, *cap. 8, Hist. navigat. in Brasil.*, is altogether on my side. "For whereas" (saith he) "at our coming to Brazil, we found both men and women naked as they were born, without any covering, so much as of their privities, and could not be persuaded, by our Frenchmen that lived a year with them, to wear any, many will think that our so long commerce with naked women must needs be a great provocation to lust"; but he concludes otherwise, that their nakedness did much less entice them to lasciviousness than our women's clothes.³ "And I dare boldly affirm" (saith he) "that those glittering attires, counterfeit colours,⁴ headgears, curled hairs, plaited coats, cloaks, gowns, costly stomachers, guarded and loose garments, and all those other accoutrements wherewith our countrywomen counterfeit a beauty, and so

curiously set out themselves, cause more inconvenience in this kind than that barbarian homeliness, although they be no whit inferior unto them in beauty. I could evince the truth of this by many other arguments, but I appeal" (saith he) "to my companions at that present, which were all of the same mind." His countryman Montaigne, in his Essays, is of the same opinion, and so are many others; out of whose assertions thus much in brief we may conclude, that beauty is more beholding to art than nature, and stronger provocations proceed from outward ornaments than such as nature hath provided. It is true that those fair sparkling eyes, white neck, coral lips, turgent paps, rose-coloured cheeks, etc., of themselves are potent enticers; but when a comely, artificial, well-composed look, pleasing gesture, an affected carriage shall be added, it must needs be far more forcible than it was, when those curious needleworks, variety of colours, purest dyes, jewels, spangles, pendants, lawn, lace, tiffanies, fair and fine linen, embroideries, calamistrations, ointments, etc., shall be added, they will make the veriest dowdy otherwise a goddess, when nature shall be furthered by art. For it is not the eye of itself that enticeth to lust, but an "adulterous eye," as Peter terms it (2, ii, 14), a wanton, a rolling, lascivious eye: a wandering eye, which Isaiah taxeth (iii, 16). Christ Himself and the Virgin Mary had most beautiful eyes, as amiable eyes as any persons, saith Barradius,¹ that ever lived, but withal so modest, so chaste, that whosoever looked on them was freed from that passion of burning lust; if we may believe Gerson² and Bonaventure,⁴ there was no such antidote against it as the Virgin Mary's face; 'tis not the eye, but carriage of it, as they use it, that causeth such effects. When Pallas, Juno, Venus, were to win Paris' favour for the golden apple, as it is elegantly described in that pleasant interlude of Apuleius,³ Juno came with majesty upon the stage, Minerva [with] gravity, but Venus *dulce subridens, constitit amœne; et gratissimæ Gratiae deam propitiantes*, etc., came in smiling with her gracious graces and exquisite music, as if she had danced, *et nonnunquam saltare solis oculis*, and which was the main matter of all, she danced with her rolling eyes: they were the brokers and harbingers of her suit. So she makes her brags in a modern poet:

Soon could I make my brow to tyrannize,
And force the world do homage to mine eyes.⁵

The eye is a secret orator, the first bawd, *amoris porta* [the gate of love], and with private looks, winking, glances and smiles,

as so many dialogues, they make up the match many times, and understand one another's meanings before they come to speak a word. Euryalus and Lucretia¹ were so mutually enamoured by the eye, and prepared to give each other entertainment, before ever they had conference: he asked her good will with his eyes; she did *suffragari* [favour him], and gave consent with a pleasant look. That Thracian Rhodopis² was so excellent at this dumb rhetoric, "that if she had but looked upon any one almost" (saith Calasiris) "she would have bewitched him, and he could not possibly escape it." For, as Salvianus observes,³ "the eyes are the windows of our souls, by which as so many channels, all dishonest concupiscence gets into our hearts." They reveal our thoughts, and as they say, *frons animi index* [the face is the index to the mind], but the eye of the countenance: *Quid procacibus intueri ocellis?*⁴ [Why look'st thou at me with forward glance?], etc. I may say the same of smiling, gait, nakedness of parts, plausible gestures, etc. To laugh is the proper passion of a man, an ordinary thing to smile; but those counterfeit, composed, affected, artificial, and reciprocal, those counter-smiles are the dumb-shows and prognostics of greater matters, which they most part use to inveigle and deceive; though many fond lovers again are so frequently mistaken, and led into a fool's paradise. For if they see but a fair maid laugh, or show a pleasant countenance, use some gracious words or gestures, they apply it all to themselves, as done in their favour; sure she loves them, she is willing, coming, etc.

*Stultus quando videt quod pulchra puellula ridet,
Tum fatuus credit se quod amare velit.*

When a fool sees a fair maid for to smile,
He thinks she loves him, 'tis but to beguile.

They make an art of it, as the poet telleth us:

*Quis credat? discunt etiam ridere puellæ,
Quæritur atque illis hac quoque parte decor*⁵

Who can believe? to laugh maids make an art,
And seek a pleasant grace to that same part.

And 'tis as great an enticement as any of the rest:

*Subrisit molle puella,
Cor tibi rite salit.*⁶

She makes thine heart leap with a pleasing gentle smile of hers.⁷

*Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem,*⁸

I love Lalage as much for smiling as for discoursing; *delectata illa risit tam blandum*, as he said in Petronius of his mistress; being well pleased, she gave so sweet a smile. It won Ismenius, as he confesseth,¹ *Ismene subrisit amatorium*, Ismene smiled so lovingly the second time I saw her, that I could not choose but admire her: and Galla's sweet smile quite overcame Faustus the shepherd,² *Me aspiciens motis blande subrisit ocellis* [as she caught sight of me, she smiled sweetly]. All other gestures of the body will enforce as much. Daphnis in Lucian³ was a poor tattered wench when I knew her first, said Crobyle, *pannosa et lacera*, but now she is a stately piece indeed, hath her maids to attend her, brave attires, money in her purse, etc.; and will you know how this came to pass? "by setting out herself after the best fashion, by her pleasant carriage, affability, sweet smiling upon all," etc. Many women dote upon a man for his complement only, and good behaviour, they are won in an instant; too credulous to believe that every light, wanton suitor who sees or makes love to them is instantly enamoured, he certainly dotes on, admires them, will surely marry, whenas he means nothing less, 'tis his ordinary carriage in all such companies. So both delude each other by such outward shows; and amongst the rest, an upright, a comely grace, courtesies, gentle salutations, cringes, a mincing gait, a decent and an affected pace, are most powerful enticers, and which the prophet Esay, a courtier himself, and a great observer, objected to the daughters of Zion (iii, 16), "they minced as they went, and made a tinkling with their feet." To say the truth, what can they not effect by such means?

Whilst nature decks them in their best attires
Of youth and beauty which the world admires.

Urit

*Voce, manu, gressu, pectore, fronte, oculis.*⁴

[She kindles love with voice, hand, step, breast, brow,
eyes.]

When art shall be annexed to beauty, when wiles and guiles shall concur; for to speak as it is, love is a kind of legerdemain; mere juggling, a fascination. When they show their fair hand, fine foot and leg withal, *magnum sui desiderium nobis relinquunt*, saith Balthasar Castilio, *lib.* 1, they set us a-longing, "and so when they pull up their petticoats and outward garments,"⁵ as usually they do to show their fine stockings, and those of purest silken dye, gold fringes, laces, embroiderings (it shall go

hard but when they go to church, or to any other place, all shall be seen), 'tis but a springe to catch woodcocks; and as Chrysostom telleth them downright,¹ "though they say nothing with their mouths, they speak in their gait, they speak with their eyes, they speak in the carriage of their bodies." And what shall we say otherwise of that baring of their necks, shoulders, naked breasts, arms and wrists? to what end are they but only to tempt men to lust?

*Nam quid lacteolus sinus, et ipsas
Præ te fers sine linteo papillas?
Hoc est dicere, posce, posce, trado;
Hoc est ad Venerem vocare amantes.*²

[Why do you show your milk-white breast and expose your bosom, as if to say, "You have but to ask and I deliver"? Surely this is the call to love.]

There needs no more, as Fredericus Matenesius well observes,³ but a crier to go before them so dressed, to bid us look out, a trumpet to sound, or for defect a sow-gelder to blow:

Look out, look out and see
What object this may be
That doth perstringe mine eye;
A gallant lady goes
In rich and gaudy clothes,
But whither away God knows,
.. look out, etc , *et quæ sequuntur*,⁴

or to what end and purpose? But to leave all these phantastical raptures, I'll prosecute my intended theme. Nakedness, as I have said, is an odious thing of itself, *remedium amoris* [a cure for love]; yet it may be so used, in part, and at set times, that there can be no such enticement as it is:

*Nec mihi cincta Diana placet, nec nuda Cythere,
Illa voluptatis nil habet, hæc nimium.*⁵

[For me nor Dian draped nor Venus nude;
One charms too much, the other is too crude.]

David so espied Bathsheba, the elders Susanna: Apelles was enamoured with Campaspe, when he was to paint her naked.⁶ Tiberius, in Suet. *cap.* 42, supped with Sestius Gallus, an old lecher, *libidinose sene, ea lege ut nudæ puellæ administrarent* [on condition that naked girls should wait on them]; some say as much of Nero, and Pontus Heuter of Carolus Pugnax.⁷ Amongst the Babylonians, it was the custom of some lascivious queans to dance frisking in that fashion, saith Curtius, *lib.* 5,

and Sardus, *de mor. gent. lib. 1*, writes of others to that effect. The Tuscans at some set banquets had naked women to attend upon them,¹ which Leonicus, *Varia hist. lib. 3, cap. 96*, confirms of such other bawdy nations. Nero would have filthy pictures still hanging in his chamber, which is too commonly used in our times, and Heliogabalus, *etiam coram agentes, ut ad venerem incitarent*. So things may be abused. A servant-maid in Aristænetus² spied her master and mistress through the key-hole merrily disposed; upon the sight she fell in love with her master.³ Antoninus Caracalla observed his mother-in-law with her breasts amorously laid open; he was so much moved, that he said, *Ah si liceret!* O that I might! which she by chance overhearing, replied as impudently, *Quidquid libet licet*,⁴ Thou mayst do what thou wilt: and upon that temptation he married her: this object was not in cause, not the thing itself, but that unseemly, undecent carriage of it.

When you have all done, *veniunt a veste sagittæ*, the greatest provocations of lust are from our apparel; God makes, they say, man shapes, and there is no motive like unto it,

Which doth even beauty beautify,
And most bewitch a wretched eye.⁵

A filthy knave, a deformed quean, a crooked carcass, a maukin, a witch, a rotten post, an hedge-stake may be set out and tricked up that it shall make as fair a show, as much enamour, as the rest; many a silly fellow is so taken. *Primum luxuriæ aucupium*, one calls it, the first snare of lust; Bossus,⁶ *aucupium animarum* [a snare of souls], *lethalem arundinem*, a fatal reed, the greatest bawd, *forte lenocinium*, *sanguines lacrimis deplorandum*, saith Matenesius,⁷ and with tears of blood to be deplored. Not that comeliness of clothes is therefore to be condemned, and those usual ornaments: there is a decency and decorum in this as well as in other things, fit to be used, becoming several persons, and befitting their estates; he is only phantastical that is not in fashion, and like an old image in arras hangings, when a manner of attire is generally received; but when they are so new-fangled, so unstaid, so prodigious in their attires, beyond their means and fortunes, unbefitting their age, place, quality, condition, what should we otherwise think of them? Why do they adorn themselves with so many colours of herbs, fictitious flowers, curious needleworks, quaint devices, sweet-smelling odours, with those inestimable riches of precious stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, emeralds, etc.? Why do they crown themselves

with gold and silver, use coronets and tires of several fashions, deck themselves with pendants, bracelets, earrings, chains, girdles, rings, pins, spangles, embroideries, shadows, rabatoes, versicolour ribands? Why do they make such glorious shows with their scarfs, feathers, fans, masks, furs, laces, tiffanies, ruffs, falls, cauls, cuffs, damasks, velvets, tinsels, cloth of gold, silver, tissue? with colours of heavens, stars, planets: the strength of metals, stones, odours, flowers, birds, beasts, fishes, and whatsoever Africa, Asia, America, sea, land, art and industry of man can afford? Why do they use and covet such novelty of inventions, such new-fangled tires, and spend such inestimable sums on them? "To what end are those crisped, false hairs, painted faces," as the satirist observes,¹ "such a composed gait, not a step awry?" Why are they like so many Sybarites, or Nero's Poppæa, Ahasuerus' concubines, so costly, so long a-dressing as Cæsar was marshalling his army, or an hawk in pruning? *Dum moluntur, dum comuntur, annus est*² [they take a year decking and tiring themselves]: "a gardener takes not so much delight and pains in his garden, a horseman to dress his horse, scour his armour, a mariner about his ship, a merchant his shop and shop-book," as they do about their faces, and all those other parts:³ such setting up with corks, straitening with whalebones; why is it but, as a day-net catcheth larks, to make young men stoop unto them? Philocharus, a gallant in Aristænetus, advised his friend Polyænus to take heed of such enticements, "for it was the sweet sound and motion of his mistress's spangles and bracelets, the smell of her ointments, that captivated him first":⁴ *Illā fuit mentis prima ruina meæ* [that was the beginning of my infatuation]. *Quid sibi vult pyxidum turba*, saith Lucian,⁵ "to what use are pins, pots, glasses, ointments, irons, combs, bodkins, setting-sticks? why bestow they all their patrimonies and husbands' yearly revenues on such fooleries?" *bina patrimonium singulis auribus*;⁶ "why use they dragons, wasps, snakes, for chains," enamelled jewels on their necks, ears? *Dignum potius foret ferro manus istas religari, atque utinam monilia vere dracones essent* [iron bands would fit their wrists better, and I would that their chains were real dragons]; they had more need some of them be tied in Bedlam with iron chains, have a whip for a fan, and hair-cloths next to their skins, and instead of wrought smocks, have their cheeks stigmatized with a hot iron, I say, some of our Jezebels, instead of painting, if they were well served. But why is all this labour, all this cost, preparation, riding, running, far-fetched and dear-bought stuff?

"Because forsooth they would be fair and fine, and where nature is defective, supply it by art";¹ *Sanguine quæ vero non rubet, arte rubet*² [cheeks pale by nature are made red by art]; and to that purpose they anoint and paint their faces, to make Helen of Hecuba, *parvamque extortamque puellam Europen* [and an undersized, misshapen wench into an Europa]. To this intent they crush in their feet and bodies, hurt and crucify themselves, sometimes in lax clothes, an hundred yards I think in a gown, a sleeve; and sometimes again so close, *ut nudos exprimant artus* [as to show their limbs as if unclothed]. Now long tails and trains, and then short,³ up, down, high, low, thick, thin, etc.; now little or no bands, then as big as cart-wheels; now loose bodies, then great fardingales and close-girt, etc. Why is all this, but with the whore in the Proverbs, to intoxicate some or other? *Oculorum decipulam*, one therefore calls it,⁴ *et indicem libidinis*, the trap of lust, and sure token, as an ivy-bush is to a tavern.

*Quod pulchros, Glycere, sumas de pyxide vultus,
Quod tibi compositæ nec sine lege comæ :
Quod niteat digitis adamas, beryllus in aure,
Non sum divinus, sed scio quid cupias.*

O Glycere, in that you paint so much,
Your hair is so bedeckt in order such,
With rings on fingers, bracelets in your ear,
Although no prophet, tell I can, I fear.

To be admired, to be gazed on, to circumvent some novice; as many times they do, that instead of a lady he loves a cap and a feather, instead of a maid that should have *verum colorem, corpus solidum et succi plenum* [a natural colour, a plump and healthy body] (as Chærea describes his mistress in the poet⁵), a painted face, a ruff-band, fair and fine linen, a coronet, a flower (*Naturæque putat quod fuit artificis*⁶ [he ascribes to nature what is due to art]), a wrought waistcoat he dotes on, or a pied petticoat, a pure dye instead of a proper woman. For generally, as with rich-furred conies, their cases are far better than their bodies, and like the bark of a cinnamon tree which is dearer than the whole bulk, their outward accoutrements are far more precious than their inward endowments. 'Tis too commonly so:

*Auferimur cultu et gemmis, auroque teguntur
Omnia; pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*⁷

With gold and jewels all is covered,
And with a strange tire we are won
(While she's the least part of herself),
And with such baubles quite undone.

Why do they keep in so long together, a whole winter sometimes, and will not be seen but by torch- or candle-light, and come abroad with all the preparation may be, when they have no business, but only to show themselves? *Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ* [they come to see the show, and show themselves].

For what is beauty if it be not seen,
Or what is't to be seen if not admir'd,
And though admir'd, unless in love desir'd? ¹

Why do they go with such counterfeit gait, which Philo Judæus reprehends them for,² and use (I say it again) such gestures, apish, ridiculous, indecent attires, sybaritical tricks, *fucos genis, purpurissam venis, cerussam fronti, leges oculis*, etc., use those sweet perfumes, powders and ointments in public, flock to hear sermons so frequent? is it for devotion? or rather, as Basil tells them,³ to meet their sweethearts, and see fashions; for, as he saith, commonly they come so provided to that place, with such curious complements, with such gestures and tires, as if they should go to a dancing-school, a stage-play, or bawdy-house, fitter than a church.

When such a she-priest comes her mass to say,
Twenty to one they all forget to pray.

“They make those holy temples, consecrated to godly martyrs and religious uses, the shops of impudence, dens of whores and thieves, and little better than brothel-houses.” When we shall see these things daily done, their husbands bankrupts, if not cornutos, their wives light huswives, daughters dishonest; and hear of such dissolute acts, as daily we do, how should we think otherwise? what is their end, but to deceive and inveigle young men? As tow takes fire, such enticing objects produce their effect, how can it be altered? When Venus stood before Anchises (as Homer feigns in one of his hymns ⁴) in her costly robes, he was instantly taken:

*Cum ante ipsum staret Jovis filia, videns eam
Anchises, admirabatur formam, et stupendas vestes;
Erat enim induta peplo, igneis radiis splendorore;
Habebat quoque torques fulgidos, flexiles helices,
Tenerum collum ambiebant monilia pulchra,
Aurea, variegata.*

When Venus stood before Anchises first,
He was amaz'd to see her in her tires;
For she had on a hood as red as fire,

And glittering chains, and ivy-twisted spires,
About her tender neck were costly brooches,
And necklaces of gold, enamell'd ouches.

So when Medea came in presence of Jason first, attended by her nymphs and ladies, as she is described by Apollonius,¹

*Cunctas vero ignis instar sequebatur splendor,
Tantum ab aureis fimbriis resplendebat jubar,
Accenditque in oculis dulce desiderium.*

A lustre followed them like flaming fire,
And from their golden borders came such beams,
Which in his eyes provok'd a sweet desire.

Such a relation we have in Plutarch,² when the queens came and offered themselves to Antony, "with divers presents, and enticing ornaments, Asiatic allurements, with such wonderful joy and festivity, they did so inveigle the Romans, that no man could contain himself, all was turned to delight and pleasure. The women transformed themselves to Bacchus shapes, the men-children to satyrs and Pans; but Antony himself was quite besotted with Cleopatra's sweet speeches, philters, beauty, pleasing tires: for when she sailed along the river Cydnus, with such incredible pomp in a gilded ship, herself dressed like Venus, her maids like the Graces, her pages like so many Cupids, Antony was amazed, and rapt beyond himself."³ Heliodorus, *lib.* 1, brings in Damaneta, stepmother to Cnemon, "whom she saw in his scarfs, rings, robes, and coronet, quite mad for the love of him."⁴ It was Judith's pantofles that ravished the eyes of Holofernes. And Cardan⁵ is not ashamed to confess that, seeing his wife the first time all in white, he did admire and instantly love her. If these outward ornaments were not of such force, why doth Naomi give Ruth counsel how to please Boaz?⁶ And Judith, seeking to captivate Holofernes, washed and anointed herself with sweet ointments, dressed her hair, and put on costly attires.⁷ The riot in this kind hath been excessive in times past; no man almost came abroad, but curled and anointed:

*Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
Quantum vix redolent duo funera,*⁸

[And Crispinus reeking of his morning scent as strongly
as two funerals,]

one spent as much as two funerals at once; and with perfumed hairs, *et rosa canos adorati capillos Assyrioque nardo*⁹ [his grey hairs perfumed with roses and Assyrian nard]. What strange

things doth Suetonius¹ relate in this matter of Caligula's riot! And Pliny, *lib.* 12 and 13! Read more in Dioscorides, Ulmus, Arnoldus, Rondoletius *de fuco et decoratione*; for it is now an art, as it was of old (so Seneca records²), *officinæ sunt adores coquentium* [there are workshops where scent is distilled]. Women are bad and men worse, no difference at all between their and our times. "Good manners" (as Seneca complains) "are extinct with wantonness, in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots' colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance,"³ *hic mulier, hæc vir* [the mannish woman, the womanish man], more like players, butterflies, baboons, apes, antics, than men. So ridiculous, moreover, we are in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that, as Hierome said of old, *Uno filio villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertium inseritur*; 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand oaks and an hundred oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole manor on his back. What with shoe-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, etc., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed. Heliogabalus is taxed by Lampridius, and admired in his age, for wearing jewels in his shoes, a common thing in our times, not for emperors and princes, but almost for serving-men and tailors; all the flowers, stars, constellations, gold and precious stones do condescend to set out their shoes. To repress the luxury of those Roman matrons, there was Lex Valeria and Oppia,⁴ and a Cato to contradict; but no laws will serve to repress the pride and insolency of our days, the prodigious riot in this kind. Lucullus' wardrobe is put down by our ordinary citizens; and a cobbler's wife in Venice, a courtesan in Florence, is no whit inferior to a queen, if our geographers say true: and why is all this? "Why do they glory in their jewels" (as he saith⁵) "or exult and triumph in the beauty of clothes? why is all this cost? to incite men the sooner to burning lust." They pretend decency and ornament; but let them take heed, lest while they set out their bodies they do not damn their souls; 'tis Bernard's counsel:⁶ "shine in jewels, stink in conditions; have purple robes, and a torn conscience." Let them take heed of Esay's prophecy, that their slippers and attires be not taken from them, sweet balls, bracelets, ear-rings, veils, wimples, crissing-pins, glasses, fine linen, hoods, lawns, and sweet savours, they become not bald, burnt, and stink upon a sudden. And let maids beware, as Cyprian adviseth,⁷ "lest, while they wander too loosely abroad, they lose not their virginities," and, like Egyptian temples, seem fair without, but

prove rotten carcasses within. How much better were it for them to follow that good counsel of Tertullian! "to have their eyes painted with chastity, the Word of God inserted into their ears, Christ's yoke tied to the hair, to subject themselves to their husbands. If they would do so, they should be comely enough, clothe themselves with the silk of sanctity, damask of devotion, purple of piety and chastity, and so painted, they shall have God Himself to be a suitor."¹ "Let whores and queans prank up themselves, let them paint their faces with minion and ceruse, they are but fuels of lust, and signs of a corrupt soul: if ye be good, honest, virtuous, and religious matrons, let sobriety, modesty, and chastity be your honour, and God Himself your love and desire."² *Mulier recte olet, ubi nihil olet*,³ then a woman smells best, when she hath no perfume at all; no crown, chain, or jewel (Guevara adds) is such an ornament to a virgin or virtuous woman, *quam virgini pudor*, as chastity is: more credit in a wise man's eye and judgment they get by their plainness, and seem fairer than they that are set out with baubles, as a butcher's meat is with pricks, puffed up, and adorned like so many jays with variety of colours. It is reported of Cornelia, that virtuous Roman lady, great Scipio's daughter, Titus Sempronius' wife, and the mother of the Gracchi, that being by chance in company with a companion, a strange gentlewoman (some light huswife belike, that was dressed like a May-lady, and, as most of our gentlewomen are, "was more solicitous of her head-tire than of her health, that spent her time betwixt a comb and a glass, and had rather be fair than honest," as Cato said, "and have the commonwealth turned topsy-turvy than her tires marred"⁴); and she did naught but brag of her fine robes and jewels, and provoked the Roman matron to show hers: Cornelia kept her in talk till her children came from school; "And these," said she, "are my jewels," and so deluded and put off a proud, vain, phantastical huswife. How much better were it for our matrons to do as she did, to go civilly and decently, *Honestæ mulieris instar quæ utitur auro pro eo quod est, ad ea tantum quibus opus est*,⁵ to use gold as it is gold, and for that use it serves, and when they need it, than to consume it in riot, beggar their husbands, prostitute themselves, inveigle others, and peradventure damn their own souls! How much more would it be for their honour and credit! Thus doing, as Hierome said of Blæsilla, "Furius did not so triumph over the Gauls, Papirius of the Samnites, Scipio of Numantia, as she did by her temperance";⁶ *pulla*

semper veste [always in sober attire], etc., they should insult and domineer over lust, folly, vainglory, all such inordinate, furious, and unruly passions.

But I am over-tedious, I confess, and whilst I stand gaping after fine clothes, there is another great allurement (in the world's eye at least) which had like to have stolen out of sight, and that is money; *veniunt a dote sagittæ* [Cupid's shafts come from her dowry], money makes the match; *μόνον ἀργυρον βλέπουσιν*⁴ [they only look at money]; 'tis like sauce to their meat, *cum carne condimentum*, a good dowry with a wife. Many men, if they do hear but of a great portion, a rich heir, are more mad than if they had all the beauteous ornaments and those good parts art and nature can afford; they care not for honesty, bringing up, birth, beauty, person, but for money.²

*Canes et equos (o Cyrne) quærimus
Nobiles, et a bona progenie,
Malam vero uxorem, malique patris filiam
Ducere non curat vir bonus,
Modo ei magnam dotem afferat.*²

Our dogs and horses still from the best breed
We carefully seek, and well may they speed:
But for our wives, so they prove wealthy,
Fair or foul, we care not what they be.

If she be rich, then she is fair, fine, absolute and perfect, then they burn like fire, they love her dearly, like pig and pie, and are ready to hang themselves if they may not have her. Nothing so familiar in these days as for a young man to marry an old wife, as they say, for a piece of good: *asinum auro onustum* [an ass laden with gold]; and though she be an old crone, and have never a tooth in her head, neither good conditions nor good face, a natural fool, but only rich, she shall have twenty young gallants to be suitors in an instant. As she said in Suetonius, *Non me, sed mea ambiunt*, 'tis not for her sake, but for her lands or money; and an excellent match it were (as he added) if she were away. So, on the other side, many a young lovely maid will cast away herself upon an old, doting, decrepit dizzard,

*Bis puer effelo quamvis balbutiat ore,
Prima legit raræ tam culta roseta puellæ,*⁴

[Though he chatter in second childhood, yet he plucks
the choicest roses from so fair a maid's bower,]

that is rheumatic and gouty, hath some twenty diseases, perhaps but one eye, one leg, never a nose, no hair on his head, wit in

his brains, nor honesty, if he have land or money,¹ she will have him before all other suitors, *Dummodo sit dives barbarus ille placet.*² If he be rich, he is the man, a fine man, and a proper man, she will go to Jacaktres or Tidore with him; Gelasimus de Monte Aureo, Sir Giles Goosecap, Sir Amorous La-Foole, shall have her. And as Philematium in Aristænetus³ told Eumusus, *absque argento omnia vana*, hang him that hath no money, "'tis to no purpose to talk of marriage without means,"⁴ trouble me not with such motions; let others do as they will, "I'll be sure to have one shall maintain me fine and brave." Most are of her mind; *De moribus ultima fiet quæstio*,⁵ for his conditions, she shall inquire after them another time, or when all is done, the match made, and everybody gone home. Lucian's Lycia⁶ was a proper young maid, and had many fine gentlemen to her suitors: Ethecles, a senator's son, Melissus, a merchant, etc.; but she forsook them all for one Passius, a base, hirsute, bald-pated knave; but why was it? "His father lately died and left him sole heir of his goods and lands." This is not amongst your dust-worms alone, poor snakes that will prostitute their souls for money, but with this bait you may catch our most potent, puissant, and illustrious princes. That proud upstart domineering Bishop of Ely, in the time of Richard the First, viceroy in his absence, as Nubrigensis relates it,⁷ to fortify himself and maintain his greatness, *propin quarum suarum connubiis plurimos sibi potentes et nobiles devincire curavit* (married his poor kinswomen (which came forth of Normandy by droves) to the chiefest nobles of the land, and they were glad to accept of such matches, fair or foul, for themselves, their sons, nephews, etc. *Et quis tam præclarum affinitatem sub spe magnæ promotionis non optaret?* Who would not have done as much for money and preferment? as mine author⁸ adds. Vortigern, King of Britain, married Rowena the daughter of Hengist the Saxon prince, his mortal enemy; but wherefore? she had Kent for her dowry. Iagello, the great Duke of Lithuania, 1386, was mightily enamoured on Hedenga, insomuch that he turned Christian from a Pagan, and was baptized himself by the name of Uladislaus, and all his subjects for her sake: but why was it? she was daughter and heir of Poland, and his desire was to have both kingdoms incorporated into one. Charles the Great was an earnest suitor to Irene the Empress, but, saith Zonaras,⁹ *ob regnum*, to annex the empire of the East to that of the West. Yet what is the event of all such matches, that are so made for money, goods, by deceit, or for burning lust, *quos fœda libido*

conjunct, what follows? they are almost mad at first, but 'tis a mere flash; as chaff and straw soon fired, burn vehemently for a while, yet out in a moment, so are all such matches made by those allurements of burning lust; where there is no respect of honesty, parentage, virtue, religion, education, and the like, they are extinguished in an instant, and instead of love comes hate; for joy, repentance and desperation itself. Franciscus Barbarus in his first book *de re uxoria*, cap. 5, hath a story of one Philip of Padua that fell in love with a common whore, and was now ready to run mad for her; his father, having no more sons, let him enjoy her; "but after a few days, the young man began to loathe, could not so much as endure the sight of her, and from one madness fell into another."¹ Such event commonly have all these lovers; and he that so marries, or for such respects, let them look for no better success than Menelaus had with Helen, Vulcan with Venus, Theseus with Phædra, Minos with Pasiphae, and Claudius with Messalina: shame, sorrow, misery, melancholy, discontent.

SUBJECT. IV.—*Importunity and Opportunity of Time, Place, Conference, Discourse, Singing, Dancing, Music, Amorous Tales, Objects, Kissing, Familiarity, Tokens, Presents, Bribes, Promises, Protestations, Tears, etc.*

All these allurements hitherto are afar off, and at a distance; I will come nearer to those other degrees of love, which are conference, kissing, dalliance, discourse, singing, dancing, amorous tales, objects, presents, etc., which as so many sirens steal away the hearts of men and women. For, as Tatius observes, *lib.* 2, "It is no sufficient trial of a maid's affection by her eyes alone, but you must say something that shall be more available, and use such other forcible engines; therefore take her by the hand, wring her fingers hard, and sigh withal; if she accept this in good part, and seem not to be much averse, then call her mistress, take her about the neck and kiss her,"² etc. But this cannot be done except they first get opportunity of living or coming together, ingress, egress, and regress; letters and commendations may do much, outward gestures and actions: but when they come to live near one another, in the same street, village, or together in a house, love is kindled on a sudden. Many a serving-man by reason of this opportunity and importunity inveigles his master's daughter, many a gallant loves a

dowdy, many a gentleman runs upon his wife's maids, many ladies dote upon their men, as the queen in Ariosto did upon the dwarf, many matches are so made in haste, and they are compelled as it were by necessity so to love,¹ which, had they been free, come in company of others, seen that variety which many places afford, or compared them to a third, would never have looked one upon another. Or had not that opportunity of discourse and familiarity been offered, they would have loathed and contemned those whom, for want of better choice and other objects, they are fatally driven on, and by reason of their hot blood, idle life, full diet, etc., are forced to dote upon them that come next. And many times those which at the first sight cannot fancy or affect each other, but are harsh and ready to disagree, offended with each other's carriage, like Benedick and Beatrice in the comedy,² and in whom they find many faults, by this living together in a house, conference, kissing, colling, and such-like allurements, begin at last to dote insensibly one upon another.

It was the greatest motive that Potiphar's wife had to dote upon Joseph, and Clitophon³ upon Leucippe his uncle's daughter, because the plague being at Byzance, it was his fortune for a time to sojourn with her, to sit next her at the table, as he telleth the tale himself in Tatius, *lib.* 1 (which, though it be but a fiction, is grounded upon good observation, and doth well express the passions of lovers), he had opportunity to take her by the hand, and after a while to kiss, and handle her paps, etc., which made him almost mad.⁴ Ismenius the orator makes the like confession in Eustathius, *lib.* 1; when he came first to Sosthenes' house, and sat at table with Cratisthenes his friend, Ismene, Sosthenes' daughter, waiting on them "with her breasts open, arms half bare," *Nuda pedem, discincta sinum, spoliata lacertos*⁵ after the Greek fashion in those times, *nudos media plus parte lacertos*⁶ [with arms more than half bare], as Daphne was when she fled from Phœbus (which moved him much), was ever ready to give attendance on him, to fill him drink, her eyes were never off him, *rogabundi oculi*, those speaking eyes, courting eyes, enchanting eyes; but she was still smiling on him, and when they were risen, that she had gotten a little opportunity, "she came and drank to him, and withal trod upon his toes, and would come and go, and when she could not speak for the company, she would wring his hand," and blush when she met him: and by this means first she overcame him (*bibens amorem hauriebam simul* [I drank in love with the draught]); she would

kiss the cup and drink to him, and smile, "and drink where he drank on that side of the cup,"¹ by which mutual compressions, kissings, wringing of hands, treading of feet, etc., *ipsam mihi videbar sorbillare virginem*, "I sipt and sipt, and sipt so long, till at length I was drunk in love upon a sudden." Philochorus, in Aristænetus,² met a fair maid by chance, a mere stranger to him; he looked back at her, she looked back at him again, and smiled withal.

*Ille dies leti primus, primusque malorum
Causa fuit.*³

[On that day I began to die, on that day my miseries commenced.]

It was the sole cause of his farther acquaintance, and love that undid him. *O nullis tutum credere blanditiis*⁴ [ah, 'tis unsafe to trust any blandishments].

This opportunity of time and place, with their circumstances, are so forcible motives, that it is impossible almost for two young folks equal in years to live together and not be in love, especially in great houses, princes' courts, where they are idle *in summo gradu* [in their exalted position], fare well, live at ease, and cannot tell otherwise how to spend their time. *Illic Hippolytum pone, Priapus erit*⁵ [place there the chaste Hippolytus, he will be as lewd as Priapus]. Achilles was sent by his mother Thetis to the island of Scyros in the Ægean Sea (where Lycomedes then reigned) in his nonage to be brought up, to avoid that hard destiny of the oracle (he should be slain at the siege of Troy): and for that cause was nurtured *in gynæceo* [in the women's apartment], amongst the king's children in a woman's habit; but see the event: he compressed Deidamia, the king's fair daughter, and had a fine son, called Pyrrhus, by her. Peter Abelhardus the philosopher, as he tells the tale himself, being set by Fulbertus her uncle to teach Helonissa his lovely niece, and to that purpose sojourned in his house, and had committed *agnam tenellam famelico lupo* [a tender lamb to a famished wolf] (I use his own words), he soon got her good will, *plura erant oscula quam sententiæ* [there were more kisses than philosophical propositions], and he read more of love than any other lecture; such pretty feats can opportunity plea; *primum domo conjuncti, inde animis* [from being in the same house, they came to love one another], etc. But when, as I say, *nox, vinum, et adolescentia*, youth, wine, and night, shall concur, *nox amoris et quietis conscia* [night, the time for

love and rest], 'tis a wonder they be not all plunged over head and ears in love; for youth is *benigna in amorem, et prona materies*, a very combustible matter, naphtha itself, the fuel of love's fire, and most apt to kindle it. If there be seven servants in an ordinary house, you shall have three couple in some good liking at least, and amongst idle persons how should it be otherwise? "Living at Rome," saith Aretine's Lucretia, "in the flower of my fortunes, rich, fair, young, and so well brought up, my conversation, age, beauty, fortune, made all the world admire and love me."¹ Night alone, that one occasion, is enough to set all on fire, and they are so cunning in great houses that they make their best advantage of it. Many a gentlewoman, that is guilty to herself of her imperfections, paintings, impostures, will not willingly be seen by day, but as Castilio noteth,² in the night; *Diem ut glis odit, tædarum lucem super omnia mavult*, she hateth the day like a dormouse, and above all things loves torches and candle-light, and if she must come abroad in the day, she covets, as in a mercer's shop,³ a very obfuscate and obscure light. And good reason she hath for it: *Nocte latent mendæ* [blemishes are hidden at night], and many an amorous gull is fetched over by that means. Gomesius, *lib. 3 de sale gen. cap. 22*, gives instance in a Florentine gentleman, that was so deceived with a wife; she was so radiantly set with rings and jewels, lawns, scarfs, laces, gold, spangles, and gaudy devices, that the young man took her to be a goddess (for he never saw her but by torchlight); but after the wedding solemnities, whenas he viewed her the next morning without her tises, and in a clear day, she was so deformed, a lean, yellow, rivelled, etc., such a beastly creature in his eyes, that he could not endure to look upon her. Such matches are frequently made in Italy, where they have no other opportunity to woo but when they go to church, or, as in Turkey,⁴ see them at a distance they must interchange few or no words till such time they come to be married, and then, as Sardus, *lib. 1, cap. 3, de mor. gent.*, and Bohemus relate of those old Lacedæmonians, "the bride is brought into the chamber, with her hair girt about her, the bridegroom comes in and unties the knot, and must not see her at all by daylight, till such time as he is made a father by her."⁵ In those hotter countries these are ordinary practices at this day; but in our northern parts, amongst Germans, Danes, French, and Britons, the continent of Scandia and the rest, we assume more liberty in such cases; we allow them, as Bohemus saith, to kiss coming and going, *et modo*

absit lascivia, in cauponem ducere, to talk merrily, sport, play, sing, and dance, so that it be modestly done, go to the ale-house and tavern together. And 'tis not amiss, though Chrysostom,¹ Cyprian, Hierome, and some other of the Fathers speak bitterly against it: but that is the abuse which is commonly seen at some drunken matches, dissolute meetings, or great unruly feasts. "A young, pittivanted, trim-bearded fellow," saith Hierome, "will come with a company of compliments, and hold you up by the arm as you go, and wringing your fingers, will so be enticed, or entice:² one drinks to you, another embraceth, a third kisseth, and all this while the fiddler plays or sings a lascivious song; a fourth singles you out to dance; one speaks by becks and signs, and that which he dares not say, signifies by passions; amongst so many and so great provocations of pleasure, lust conquers the most hard and crabbed minds, and scarce can a man live honest among feastings and sports, or at such great meetings."³ For, as he goes on, "she walks along, and with the ruffling of her clothes makes men look at her, her shoes creak, her paps tied up, her waist pulled in to make her look small, she is strait-girded, her hairs hang loose about her ears, her upper garment sometimes falls, and sometimes tarries, to show her naked shoulders, and as if she would not be seen, she covers that in all haste which voluntarily she showed."⁴ And not at feasts, plays, pageants, and such assemblies, but as Chrysostom objects,⁵ these tricks are put in practice "at service-time in churches, and at the communion itself." If such dumb-shows, signs, and more obscure significations of love can so move, what shall they do that have full liberty to sing, dance, kiss, coll, to use all manner of discourse and dalliance? What shall he do that is beleaguered of all sides?

*Quem tot, tam roseæ petunt puellæ,
Quem cultæ cupiunt nurus, amorque
Omnis undique et undecunque et usque,
Omnis ambit Amor, Venusque Hymenque.*⁶

After whom so many rosy maids inquire,
Whom dainty dames and loving wights desire,
In every place, still, and at all times sue,
Whom gods and gentle goddesses do woo.

How shall he contain? The very tone of some of their voices, a pretty pleasing speech, an affected tone they use, is able of itself to captivate a young man; but when a good wit shall concur, art and eloquence, fascinating speech, pleasant discourse, sweet gestures, the Sirens themselves cannot so enchant.

P. Jovius¹ commends his Italian countrywomen to have an excellent faculty in this kind, above all other nations, and amongst them the Florentine ladies: some prefer Roman and Venetian courtesans, they have such pleasing tongues, and such elegance of speech,² that they are able to overcome a saint, *Pro facie multis vox sua lena fuit* [many attract with their voice sooner than with their looks]. *Tanta gratia vocis famam conciliabat*, saith Petronius in his fragment of pure impurities, I mean his *Satyricon*, *tam dulcis sonus permulcebat aera, ut putares inter auras cantare Sirenum concordiam*: she sang so sweetly that she charmed the air, and thou wouldst have thought thou hadst heard a consort of Sirens. "O good God, when Lais speaks, how sweet it is!" Philocaus exclaims in Aristænetus.³ To hear a fair young gentlewoman play upon the virginals, lute, viol, and sing to it, which as Gellius observes, *lib. 1, cap. 11*, are *lascivientium deliciæ*, the chief delight of lovers, must needs be a great enticement. Parthenis was so taken. *Mi vox ista avida haurit ab aure animam* [that voice of yours draws my soul out through my enraptured ears]; "O sister Harpedona" (she laments) "I am undone, how sweetly he sings! I'll speak a bold word, he is the properest man that ever I saw in my life: O how sweetly he sings, I die for his sake, O that he would love me again!"⁴ "If thou didst but hear her sing," saith Lucian, "thou wouldst forget father and mother, forsake all thy friends, and follow her."⁵ Helena is highly commended by Theocritus the poet for her sweet voice and music,⁶ none could play so well as she; and Daphnis in the same Idyllion:

*Quam tibi os dulce est, et vox amabilis, o Daphni,
Jucundius est audire te canentem, quam mel lingere !*

How sweet a face hath Daphne, how lovely a voice!
Honey itself is not so pleasant in my choice.

A sweet voice and music are powerful enticers. Those Samian singing wenches, Aristonica, Cœnanthe and Agathoclea, *regis diadematis insultarunt*, insulted over kings themselves, as Plutarch contends.⁷ *Centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat*, Argus had an hundred eyes, all so charmed by one silly pipe that he lost his head. Clitiphon complains in Tattius of Leucippe's sweet tunes;⁸ "he heard her play by chance upon the lute, and sing a pretty song to it in commendations of a rose," out of old Anacreon belike:

*Rosa honor decusque florum,
Rosa flos odorque divum,*

*Hominum rosa est voluptas,
Decus illa Gratiarum,
Florente amoris hora,
Rosa suaviū Diones, etc.*

Rose the fairest of all flowers,
Rose delight of higher powers,
Rose the joy of mortal men,
Rose the pleasure of fine women,
Rose the Graces' ornament,
Rose Dione's sweet content.

To this effect the lovely virgin, with a melodious air upon her golden-wired harp or lute, I know not well whether, played and sang, and that transported him beyond himself, "and that ravished his heart." It was Jason's discourse as much as his beauty, or any other of his good parts, which delighted Medea so much.

*Delectabatur enim
Animus simul forma dulcibusque verbis.*¹

It was Cleopatra's sweet voice and pleasant speech which inveigled Antony, above the rest of her enticements. *Verba ligant hominem ut taurorum cornua funes*: as bulls' horns are bound with ropes, so are men's hearts with pleasant words. "Her words burn as fire" (Ecclus. ix, 8). Roxalana bewitched Solymán the Magnificent, and Shore's wife by this engine overcame Edward the Fourth: *Omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres*² [this one charm replaces all others]. The Wife of Bath in Chaucer confesseth all this out of her experience:

Some folk desire us for riches,
Some for shape, some for fairness,
Some for that she can sing or dance,
Some for gentleness, or for dalliance.

Peter Aretine's Lucretia telleth as much and more of herself:³ "I counterfeited honesty, as if I had been *virgo virginissima*, more than a vestal virgin, I looked like a wife, I was so demure and chaste, I did add such gestures, tunes, speeches, signs and motions upon all occasions, that my spectators and auditors were stupefied, enchanted, fastened all to their places, like so many stocks and stones." Many silly gentlewomen are fetched over in like sort, by a company of gulls and swaggering companions, that frequently belie nobleman's favours, rhyming Corybantiasmi, thrasonian Rhodomantes or Bombomachides, that have nothing in them but a few players' ends and complements, vain braggadocians, impudent intruders, that can dis-

course at table of knights' and lords' combats, like Lucian's Leontichus,¹ of other men's travels, brave adventures, and such common trivial news, ride, dance, sing old ballet tunes, and wear their clothes in fashion, with a good grace; a fine sweet gentleman, a proper man, who could not love him? She will have him though all her friends say no, though she beg with him. Some again are incensed by reading amorous toys, Amadis de Gaul, Palmerin de Oliva, the Knight of the Sun, etc., or hearing such tales of lovers,² descriptions of their persons, lascivious discourses, such as Astyanassa, Helena's waiting-woman, by the report of Suidas, writ of old, *de variis concubitus modis*, and after her Philænis and Elephantis, or those light tracts of Aristides Milesius³ (mentioned by Plutarch) and found by the Persians in Crassus' army amongst the spoils, Aretine's dialogues, with ditties, love-songs, etc., must needs set them on fire, with such-like pictures as those of Aretine, or wanton objects of what kind soever; "no stronger engine than to hear or read of love-toys, fables and discourses" (one⁴ saith), "and many by this means are quite mad." At Abdera in Thrace (*Andromeda*, one of Euripides' tragedies, being played), the spectators were so much moved with the object, and those pathetical love-speeches of Perseus (amongst the rest, "O Cupid, prince of gods and men," etc.), that every man almost, a good while after, spake pure iambics, and raved still on Perseus' speech, "O Cupid, prince of gods and men." As carmen, boys, and prentices, when a new song is published with us, go singing that new tune still in the streets, they continually acted that tragical part of Perseus, and in every man's mouth was "O Cupid," in every street, "O Cupid," in every house almost, "O Cupid, prince of gods and men," pronouncing still like stage-players, "O Cupid"; they were so possessed all with that rapture, and thought of that pathetical love-speech, they could not a long time after forget, or drive it out of their minds, but "O Cupid, prince of gods and men," was ever in their mouths. This belike made Aristotle, *Polit. lib. 7, cap. 18*, forbid young men to see comedies, or to hear amorous tales.

*Hæc igitur juvenes nequam facilesque puella
Inspiciant,*⁵

let not young folks meddle at all with such matters. And this made the Romans, as Vitruvius relates,⁶ put Venus' temple in the suburbs, *extra murum, ne adolescentes veneris insuescant*, to avoid all occasions and objects. For what will not such an

object do? Ismenius, as he walked in Sosthenes' garden, being now in love, when he saw so many lascivious pictures,¹ Thetis' Marriage, and I know not what, was almost beside himself. And to say truth, with a lascivious object who is not moved, to see others dally, kiss, dance? And much more when he shall come to be an actor himself.

To kiss and be kissed, which, amongst other lascivious provocations, is as a burden in a song, and a most forcible battery, as infectious, Xenophon thinks, as the poison of a spider;² a great allurement, a fire itself, *proæmium aut antecenium*, the prologue of burning lust (as Apuleius adds), lust itself, *Venus quinta parte sui nectaris imbuat*³ [which Venus hath infused with the quintessence of her own nectar], a strong assault, that conquers captains, and those all-commanding forces, (*Domasque ferro sed domaris osculo*)⁴ [you subdue with the sword, but are subdued with a kiss]. Aretine's Lucretia, when she would in kindness overcome a suitor of hers and have her desire of him, "took him about the neck, and kissed him again and again,"⁵ and to that, which she could not otherwise effect, she made him so speedily and willingly condescend. And 'tis a continual assault, *hoc non deficit incipitque semper*,⁶ always fresh, and ready to begin as at first,⁷ *basium nullo fine terminatur, sed semper recens est* [kissing is never finished and is always fresh], and hath a fiery touch with it.

*Tenta modo tangere corpus,
Jam tua mellifluo membra calore fluent.*⁸

[Try but to touch her, straightway your limbs will
be aglow.]

Especially when they shall be lasciviously given, as he feelingly said,⁹ *et me pressulum deosculata Fotis, catenatis lacertis, obtorto valgiter labello*¹⁰ [Fotis kissed me hard, with arms intertwined, with pursed lips].

*Valgus suavis,
Dum semiulco suavio
Meam puellam suavior,
Anima tunc ægra et saucia
Concurrit ad labia mihi.*¹¹

[When I shower on my sweetheart smacking kisses,
my soul sore and wounded rushes to my lips.]

The soul and all is moved: *Jam pluribus osculis labra crepitabant, animarum quoque mixturam facientes, inter mutuos complexus animas anhelantes*¹² [they kissed again and again, and as they

joined their lips their souls also commingled, they breathed out their souls in their embraces].

*Hæsimus calentes,
Et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis
Errantes animas. Valetæ curæ.*¹

[Locked in warm embrace, we transferred our souls to one another through our lips, bidding care avaunt.]

"They breathe out their souls and spirits together with their kisses," saith Balthasar Castilio, "change hearts and spirits, and mingle affections as they do kisses, and it is rather a connection of the mind than of the body."² And although these kisses be delightsome and pleasant, ambrosial kisses, *Suaviolum dulci dulcius ambrosia*,³ such as Ganymede gave Jupiter,⁴ *nectare suavius*, sweeter than nectar, balsam, honey,⁵ *Oscula merum amorem stillantia*,⁶ love-dropping kisses; for

The gilliflower, the rose is not so sweet,
As sugared kisses be when lovers meet:

yet they leave an irksome impression, like that of aloes or gall:

*Ut mi ex ambrosia mutatum jam foret illud
Suaviolum tristi tristius helleboro.*⁷

At first ambrose itself was not sweeter,
At last black hellebore was not so bitter.

They are deceitful kisses:

*Quid me mollibus implicas lacertis?
Quid fallacibus osculis inescas?* etc.⁸

Why dost within thine arms me lap,
And with false kisses me entrap.

They are destructive, and the more the worse: *Et quæ me perdunt, oscula mille dabat*⁹ [she compassed my fall with a thousand kisses]; they are the bane of these miserable lovers. There be honest kisses, I deny not, *osculum caritatis* [the kiss of charity], friendly kisses, modest kisses, vestal-virgin kisses, officious and ceremonial kisses, etc. *Osculi sensus, brachiorum amplexus*, kissing and embracing are proper gifts of nature to a man; but these are too lascivious kisses, *Implicuitque suos circum mea colla lacertos*¹⁰ [she folded her arms about my neck], etc., too continuatæ and too violent, *Brachia non hederæ, non vincunt oscula conchæ*, they cling like ivy, close as an oyster, bill as doves, meretricious kisses, biting of lips,¹¹ *cum additamento* [and more besides]: *Tam impresso ore* (saith Lucian¹²) *ut vix*

labia detrahant, inter deosculandum mordicantes [with mouths so close pressed that they scarce withdraw the lips, biting as they kiss], *tum et os aperientes quoque et mammas attractantes*, etc., such kisses as she gave to Giton, *innumera oscula dedit non repugnanti puero, cervicem invadens*, innumerable kisses, etc. More than kisses, or too homely kisses: as those that he spake of, *accepturus ab ipsa venere septem suavia*, etc., with such other obscenities that vain lovers use, which are abominable and pernicious. If, as Peter de Ledesmo, *Cas. cons.*, holds, every kiss a man gives his wife after marriage be *mortale peccatum*, a mortal sin, or that of Hierome,² *Adulter est quisquis in uxorem suam ardentior est amator* [he is an adulterer who loves his wife too passionately]; or that of Thomas, *Secund. quæst. 154, artic. 4, Contactus et osculum sit mortale peccatum* [touching and kissing is mortal sin], or that of Durand, *Rational. lib. 1, cap. 10, Abstinere debent conjuges a complexu, toto tempore quo solennitas nuptiarum interdicitur* [married couples should abstain from embracing throughout the whole of the period during which marriages are not solemnized], what shall become of all such immodest kisses³ and obscene actions, the forerunners of brutish lust, if not lust itself? What shall become of them that often abuse their own wives? But what have I to do with this?

That which I aim at, is to show you the progress of this burning lust; to epitomize therefore all this which I have hitherto said, with a familiar example out of that elegant Musæus, observe but with me those amorous proceedings of Leander and Hero. They began first to look one on another with a lascivious look:

*Oblique intuens inde nutibus . . .
Nutibus mutuis inducens in errorem mentem puellæ.
Et illa e contra nutibus mutuis juvenis
Leandri quod amorem non renuit, etc.*

Inde:

*Adibat in tenebris tacite quidem stringens
Roseos puellæ digitos, ex imo suspirabat
Vehementer. . . .*

Inde:

*Virginis autem bene olens collum osculatus,
Tale verbum ait amoris ictus stimulo,
Preces audi et amoris miserere mei, etc.
Sic fatus recusantis persuasit mentem puellæ.*

With becks and nods he first began

To try the wench's mind,

With becks and nods and smiles again

An answer he did find.

And in the dark he took her by the hand,
And wrung it hard, and sighed grievously,
And kiss'd her too, and woo'd her as he might,
With Pity me, sweetheart, or else I die,
And with such words and gestures as there past,
He won his mistress' favour at the last.

The same proceeding is elegantly described by Apollonius in his *Argonautics*, between Jason and Medea, by Eustathius in the ten books of the loves of Ismenias and Ismene, Achilles Tatius between his Clitophon and Leucippe, Chaucer's neat poem of Troilus and Creseid; and in that notable tale in Petronius of a soldier and a gentlewoman of Ephesus, that was so famous all over Asia for her chastity, and that mourned for her husband: the soldier wooed her with such rhetoric as lovers use to do: *Placitone etiam pugnabis amori?* [Will you resist even a suitor that you love?], etc.; at last, *frangi pertinaciam passa est* [she allowed her obstinacy to be overcome], he got her good will, not only to satisfy his lust, but to hang her dead husband's body on the cross which he watched,¹ instead of the thief's that was newly stolen away whilst he wooed her in her cabin. These are tales, you will say, but they have most significant morals, and do well express those ordinary proceedings of doting lovers.

Many such allurements there are, nods, jests, winks, smiles, wrestlings, tokens, favours, symbols, letters, valentines, etc. For which cause belike, Godefridus, *lib. 2 de amor.*, would not have women learn to write. Many such provocations are used when they come in presence, they will and will not.²

*Malo me Galatea peti lasciva puella
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.*

My mistress with an apple woos me,
And hastily to covert goes
To hide herself, but would be seen
With all her heart before, God knows.

Hero so tripped away from Leander as one displeased,
Yet as she went full often look'd behind,
And many poor excuses did she find
To linger by the way.³

but if he chance to overtake her, she is most averse, nice and coy,

Denegat et pugnat, sed vult super omnia vinci.

She seems not won, but won she is at length,
In such wars women use but half their strength.

Sometimes they lie open and are most tractable and coming, apt, yielding, and willing to embrace, to take a green gown,

with that shepherdess in Theocritus, *Idyll.* 27, to let their coats, etc., to play and dally, at such seasons, and to some, as they spy their advantage; and then coy, close again, so nice, so surly, so demure, you had much better tame a colt, catch or ride a wild horse, than get her favour or win her love, not a look, not a smile, not a kiss for a kingdom. Aretine's Lucretia was an excellent artisan in this kind, as she tells her own tale: "Though I was by nature and art most beautiful and fair, yet by these tricks I seemed to be far more amiable than I was, for that which men earnestly seek and cannot attain, draws on their affection with a most furious desire.¹ I had a suitor loved me dearly" (said she), "and the more he gave me, the more eagerly he wooed me, the more I seemed to neglect, to scorn him, and, which I commonly gave others, I would not let him see me, converse with me, no, not have a kiss.² To gull him the more and fetch him over (for him only I aimed at), I personated mine own servant to bring in a present from a Spanish count, whilst he was in my company, as if he had been the count's servant, which he did excellently well perform: *Comes de monte Turco* [the Count of Mount Turk], my lord and master, hath sent your ladyship a small present, and part of his hunting, a piece of venison, a pheasant, a few partridges, etc." (all which she bought with her own money), "commends his love and service to you, desiring you to accept of it in good part, and he means very shortly to come and see you."³ Withal she showed him rings, gloves, scarfs, coronets which others had sent her, when there was no such matter, but only to circumvent him. "By these means" (as she concludes) "I made the poor gentleman so mad, that he was ready to spend himself and venture his dearest blood for my sake."⁴ Philinna, in Lucian,⁵ practised all this long before, as it shall appear unto you by her discourse; for when Diphilus her sweetheart came to see her (as his daily custom was), she frowned upon him, would not vouchsafe him her company, but kissed Lamprias, his corrival, at the same time before his face: but why was it? To make him (as she telleth her mother that chid her for it) more jealous; to whetten his love, to come with a greater appetite, and to know that her favour was not so easy to be had.⁶ Many other tricks she used besides this (as she there confesseth), for she would fall out with, and anger him of set purpose, pick quarrels upon no occasion, because she would be reconciled to him again. *Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio*, as the old saying is, the falling out of lovers is the renewing of love; and according to

that of Aristænetus, *jucundiores amorum post injurias deliciæ*, love is increased by injuries, as the sunbeams are more gracious after a cloud. And surely this aphorism is most true; for as Ampelis informs Chrysis in the said Lucian, "If a lover be not jealous, angry, waspish, apt to fall out, sigh and swear, he is no true lover.¹ To kiss and coll, hang about her neck, protest, swear, and wish, are but ordinary symptoms, *incipientis adhuc et crescentis amoris signa* [signs of a love still in its infancy]; but if he be jealous, angry, apt to mistake, etc., *bene speres licet* [you may have good hopes], sweet sister, he is thine own; yet if you let him alone, humour him, please him, etc., and that he perceive once he hath you sure, without any corival, his love will languish, and he will not care so much for you. Hitherto" (saith she) "can I speak out of experience; Demophantus, a rich fellow, was a suitor of mine; I seemed to neglect him, and gave better entertainment to Callides the painter before his face; *principio abiit, verbis me insectatus*, at first he went away all in a chafe, cursing and swearing, but at last he came submitting himself, vowing and protesting he loved me most dearly, I should have all he had, and that he would kill himself for my sake. Therefore I advise thee, dear sister Chrysis, and all maids, not to use your suitors over-kindly; *insolentes enim sunt hoc cum sentiunt*, 'twill make them proud and insolent; but now and then reject them, estrange thyself, *et si me audies, semel atque iterum exclude*, shut him out of doors once or twice, let him dance attendance; follow my counsel, and by this means you shall make him mad,² come off roundly, stand to any conditions, and do whatsoever you will have him." These are the ordinary practices; yet, in the said Lucian, Melissa methinks had a trick beyond all this; for when her suitor came coldly on, to stir him up, she writ one of his corival's names and her own in a paper, *Melissa amat Hermotimum, Hermotimus Melissam* [Melissa loves Hermotimus, and he her], causing it to be stuck upon a post for all gazers to behold, and lost it in the way where he used to walk; which when the silly novice perceived, *statim ut legit credidit*, [he] instantly apprehended it was so, came raving to me, etc.; "and so, when I was in despair of his love, four months after I recovered him again."³ Eugenia drew Timocles for her valentine, and wore his name a long time after in her bosom: Camæna singled out Pamphilus to dance, at Myson's wedding (some say), for there she saw him first; Felicianus overtook Cælia by the high-way side, offered his service, thence came further acquaintance, and thence came love. But who can

repeat half their devices? what Aretine experienced, what conceited Lucian, or wanton Aristænetus? They will deny and take, stiffly refuse, and yet earnestly seek the same, repel to make them come with more eagerness, fly from if you follow, but if averse, as a shadow they will follow you again, *fugientem sequitur, sequentem fugit*; with a regaining retreat, a gentle reluctance, a smiling threat, a pretty pleasant peevishness they will put you off, and have a thousand such several enticements. For as he saith,¹

*Non est forma satis, nec quæ vult bella videri,
Debet vulgari more placere suis.
Dicta, sales, lusus, sermones, gratia, risus,
Vincunt naturæ candidioris opus.*

'Tis not enough, though she be fair of hue,
For her to use this vulgar complement:
But pretty toys and jests, and saws and smiles,
As far beyond what beauty can attempt.

For this cause belike Philostratus, in his Images,² makes divers loves, "some young, some of one age, some of another, some winged, some of one sex, some of another, some with torches, some with golden apples, some with darts, gins, snares, and other engines in their hands," as Propertius hath prettily painted them out, *lib. 2, El. 29*, and which some interpret, divers enticements, or divers affections of lovers, which if not alone, yet jointly may batter and overcome the strongest constitutions.

It is reported of Decius and Valerianus, those two notorious persecutors of the Church, that when they could enforce a young Christian by no means (as Hierome records³) to sacrifice to their idols, by no torments or promises, they took another course to tempt him: they put him into a fair garden, and set a young courtesan to dally with him; "she took him about the neck and kissed him, and that which is not to be named,"⁴ *manibusque attrectare*, etc., and all those enticements which might be used, that whom torments could not, love might batter and beleaguer. But such was his constancy, she could not overcome, and when this last engine would take no place, they left him to his own ways. At Berkeley in Gloucestershire,⁶ there was in times past a nunnery (saith Gualterus Mapes, an old historiographer, that lived 400 years since), "of which there was a noble and a fair lady abbess: Godwin, that subtle Earl of Kent, travelling that way (seeking not her but hers), leaves a nephew of his, a proper young gallant (as if he had been sick), with her, till he came back again, and gives the young

man charge so long to counterfeit, till he had deflowered the abbess, and as many besides of the nuns as he could, and leaves him withal rings, jewels, girdles, and such toys to give them still, when they came to visit him. The young man, willing to undergo such a business, played his part so well, that in short space he got up most of their bellies, and when he had done, told his lord how he had sped; his lord made instantly to the court, tells the king how such a nunnery was become a bawdy-house, procures a visitation, gets them to be turned out, and begs the lands to his own use.”¹ This story I do therefore repeat, that you may see of what force these enticements are, if they be opportunely used, and how hard it is even for the most averse and sanctified souls to resist such allurements. John Major, in the life of John the Monk, that lived in the days of Theodosius, commends the hermit to have been a man of singular continency, and of a most austere life; but one night by chance the devil came to his cell in the habit of a young market wench that had lost her way, and desired for God’s sake some lodging with him. “The old man let her in, and after some common conference of her mishap, she began to inveigle him with lascivious talk and jests, to play with his beard, to kiss him, and do worse, till at last she overcame him. As he went to address himself to that business, she vanished on a sudden, and the devils in the air laughed him to scorn.”² Whether this be a true story, or a tale, I will not much contend; it serves to illustrate this which I have said.

Yet were it so, that these of which I have hitherto spoken, and such-like enticing baits, be not sufficient, there be many others which will of themselves intend this passion of burning lust, amongst which dancing is none of the least; and it is an engine of such force, I may not omit it. *Incitamentum libidinis*, Petrarch calls it, the spur of lust, “a circle of which the devil himself is the centre.”³ Many women that use it have come dishonest home, most indifferent, none better.”⁴ Another terms it “the companion of all filthy delights and enticements, and ’tis not easily told what inconveniences come by it, what scurrile talk, obscene actions,”⁵ and many times such monstrous gestures, such lascivious motions, such wanton tunes, meretricious kisses, homely embracings

(ut Gaditana canoro
Incipiat prurire choro, plausuque probatæ
Ad terram tremula descendant clune puellæ,
Irritamentum Veneris languentis),⁶

that it will make the spectators mad. When that epitomizer of Trogus had to the full described and set out King Ptolemy's riot as a chief engine and instrument of his overthrow, he adds *tympanum et tripudium*, fiddling and dancing: "the king was not a spectator only, but a principal actor himself."¹ A thing nevertheless frequently used, and part of a gentlewoman's bringing up, to sing, dance, and play on the lute, or some such instrument, before she can say her paternoster or Ten Commandments. 'Tis the next way, their parents think, to get them husbands; they are compelled to learn, and by that means *incestos amores de tenero meditantur ungue*² [from tender years their thoughts run on unchastity]; 'tis a great allurement as it is often used, and many are undone by it. Thais, in Lucian, inveigled Lamprias in a dance. Herodias so far pleased Herod that she made him swear to give her what she would ask, John Baptist's head in a platter. Robert Duke of Normandy,³ riding by Falaise, spied Arletta, a fair maid, as she danced on a green, and was so much enamoured with the object that he must needs lie with her that night.⁴ Owen Tudor won Queen Catherine's affection in a dance, falling by chance with his head in her lap. Who cannot parallel these stories out of his experience? Speucippus, a noble gallant in that Greek Aristænetus,⁵ seeing Panareta a fair young gentlewoman dancing by accident, was so far in love with her that for a long time after he could think of nothing but Panareta; he came raving home full of Panareta: "Who would not admire her, who would not love her, that should but see her dance as I did? O admirable, O divine Panareta! I have seen old and new Rome, many fair cities, many proper women, but never any like to Panareta, they are dross, dowdies all to Panareta! O how she danced, how she tripped, how she turned, with what a grace! happy is that man that shall enjoy her. O most incomparable, only, Panareta!" When Xenophon, in *Symposio*, or Banquet, had discoursed of love, and used all the engines that might be devised to move Socrates, amongst the rest, to stir him the more, he shuts up all with a pleasant interlude or dance of Dionysus and Ariadne. "First Ariadne dressed like a bride came in and took her place; by and by Dionysus entered, dancing to the music. The spectators did all admire the young man's carriage; and Ariadne herself was so much affected with the sight that she could scarce sit. After a while Dionysus, beholding Ariadne, and incensed with love, bowing to her knees, embraced her first, and kissed her with a grace; she embraced

him again, and kissed him with like affection, etc., as the dance required; but they that stood by and saw this, did much applaud and commend them both for it. And when Dionysus rose up, he raised her up with him, and many pretty gestures, embraces, kisses, and love compliments passed between them: which when they saw fair Bacchus and beautiful Ariadne so sweetly and so unfeignedly kissing each other, so really embracing, they swore they loved indeed, and were so inflamed with the object that they began to rouse up themselves, as if they would have flown. At the last, when they saw them still so willingly embracing, and now ready to go to the bride-chamber, they were so ravished with it, that they that were unmarried swore they would forthwith marry, and those that were married called instantly for their horses, and galloped home to their wives.”¹ What greater motive can there be than this burning lust? what so violent an oppugner? Not without good cause therefore so many general councils condemn it, so many Fathers abhor it, so many grave men speak against it. “Use not the company of a woman,” saith Siracides, ix, 4, “that is a singer or a dancer; neither hear, lest thou be taken in her craftiness.” *In circo non tam cernitur quam discitur libido*, Hædus holds,² lust in theatres is not seen, but learned. Gregory Nazianzen, that eloquent divine (as he relates the story himself³), when a noble friend of his solemnly invited him, with other bishops, to his daughter Olympia’s wedding, refused to come: “For it is absurd to see an old gouty bishop sit amongst dancers”;⁴ he held it unfit to be a spectator, much less an actor. *Nemo saltat sobrius*, Tully writes, he is not a sober man that danceth; for some such reason (belike) Domitian forbade the Roman senators to dance, and for that fact removed many of them from the senate. But these, you will say, are lascivious and pagan dances, ’tis the abuse that causeth such inconvenience, and I do not well therefore to condemn, speak against, or “innocently to accuse the best and pleasantest thing” (so Lucian calls it) “that belongs to mortal men.”⁵ You misinterpret, I condemn it not; I hold it notwithstanding an honest disport, a lawful recreation, if it be opportune, moderately and soberly used: I am of Plutarch’s mind, “that which respects pleasure alone, honest recreation, or bodily exercise, ought not to be rejected and contemned”:⁶ I subscribe to Lucian, “’tis an elegant thing, which cheereth up the mind, exerciseth the body, delights the spectators, which teacheth many comely gestures, equally affecting the ears, eyes, and soul itself.”⁷

Sallust discommends singing and dancing in Sempronia, not that she did sing or dance, but that she did it in excess, 'tis the abuse of it; and Gregory's refusal doth not simply condemn it, but in some folks. Many will not allow men and women to dance together, because it is a provocation to lust; they may as well, with Lycurgus and Mahomet, cut down all vines, forbid the drinking of wine, for that it makes some men drunk.

*Nihil prodest quod non lædere posset idem;
Igne quid utilius?*¹

[Naught useful is but may become a curse;
Than fire what can better be, or worse?]

I say of this, as of all other honest recreations, they are like fire, good and bad, and I see no such inconvenience but that they may so dance, if it be done at due times, and by fit persons: and conclude with Wolfongus Hider,² and most of our modern divines: *Si decoræ, graves, verecundæ, plena luce bonorum virorum et matronarum honestarum, tempestive fiant, probari possunt, et debent* [if they are seemly, staid, and modest, and carried out in the view of good men and honest matrons, and at proper hours, they may be regarded with favour]. "There is a time to mourn, a time to dance" (Eccles. iii, 4). Let them take their pleasures then, and as he³ said of old, "young men and maids flourishing in their age, fair and lovely to behold, well attired, and of comely carriage, dancing a Greek galliard, and as their dance required, kept their time, now turning, now tracing, now apart, now altogether, now a courtesy, then a caper," etc., and it was a pleasant sight to see those pretty knots and swimming figures. The sun and moon (some say) dance about the earth, the three upper planets about the sun as their centre, now stationary, now direct, now retrograde, now *in apogæo*, then *in perigæo*, now swift, then slow, occidental, oriental, they turn round, jump and trace, ♀ and ♂ about the sun with those thirty-three Maculæ or Borbonian planets, *circa solem saltantes citharædum*, saith Fromundus. Four Medicean stars dance about Jupiter, two Austrian about Saturn, etc., and all (belike) to the music of the spheres. Our greatest counsellors, and staid senators, at some times dance, as David before the ark (2 Sam. vi, 14), Miriam (Exod. xv, 20), Judith (xv, 13) (though the devil hence perhaps hath brought in those bawdy bacchanals), and well may they do it. The greatest soldiers, as Quintilianus,⁴ Æmilius Probus,⁵ Cælius Rhodiginus,⁶ have proved at large, still use it in Greece, Rome, and the most worthy senators,

cantare, saltare [to sing, to dance]. Lucian, Macrobius, Libanius, Plutarch, Julius Pollux, Athenæus, have written just tracts in commendation of it. In this our age it is in much request in those countries, as in all civil commonwealths, as Alexander ab Alexandro, *lib. 4, cap. 10, et lib. 2, cap. 25*, hath proved at large, amongst the barbarians themselves none so precious;¹ all the world allows it.

*Divitias contemno tuas, rex Cræse, tuamque
Vendo Asiam, unguentis, flore, mero, choreis.*⁶

[I scorn your riches, Cræsus, and would sell your Asia
for scents, flowers, wine and dances.]

Plato,⁵ in his Commonwealth, will have dancing-schools to be maintained, "that young folks might meet, be acquainted, see one another, and be seen"; nay more, he would have them dance naked, and scoffs at them that laugh at it. But Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel. lib. 1, cap. 11*, and Theodoret, *lib. 9 Curat. Græc. affect.*, worthily lash him for it; and well they might: for as one saith, "the very sight of naked parts causeth enormous, exceeding concupiscences, and stirs up both men and women to burning lust."⁴ There is a mean in all things; this is my censure in brief: dancing is a pleasant recreation of body and mind, if sober and modest (such as our Christian dances are), if tempestively used; a furious motive to burning lust, if, as by pagans heretofore, unchastely abused. But I proceed.

If these allurements do not take place, for Simierus,⁵ that great master of dalliance, shall not behave himself better, the more effectually to move others and satisfy their lust, they will swear and lie, promise, protest, forge, counterfeit, brag, bribe, flatter and dissemble of all sides. 'Twas Lucretia's counsel in Aretine, *Si vis amica frui, promitte, finge, jura, perjura, jacta, simula, mentire* [if you want to win your mistress, promise, invent, swear, forswear, boast, pretend, lie]; and they put it well in practice, as Apollo to Daphne:

*Mihi Delphica tellus
Et Claros et Tenedos, Patareaque regia servit,
Jupiter est genitor.*³

Delphos, Claros, and Tenedos serve me,
And Jupiter is known my sire to be.

The poorest swains will do as much;⁷ *Mille pecus nivei sunt et mihi vallibus agni*,⁸ I have a thousand sheep, good store of cattle, and they are all at her command:

*Tibi nos, tibi nostra supellex,
Ruæque servierint.*⁹

house, land, goods, are at her service, as he is himself. Dinomachus, a senator's son in Lucian,¹ in love with a wench inferior to him in birth and fortunes, the sooner to accomplish his desire, wept unto her, and swore he loved her with all his heart, and her alone, and that as soon as ever his father died (a very rich man and almost decrepit) he would make her his wife. The maid by chance made her mother acquainted with the business, who being an old fox, well experienced in such matters, told her daughter, now ready to yield to his desire, that he meant nothing less; "for dost thou think he will ever care for thee, being a poor wench, that may have his choice of all the beauties in the city, one noble by birth, with so many talents, as young, better qualified, and fairer than thyself?"² Daughter, believe him not." The maid was abashed, and so the matter broke off. When Jupiter wooed Juno first (Lilius Giralduſ relates it out of an old comment on Theocritus), the better to effect his suit, he turned himself into a cuckoo, and spying her one day walking alone, separated from the other goddesses, caused a tempest suddenly to arise, for fear of which she fled to shelter; Jupiter to avoid the storm likewise flew into her lap, *in virginis Junonis gremium devolavit*, whom Juno for pity covered in her apron.³ But he turned himself forthwith into his own shape, began to embrace and offer violence unto her, *sed illa matris metu abnuebat*, but she by no means would yield, *donec pollicitus connubium obtinuit*, till he vowed and swore to marry her, and then she gave consent. This fact was done at Thornax Hill, which ever after was called Cuckoo Hill, and in perpetual remembrance there was a temple erected to Teleia Juno in the same place. So powerful are fair promises, vows, oaths and protestations. It is an ordinary thing too in this case to belie their age, which widows usually do, that mean to marry again, and bachelors too sometimes,

*Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
Cernere lustrum,*⁴

[Whose years have come in sight of twoscore,]

to say they are younger than they are. Charmides in the said Lucian loved Philematium, an old maid of forty-five years; she swore to him she was but thirty-two next December.⁵ But to dissemble in this kind is familiar of all sides, and often it takes. *Fallere credentem res est operosa puellam*⁶ ['tis no great triumph to deceive a credulous maid], 'tis soon done, no such great mastery,

⁴ *Egregiam vero laudem, et spolia ampla,*

still

[A splendid distinction and a glorious booty, forsooth,]

and nothing so frequent as to belie their estates, to prefer their suits and to advance themselves. Many men, to fetch over a young woman, widows, or whom they love, will not stick to crack, forge, and feign anything comes next, bid his boy fetch his cloak, rapier, gloves, jewels, etc., in such a chest, scarlet-golden-tissue breeches, etc., when there is no such matter; or make any scruple to give out, as he did in Petronius, that he was master of a ship, kept so many servants; and to personate their part the better, take upon them to be gentlemen of good houses, well descended and allied, hire apparel at brokers', some scavenger or pricklouse tailors to attend upon them for the time, swear they have great possessions,¹ bribe, lie, cog, and foist how dearly they love, how bravely they will maintain her, like any lady, countess, duchess, or queen; they shall have gowns, tires, jewels, coaches, and caroches, choice diet,

The heads of parrots, tongues of nightingales,
The brains of peacocks, and of ostriches,
Their bath shall be the juice of gilliflowers,
Spirit of roses and of violets,
The milk of unicorns, etc.,

as old Volpone courted Celia in the comedy,² whenas they are no such men, not worth a groat, but mere sharks, to make a fortune, to get their desire, or else pretend love to spend their idle hours, to be more welcome, and for better entertainment. The conclusion is, they mean nothing less.

*Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere curant :
Sed simul ac cupidæ mentis satiata libido est,
Dicta nihil meminere, nihil perjurâ curant.*³

Oaths, vows, promises, are much protested;
But when their mind and lust is satisfied,
Oaths, vows, promises, are quite neglected.

Though he solemnly swear by the genius of Cæsar, by Venus' shrine, Hymen's deity, by Jupiter and all the other gods, give no credit to his words. For when lovers swear, Venus laughs, *Venus hæc perjurâ ridet*, Jupiter himself smiles,⁴ and pardons it withal; as grave Plato gives out,⁵ of all perjury, that alone for love matters is forgiven by the gods. If promises, lies, oaths, and protestations will not avail, they fall to bribes, tokens, gifts, and such-like feats. *Plurimus auro conciliatur amor*⁶ [love is chiefly gained by gold]: as Jupiter corrupted Danae with a golden shower, and Liber Ariadne with a lovely crown (which was afterwards translated into the heavens, and there for ever

shines), they will rain chequins, florins, crowns, angels, all manner of coins and stamps in her lap. And so must he certainly do that will speed, make many feasts, banquets, invitations, send her some present or other every foot. *Summo studio parentur epulæ* (saith Hædus¹) *et crebræ fiant largitiones*, he must be very bountiful and liberal, seek and sue, not to her only, but to all her followers, friends, familiars, fiddlers, panders, parasites, and household servants; he must insinuate himself, and surely will, to all, of all sorts, messengers, porters, carriers; no man must be unrewarded or unrespected. "I had a suitor" (saith Aretine's Lucretia) "that when he came to my house, flung gold and silver about, as if it had been chaff.² Another suitor I had was a very choleric fellow; but I so handled him, that for all his fuming, I brought him upon his knees.³ If there had been an excellent bit in the market, any novelty, fish, fruit, or fowl, muscadel, or malmsey, or a cup of neat wine in all the city, it was presented presently to me; though never so dear, hard to come by, yet I had it: the poor fellow was so fond at last, that I think if I would I might have had one of his eyes out of his head.⁴ A third suitor was a merchant of Rome, and his manner of wooing was with exquisite music, costly banquets, poems, etc.⁵ I held him off till at length he protested, promised, and swore *pro virginitate regno me donaturum*, I should have all he had, house, goods, and lands, *pro concubitu solo*; neither was there ever any conjuror, I think, to charm his spirits that used such attention or mighty words, as he did exquisite phrases,⁶ or general of any army so many stratagems to win a city, as he did tricks and devices to get the love of me." Thus men are active and passive, and women not far behind them in this kind: *Audax ad omnia femina, quæ vel amat, vel odit* [a woman will stick at nothing to gratify either her love or her hate].

For half so boldly there can non
Swear and lie as women can.⁷

They will crack, counterfeit, and colloque as well as the best,⁸ with handkerchiefs and wrought nightcaps, purses, posies, and such toys: as he justly complained:

Cur mittis violas? nempe ut violentius urer;
Quid violas violis me violenta tuis? etc.⁹

Why dost thou send me violets, my dear?
To make me burn more violent, I fear,
With violets too violent thou art,
To violate and wound my gentle heart.

When nothing else will serve, the last refuge is their tears. *Hæc scripsi (testor amorem) mixta lacrimis et suspiriis*, 'twixt tears and sighs I write this (I take love to witness), saith Chelidonia to Philonius.¹ *Lumina quæ modo fulmina, jam flumina lacrimarum*, those burning torches are now turned to floods of tears. Aretine's Lucretia, when her sweetheart came to town, wept in his bosom, "that he might be persuaded those tears were shed for joy of his return."² Quartilla in Petronius, when naught would move, fell a-weeping, and, as Balthasar Castilio paints them out, "To these crocodile's tears they will add sobs, fiery sighs, and sorrowful countenance, pale colour, leanness, and if you do but stir abroad, these fiends are ready to meet you at every turn, with such a sluttish neglected habit, dejected look, as if they were now ready to die for your sake;³ and how," saith he, "shall a young novice, thus beset, escape?" But believe them not.

*Animam ne crede puellis,
Namque est feminea tutior unda fide.*⁴

[Trust not thy soul to maids, for the sea is more constant than women's vows.]

Thou thinkest, peradventure, because of her vows, tears, smiles, and protestations, she is solely thine, thou hast her heart, hand, and affection, whenas indeed there is no such matter, as the Spanish bawd said,⁵ *gaudet illa habere unum in lecto, alterum in porta, tertium qui domi suspiret*, she will have one sweetheart in bed, another in the gate, a third sighing at home, a fourth, etc. Every young man she sees and likes hath as much interest, and shall as soon enjoy, as thyself. On the other side, which I have said, men are as false, let them swear, protest, and lie; *Quod vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis*⁶ [what they say to you, they have said to a thousand more]. They love some of them those eleven thousand virgins at once, and make them believe, each particular, he is besotted on her; or love one till they see another, and then her alone; like Milo's wife in Apuleius, *lib. 2, Si quem conspexerit speciosæ formæ juvenem, venustate ejus sumitur, et in eum animum intorquet* [as soon as she sees a handsome youth, she is fascinated by him and dotes on him]. 'Tis their common compliment in that case, they care not what they swear, say, or do. One while they slight them, care not for them, rail downright and scoff at them, and then again they will run mad, hang themselves, stab and kill, if they may not enjoy them. Henceforth, therefore, *nulla viro juranti femina*

credat, let not maids believe them. These tricks and counterfeit passions are more familiar with women, *Finem hic dolori faciet aut vitæ dies, miserere amanti* [this day will end either my misery or my life—pity a lover], quoth Phædra to Hippolytus.¹ Ioessa, in Lucian,² told Pythias, a young man, to move him the more, that if he would not have her, she was resolved to make away herself. "There is a Nemesis, and it cannot choose but grieve and trouble thee to hear that I have either strangled or drowned myself for thy sake." Nothing so common to this sex as oaths, vows, and protestations, and as I have already said, tears, which they have at command; for they can so weep that one would think their very hearts were dissolved within them, and would come out in tears; their eyes are like rocks, which still drop water, *diariæ lacrimæ et sudoris in modum turgeri promptæ*, saith Aristænetus,³ they wipe away their tears like sweat, weep with one eye, laugh with the other; or as children weep and cry, they can both together.⁴

*Neve puellarum lacrimis moveare memento,
Ut flerent oculos erudiere suos*⁵

Care not for women's tears, I counsel thee,
They teach their eyes as much to weep as see.

And as much pity is to be taken of a woman weeping, as of a goose going barefoot. When Venus lost her son Cupid, she sent a crier about, to bid every one that met him take heed.

*Si flentem aspicias, ne mox fallare, caveo;
Sin arridebit, magis effuge; et oscula si fors
Ferre volet, fugito; sunt oscula noxia, in ipsis
Suntque venena labris, etc.*⁶

Take heed of Cupid's tears, if cautelous,
And of his smiles and kisses, I thee tell,
If that he offer 't, for they be noxious,
And very poison in his lips doth dwell.

"A thousand years," as Castilio conceives, "will scarce serve to reckon up those allurements and guiles that men and women use to deceive one another with."⁷

SUBJECT. V.—*Bawds, Philters, Causes*

When all other engines fail, that they can proceed no farther of themselves, their last refuge is to fly to bawds, panders, magical philters, and receipts; rather than fail, to the devil

himself. *Flectere si nequeunt superos, Acheronta movebunt* [if Heaven will not hear them, they will move Hell]. And by those indirect means many a man is overcome, and precipitated into this malady, if he take not good heed. For these bawds first, they are everywhere so common and so many, that, as he said of old Croton, *omnes hic* [all here] *aut captantur, aut captant*,¹ either inveigle or be inveigled, we may say of most of our cities, there be so many professed, cunning bawds in them. Besides, bawdry is become an art, or a liberal science, as Lucian calls it; and there be such tricks and subtleties, so many nurses, old women, panders, letter-carriers, beggars, physicians, friars, confessors, employed about it, that *nullus tradere stilus sufficiat* [no pen could recount it], one saith,

*Trecentis versibus
Tuas impuritias traloqui nemo potest.*²

[Three hundred verses would not suffice to tell the
tale of your debaucheries.]

Such occult notes, steganography, polygraphy,³ *Nuntius animatus*,⁴ or magnetical telling of their minds, which Cabeus the Jesuit,⁵ by the way, counts fabulous and false; cunning conveyances in this kind, that neither Juno's jealousy, nor Danae's custody, nor Argo's vigilancy can keep them safe. 'Tis the last and common refuge to use an assistant, such as that Catanean Philippa was to Joan Queen of Naples, a bawd's help,⁶ an old woman in the business, as Myrrha⁷ did when she doted on Cinyras, and could not compass her desire, the old jade her nurse was ready at a pinch, *Dic, inquit, opemque Me sine ferre tibi . . . et in hoc mea (pone timorem) Sedulitas erit apta tibi*, fear it not, if it be possible to be done, I will effect it: *non est mulieri mulier insuperabilis*, as Cælestina said,⁸ let him or her be never so honest, watched, and reserved, 'tis hard but one of these old women will get access: and scarce shall you find, as Austin observes,⁹ in a nunnery a maid alone; "if she cannot have egress, before her window you shall have an old woman or some prating gossip tell her some tales of this clerk and that monk, describing or commending some young gentleman or other unto her." "As I was walking in the street" (saith a good fellow in Petronius) "to see the town served one evening, I spied an old woman in a corner selling cabbages and roots" (as our hucksters do plums, apples, and such-like fruits); "Mother (quoth I), can you tell where I can dwell? She, being well pleased with my foolish urbanity, replied, And why, sir, should

I not tell? With that she rose up and went before me; I took her for a wise woman. And by and by she led me into a by-lane, and told me there I should dwell; I replied again, I knew not the house; but I perceived on a sudden, by the naked queans, that I was now come into a bawdy-house, and then too late I began to curse the treachery of this old jade." ¹ Such tricks you shall have in many places, and amongst the rest it is ordinary in Venice, and in the island of Zante, for a man to be bawd to his own wife. No sooner shall you land or come on shore, but, as the comical poet hath it,

*Morem hunc meretrices habent,
Ad portum mittunt servulos, ancillulas,
Si qua peregrina navis in portum aderit;
Rogant cujatus sit, quod ei nomen siet,
Post illæ extemplo sese adplicanti.* ²

These white devils have their panders, bawds, and factors in every place, to seek about and bring in customers, to tempt and waylay novices and silly travellers. And when they have them once within their clutches, as Ægidius Maserius in his comment upon Valerius Flaccus describes them, "with promises and pleasant discourse, with gifts, tokens, and taking their opportunities, they lay nets which Lucretia cannot avoid, and baits that Hippolytus himself would swallow; they make such strong assaults and batteries that the Goddess of Virginitie cannot withstand them: give gifts and bribes to move Penelope, and with threats able to terrify Susanna. How many Proserpinas with those catchpoles doth Pluto take! These are the sleepy rods with which their souls touched descend to hell; this the glue or lime with which the wings of the mind once taken cannot fly away; the devil's ministers to allure, entice," etc. ³ Many young men and maids, without all question, are inveigled by these Eumenides and their associates. But these are trivial and well known. The most sly, dangerous, and cunning bawds are your knavish physicians, empirics, mass-priests, monks, Jesuits, ⁴ and friars. Though it be against Hippocrates' oath, some of them will give a dram, promise to restore maidenheads and do it without danger, make an abort if need be, keep down their paps, hinder conception, procure lust, make them able with satyrions, and now and then step in themselves. No monastery so close, house so private, or prison so well kept, but these honest men are admitted to censure and ask questions, to feel their pulse beat at their bedside, and all under pretence

of giving physic. Now as for monks, confessors, and friars, as he said,

*Non aude Stygius Pluto tentare quod aude
Effrenis monachus, plenaque fraudis anus;*¹

That Stygian Pluto dares not tempt or do,
What an old hag or monk will undergo;

either for himself to satisfy his own lust, for another, if he be hired thereto, or both at once, having such excellent means. For under colour of visitation, auricular confession, comfort, and penance, they have free egress and regress, and corrupt God knows how many. They can such² trades, some of them, practise physic, use exorcisms, etc.

That whercas was wont to walk an elf,
There now walks the limiter himself,
In every bush and under every tree,
There needs no other incubus but he.³

In the mountains betwixt Dauphiné and Savoy, the friars persuaded the goodwives to counterfeit themselves possessed, that their husbands might give them free access,⁴ and were so familiar in those days with some of them, that, as one observes,⁵ "wenches could not sleep in their beds for necromantic friars": and the good abbess in Boccace may in some sort witness, that rising betimes, mistook and put on the friar's breeches instead of her veil or hat. You have heard the story, I presume, of Paulina,⁶ a chaste matron in Hegesippus, whom one of Isis' priests did prostitute to Mundus, a young knight, and made her believe it was their god Anubis. Many such pranks are played by our Jesuits, sometimes in their own habits, sometimes in others, like soldiers, courtiers, citizens, scholars, gallants, and women themselves. Proteus-like, in all forms and disguises, they go abroad in the night, to inescate and beguile young women, or to have their pleasure of other men's wives; and, if we may believe some relations,⁷ they have wardrobes of several suits in their colleges for that purpose. Howsoever in public they pretend much zeal, seem to be very holy men, and bitterly preach against adultery, fornication, there are no verier bawds or whoremasters in a country. "Whose soul they should gain to God, they sacrifice to the devil."⁸ But I spare these men for the present.

The last battering engines are philters, amulets, spells, charms, images, and such unlawful means: if they cannot prevail of themselves by the help of bawds, panders, and their adherents,

they will fly for succour to the devil himself. I know there be those that deny the devil can do any such thing (Crato, *epist.* 2, *lib. med.*, and many divines), there is no other fascination than that which comes by the eyes, of which I have formerly spoken; and if you desire to be better informed, read Camerarius, *Oper. subcis. cent.* 2, *cap.* 5. It was given out of old, that a Thessalian wench had bewitched King Philip to dote upon her, and by philters enforced his love; but when Olympias, the queen, saw the maid of an excellent beauty, well brought up and qualified, these, quoth she, were the philters which inveigled King Philip; those the true charms, as Henry to Rosamund:

One accent from thy lips the blood more warms,
Than all their philters, exorcisms, and charms.¹

With this alone, Lucretia brags in Aretine,² she could do more than all philosophers, astrologers, alchemists, necromancers, witches, and the rest of the crew. "As for herbs and philters, I could never skill of them; the sole philter that ever I used was kissing and embracing, by which alone I made men rave like beasts stupefied, and compelled them to worship me like an idol." In our times it is a common thing, saith Erastus, in his book *de lamiis*, for witches to take upon them the making of these philters, "to force men and women to love and hate whom they will, to cause tempests, diseases," etc.,³ by charms, spells, characters, knots. *Hic Thessala vendit Philtra*⁴ [this one sells Thessalian philtres]. St. Hierome proves that they can do it; as in Hilarion's life, *epist. lib.* 3, he hath a story of a young man, that with a philter made a maid mad for the love of him, which maid was after cured by Hilarion. Such instances I find in John Nider, *Formicar. lib.* 5, *cap.* 5. Plutarch records of Lucullus, that he died of a philter; and that Cleopatra used philters to inveigle Antony, amongst other allurements. Eusebius reports as much of Lucretius the poet. Panormitan, *lib. 4 de gest. Alphonsi*, hath a story of one Stephen, a Neapolitan knight, that by a philter was forced to run mad for love. But of all others, that which Petrarch, *Epist. famil. lib.* 1, *ep.* 5, relates of Charles the Great is most memorable.⁵ He foolishly doted upon a woman of mean favour and condition, many years together, wholly delighting in her company, to the great grief and indignation of his friends and followers. When she was dead, he did embrace her corpse, as Apollo did the bay-tree for his Daphne, and caused her coffin (richly embalmed and decked with jewels) to be carried about with him, over which he still

lamented. At last a venerable bishop that followed his court, prayed earnestly to God (commiserating his lord and master's case) to know the true cause of this mad passion, and whence it proceeded; it was revealed to him, in fine, that the cause of the emperor's mad love lay under the dead woman's tongue. The bishop went hastily to the carcass, and took a small ring thence; upon the removal the emperor abhorred the corpse, and, instead of it, fell as furiously in love with the bishop, he would not suffer him to be out of his presence; ¹ which when the bishop perceived, he flung the ring into the midst of a great lake, where the king then was. From that hour the emperor neglected all his other houses, dwelt at Ache, ² built a fair house in the midst of the marsh, to his infinite expense, and a temple by it, ³ where after he was buried, and in which city all his posterity ever since use to be crowned. Marcus the heretic is accused by Irenæus to have inveigled a young maid by this means; and some writers speak hardly of the Lady Katherine Cobham, that by the same art she circumvented Humphrey Duke of Gloucester to be her husband. Sicinius Æmilianus summoned Apuleius to come before Cneius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, that he, being a poor fellow, "had bewitched by philters Pudentilla, an ancient rich matron, to love him," ⁴ and, being worth so many thousand sesterces, to be his wife. Agrippa, *lib. 1, cap. 48, Occult. philos.*, attributes much in this kind to philters, amulets, images; and Salmuth, *Com. in Pancirol. tit. 10, de Horol.* Leo Afer, *lib. 3*, saith, 'tis an ordinary practice at Fez in Africa, *præstigiatores ibi plures, qui cogunt amores et concubitus*: as skilful all out as that Hyperborean magician, of whom Cleodemus, in Lucian, ⁵ tells so many fine feats performed in this kind. But Erastus, Wierus, and others are against it; they grant indeed such things may be done, but (as Wierus discourseth, *lib. 3 de lamiis, cap. 37*) not by charms, incantations, philters, but the devil himself; *lib. 5, cap. 2*, he contends as much; so doth Freitagius, *Noc. med. cap. 74*, Andreas Cisalpinus, *cap. 5*; and so much Sigismundus Scheretzius, *cap. 9, de hirco nocturno*, proves at large. "Unchaste women by the help of these witches, the devil's kitchen-maids, have their loves brought to them in the night, and carried back again by a phantasm flying in the air in the likeness of a goat. I have heard" (saith he) "divers confess that they have been so carried on a goat's back to their sweet-hearts, many miles in a night." ⁶ Others are of opinion that these feats, which most suppose to be done by charms and philters, are merely effected by natural causes, as by man's

blood chemically prepared, which much avails, saith Ernestus Burgravius, in *Lucerna vitæ et mortis Indice, ad amorem conciliandum et odium* [to cause love and hatred] (so huntsmen make their dogs love them, and farmers their pullen); 'tis an excellent philter, as he holds, *sed vulgo prodere grande nefas*, but not fit to be made common: and so be *mala insana*, mandrake roots, mandrake apples,¹ precious stones, dead men's clothes, candles, *mala Bacchica, panis porcinus, hippomanes*, a certain hair in a wolf's tail,² etc., of which Rhasis, Dioscorides, Porta, Wecker, Rubeus, Mizaldus, Albertus, treat: a swallow's heart, dust of a dove's heart, *multum valent linguæ viperarum, cerebella asinorum, tela equina, palliola quibus infantes obvoluti nascuntur, funis strangulati hominis, lapis de nido aquilæ* [there is much virtue in vipers' tongues, asses' brains, caul's of new-born infants, the rope by which a man has been hanged, a stone from an eagle's nest], etc. See more in Sckenkius, *Observat. medicinal. lib. 4*, etc., which are as forcible and of as much virtue as that fountain Salmacis in Vitruvius,³ Ovid, Strabo, that made all such mad for love that drank of it, or that hot bath at Aix in Germany,⁴ wherein Cupid once dipt his arrows, which ever since hath a peculiar virtue to make them lovers all that wash in it. But hear the poet's own description of it:

*Unde hic fervor aquis terra erumpentibus uda?
Tela olim hic ludens ignea tinxit amor;
Et gaudens stridore novo, fervete perennes
Inquit, et hæc pharetræ sint monumenta meæ.
Ex illo fervet, rarusque hic mergitur hospes,
Cui non titillet pectora blandus amor.*⁵

[Why burst these waters from the earth so hot?
Cupid, 'tis said, once sporting in this spot,
His fiery arrows dipped therein,
And, as they hissed, well tickled with the din,
He said: "Let them boil on for ever so,
And keep alive remembrance of my bow."
Since then they 're hot; and therein dips no wight
But sweet love-promptings soon his soul excite.]

These above-named remedies have haply as much power as that bath of Aix, or Venus' enchanted girdle, in which, saith Natalis Comes, "love-toys and dalliance, pleasantness, sweetness, persuasions, subtleties, gentle speeches, and all witchcraft to enforce love, was contained." Read more of these in Agrippa, *de occult. Philos. lib. 1, cap. 50 et 45; Malleus malefic. part. 1, quæst. 7; Delrio, tom. 2, quæst. 3, lib. 3; Wierus; Pomponatius, cap. 8 de incantat.; Ficinus, lib. 13 Theol. Plat.; Calcagninus, etc.*

MEMB. III.

*Symptoms or Signs of Love-Melancholy, in Body,
Mind, good, bad, etc.*

SYMPTOMS are either of body or mind; of body, paleness, leanness, dryness, etc. *Pallidus omnis amans, color hic est aptus amanti* [pale is every lover, this hue beseemeth love], as the poet¹ describes lovers; *fecit amor maciem*, love causeth leanness. Avicenna, *de Ilishi, cap. 33*, makes hollow eyes, dryness, symptoms of this disease, "to go smiling to themselves, or acting as if they saw or heard some delectable object."² Valleriola, *lib. 3 Observat. cap. 7*; Laurentius, *cap. 10*; Ælianus Montaltus, *de her. amore*; Langius, *epist. 24, lib. 1, Epist. med.*, deliver as much, *corpus exsanguie pallet, corpus gracile, oculi cavi* [the body bloodless and pale, a lean body, hollow eyes], lean, pale, *ut nudis qui pressit calcibus anguem* [as one who has trodden with naked foot upon a snake], hollow-eyed, their eyes are hidden in their heads, *Tenerque nitidi corporis cecidit decor*³ [their sleek charm falls away], they pine away, and look ill with waking, cares, sighs:

*Et qui tenebant signa Phœbeæ facis
Oculi, nihil gentile nec patrium micant,*

[And eyes that were like suns for brightness lose all their
inherited lustre,]

with groans, griefs, sadness, dullness:

*Nulla jam Cereris subit
Cura aut salutis,*⁴

want of appetite, etc. A reason of all this Jason Pratensis gives, "because of the distraction of the spirits the liver doth not perform his part, nor turns the aliment into blood as it ought, and for that cause the members are weak for want of sustenance, they are lean and pine, as the herbs of my garden do this month of May, for want of rain."⁵ The green-sickness therefore often happeneth to young women, a cachexia or an evil habit to men, besides their ordinary sighs, complaints, and lamentations, which are too frequent. As drops from a still, *ut occluso stillat ab igne liquor*, doth Cupid's fire provoke tears from a true lover's eyes:

The mighty Mars did oft for Venus shriek,
Privily moistening his horrid cheek
With womanish tears;⁶

*Ignis distillat in undas,
Testis erit largus qui rigat ora liquor.*¹

[Fire distils into water, witness the copious stream
that bathes his cheeks;]

with many such-like passions. When Chariclea was enamoured of Theagenes, as Heliodorus sets her out,² "she was half distracted, and spake she knew not what, sighed to herself, lay much awake, and was lean upon a sudden": and when she was besotted on her son-in-law, *pallor deformis, marcentes oculi*,³ etc., she had ugly paleness, hollow eyes, restless thoughts, short wind, etc. Euryalus, in an epistle sent to Lucretia his mistress, complains amongst other grievances, *Tu mihi et somni et cibi usum abstulisti*, Thou hast taken my stomach and my sleep from me. So he describes it aright:

His sleep, his meat, his drink, in him bereft,
That lean he waxeth, and dry as a shaft,
His eyes hollow and grisly to behold,
His hew pale and ashen to unfold,
And solitary he was ever alone,
And waking all the night making mone.⁴

Theocritus, *Idyll.* 2, makes a fair maid of Delphi, in love with a young man of Minda, confess as much:

*Ut vidi, ut insanii, ut animus mihi male affectus est,
Miseræ mihi forma tabescebat, neque amplius pompam
Ullam curabam, aut quando domum redieram
Novi, sed me ardens quidam morbus consumebat,
Decubui in lecto dies decem, et noctes decem,
Defuebant capite capilli, ipsaque sola reliqua
Ossa et cutis.*

No sooner seen I had, but mad I was,
My beauty fail'd, and I no more did care
For any pomp, I knew not where I was,
But sick I was, and evil I did fare;
I lay upon my bed ten days and nights,
A skeleton I was in all men's sights.

All these passions are well expressed by that heroical poet⁵ in the person of Dido:

*At non infelix animi Phænissa, nec unquam
Solvitur in somnos, oculisve ac pectore amores
Accipit; ingeminant curæ, rursusque resurgens
Sævit amor, etc.*

Unhappy Dido could not sleep at all,
But lies awake, and takes no rest:
And up she gets again, whilst care and grief,
And raging love torment her breast.

Accius Sannazarius, *Ecloga 2, de Galatea*, in the same manner feigns his Lycoris tormenting herself for want of sleep, sighing, sobbing, and lamenting;¹ and Eustathius his Ismenias much troubled, and "panting at heart, at the sight of his mistress,"² he could not sleep, his bed was thorns. All make leanness, want of appetite, want of sleep ordinary symptoms,³ and by that means they are brought often so low, so much altered and changed, that as he jested in the comedy,⁴ "one can scarce know them to be the same men."

*Attenuant juvenum vigilatæ corpora noctes,
Curaque et immenso qui fit amore dolor.*

[Young men grow pale and lean from the sleepless nights and the cares and pangs of love.]

Many such symptoms there are of the body to discern lovers by, *quis enim bene celet amorem?* [for who can hide love?] "Can a man," saith Solomon (Prov. vi, 27), "carry fire in his bosom and not burn?" it will hardly be hid; though they do all they can to hide it, it must out, *plus quam mille notis* [by more than a thousand symptoms] it may be described, *quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis æstuat ignis*⁵ [and the more it is hidden, the more fiercely does it burn]. 'Twas Antiphanes the comedian's observation of old, love and drunkenness cannot be concealed, *celare alia possis, hæc præter duo, vini potum*, etc.; words, looks, gestures, all will betray them; but two of the most notable signs are observed by the pulse and countenance. When Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, was sick for Stratonice, his mother-in-law, and would not confess his grief, or the cause of his disease, Erasistratus the physician found him by his pulse and countenance to be in love with her, "because that when she came in presence, or was named, his pulse varied, and he blushed besides."⁶ In this very sort was the love of Charicles, the son of Polycles, discovered by Panacius the physician, as you may read the story at large in Aristænetus.⁷ By the same signs Galen brags that he found out Justa, Boethius the consul's wife, to dote on Pylades the player, because at his name still she both altered pulse and countenance, as Poliarchus did at the name of Argenis.⁸ Franciscus Valesius, *lib. 3, controuv. 13, Med. contr.*, denies there is any such *pulsus amatorius*, or that love may be so discerned; but Avicenna confirms this of Galen out of his experience, *lib. 3, fen. 1*; and Gordonius, *cap. 20*; "Their pulse," he saith, "is inordinate and swift, if she go by whom he loves";⁹ Langius, *epist. 24, lib. 1, Med. epist.*;

Nevisanus, *lib. 4, numer. 66, Syl. nuptialis*; Valescus de Taranta; Guianerius, *tract. 15*. Valleriola sets down this for a symptom: "Difference of pulse, neglect of business, want of sleep, often sighs, blushings when there is any speech of their mistress, are manifest signs."¹ But amongst the rest, Josephus Struthius, that Polonian, in the fifth book, *cap. 17*, of his *Doctrine of Pulses*, holds that this and all other passions of the mind may be discovered by the pulse. "And if you will know," saith he, "whether the men suspected be such or such, touch their arteries,"² etc. And in his fourth book, fourteenth chapter, he speaks of this particular pulse, "Love makes an unequal pulse,"⁴ etc.; he gives instance of a gentlewoman, a patient of his, whom by this means he found to be much enamoured, and with whom:⁴ he named many persons, but at the last when his name came whom he suspected, "her pulse began to vary and to beat swifter, and so, by often feeling her pulse, he perceived what the matter was."⁵ Apollonius, *Argonaut. lib. 4*, poetically setting down the meeting of Jason and Medea, makes them both to blush at one another's sight, and at the first they were not able to speak.

*Totus, Parmeno,
Tremo, horreoque, postquam aspexi hanc.⁶*

[I trembled all over when I beheld her.]

Phædria trembled at the sight of Thais, others sweat, blow short, *crura tremunt ac poplite* [their legs shake under them], are troubled with palpitation of heart upon the like occasion, *cor proximum ori*, saith Aristænetus,⁷ their heart is at their mouth, leaps, these burn and freeze (for love is fire, ice, hot, cold, itch, fever, frenzy, pleurisy, what not?), they look pale, red, and commonly blush at their first congress, and sometimes through violent agitation of spirits bleed at nose, or when she is talked of; which very sign Eustathius⁸ makes an argument of Ismene's affection, that when she met her sweetheart by chance, she changed her countenance to a maiden-blush. 'Tis a common thing amongst lovers, as Arnulphus,⁹ that merry conceited bishop, hath well expressed in a facetious epigram of his:

*Alternò facies sibi dat responsa rubore,
Et tener affectum prodiit utrique pudor, etc.*

Their faces answer, and by blushing say,
How both affected are, they do betray.

But the best conjectures are taken from such symptoms as appear when they are both present; all their speeches, amorous

glances, actions, lascivious gestures will bewray them; they cannot contain themselves, but that they will be still kissing. Stratocles, the physician, upon his wedding-day, when he was at dinner, *nihil prius sorbillavit, quam tria basia puellæ pangeret*, could not eat his meat for kissing the bride, etc.¹ First a word, and then a kiss, then some other compliment, and then a kiss, then an idle question, then a kiss, and when he had pumped his wits dry, can say no more, kissing and colling are never out of season, *Hoc non deficit incipitque semper*,² 'tis never at an end, another kiss, and then another, another, and another,³ etc.: *Huc ades, o Thelayra*; "Come, kiss me, Corinna!"

*Centum basia centies,
Centum basia millies,
Mille basia millies,
Et tot millia millies,
Quot guttæ Siculo mari,
Quot sunt sidera cælo,
Istis purpureis genis,
Istis turgidulis labris,
Ocellisque loquaculis,
Figam continuo impetu;
O formosa Neæra.*⁴

[Ten thousand kisses, a hundred thousand, a thousand thousand, as many thousand thousand as there are drops in the Sicilian Gulf or stars in the heavens, will I impress without pausing on those glowing cheeks, those pouting lips, those prattling eyes of thine, O lovely Neæra.]

As Catullus to Lesbia:

*Da mihi basia mille, deinde centum,
Dein mille altera, da secunda centum,
Dein usque altera millia, deinde centum.*

First give an hundred,
Then a thousand, then another
Hundred, then unto the other
Add a thousand, and so more,
Till you equal with the store
All the grass, etc.⁵

So Venus did by her Adonis, the Moon with Endymion, they are still dallying and colling, as so many doves, *Columbatimque labra conserentes labiis*, and that with alacrity and courage:

*Affigunt avidæ corpus, junguntque salivas
Oris, et inspirant prensantes dentibus ora.*⁶

[Greedily they embrace, mangle the moisture of their lips, and breathe on one another as they clutch with their teeth.]

*Tam impresso ore ut vix inde labra detrahant, cervice reclinata*¹ [bending back her neck and pressing his mouth so closely that they could scarce separate their lips, as Lamprias in Lucian kissed Thais; Philippus her in Aristænetus,² *Amore lymphato tam furiose adhæsit, ut vix labra solvere esset, totumque os mihi contrivit* [crazy with passion, he fastened his lips on mine with such fury that he could scarce loosen them, and he made my mouth all sore]; Aretine's Lucretia by a suitor of hers was so saluted,³ and 'tis their ordinary fashion:

*Dentes illidunt sæpe labellis,
Atque premunt arcu adfigentes oscula.*

[Often the teeth hurt the lips, pressing them tight in the act of kissing.]

They cannot, I say, contain themselves, they will be still not only joining hands, kissing, but embracing, treading on their toes, etc., diving into their bosoms, and that *libenter, et cum delectatione* [lasciviously and voluptuously], as Philostratus confesseth to his mistress;⁴ and Lamprias in Lucian, *mammillas premens, per sinum clam dextra*, etc., feeling their paps, and that scarce honestly sometimes: as the old man in the comedy⁵ well observed of his son, *Non ego te videbam manum huic puellæ in sinum inserere?* "Did not I see thee put thy hand into her bosom? Go to!" with many such love tricks. Juno in Lucian, *tom. 4, Deorum dial. 6*, complains to Jupiter of Ixion, he looked so attentively on her, and sometimes would sigh and weep in her company;⁶ "and when I drank by chance, and gave Gany-mede the cup, he would desire to drink still in the very cup that I drank of, and in the same place where I drank, and would kiss the cup, and then look steadily on me, and sometimes sigh, and then again smile." If it be so they cannot come near to dally, have not that opportunity, familiarity, or acquaintance to confer and talk together; yet, if they be in presence, their eye will bewray them: *Ubi amor ibi oculus* [where I like I look], as the common saying is, "Where I look I like, and where I like I love"; but they will lose themselves in her looks.

*Alter in alterius jactantes lumina vultus,
Quærebant tauti noster ubi esset amor.*

[Eyes looking into eyes asked silently, Where is your love?]

They cannot look off whom they love, they will *impregnare eam ipsis oculis*, deflower her with their eyes, be still gazing, staring, stealing faces, smiling, glancing at her, as Apollo on Leuconthoe,⁷

the Moon on her Endymion, when she stood still in Caria, and at Latmos caused her chariot to be stayed.¹ They must all stand and admire, or, if she go by, look after her as long as they can see her; she is *animæ auriga* [the charioteer of their soul], as Anacreon calls her, they cannot go by her door or window but, as an adamant, she draws their eyes to it; though she be not there present, they must needs glance that way, and look back to it. Aristænetus of Euxitheus,² Lucian, in his *Imagines*, of himself, and Tattius of Clitophon say as much, *Ille oculos de Leucippe nunquam dejiciebat*³ [he never turned his eyes away from Leucippe], and many lovers confess, when they came in their mistress' presence, they could not hold off their eyes, but looked wistly and steadily on her, *inconnivo aspectu*, with much eagerness and greediness, as if they would look through, or should never have enough sight of her: *Fixis ardens obtutibus hæret* [his eyes clung to her with fixed and burning gaze]. So she will do by him, drink to him with her eyes, nay, drink him up, devour him, swallow him, as Martial's Mamurra is remembered to have done: *Inspexit molles pueros, oculisque comedit* [he looked at the soft-skinned boys, and devoured them with his eyes], etc. There is a pleasant story to this purpose in *Navigat. Vertom. lib. 3, cap. 5*. The Sultan of Sana's wife in Arabia, because Vertomannus was fair and white, could not look off him, from sunrising to sunsetting; she could not desist; she made him one day come into her chamber, *et geminæ horæ spatio intuebatur, non a me unquam aciem oculorum avertebat, me observans veluti Cupidinem quendam*, for two hours' space she still gazed on him. A young man in Lucian⁴ fell in love with Venus' picture; he came every morning to her temple, and there continued all day long from sunrising to sunset, unwilling to go home at night; sitting over against the goddess' picture, he did continually look upon her, and mutter to himself I know not what.⁵ If so be they cannot see them whom they love, they will still be walking and waiting about their mistress' doors, taking all opportunity to see them; as in Longus Sophista,⁶ Daphnis and Chloe, two lovers, were still hovering at one another's gates, he sought all occasions to be in her company, to hunt in summer, and catch birds in the frost about her father's house in the winter, that she might see him, and he her. "A king's palace was not so diligently attended," saith Aretine's Lucretia, "as my house was when I lay in Rome; ⁷ the porch and street was ever full of some, walking or riding, on set purpose to see me; their eye was still upon my window; as they

passed by, they could not choose but look back to my house when they were past, and sometimes hem or cough, or take some impertinent occasion to speak aloud, that I might look out and observe them." 'Tis so in other places, 'tis common to every lover, 'tis all his felicity to be with her, to talk with her; he is never well but in her company, and will walk "seven or eight times a day through the street where she dwells, and make sleeveless errands to see her";¹ plotting still where, when, and how to visit her,

*Lenesque sub noctem susurri,
Composita repetuntur hora*²

[Faint whispers are listened for in the dark at the trysting hour.]

And when he is gone, he thinks every minute an hour, every hour as long as a day, ten days a whole year, till he see her again.

*Tempora si numeres, bene quæ numeramus amantes.*³

[If thou canst count the moments which we lovers count.]

And if thou be in love, thou wilt say so too, *Et longum formosa vale*, farewell, sweetheart, *vale carissima Argenis*, etc., farewell, my dear Argenis, once more farewell, farewell. And though he is to meet her by compact, and that very shortly, perchance to-morrow, yet loath to depart, he 'll take his leave again and again, and then come back again, look after, and shake his hand, wave his hat afar off. Now gone, he thinks it long till he see her again, and she him, the clocks are surely set back, the hour's past.

*Hospita, Demophoon, tua te Rhodopeia Phyllis
Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror.*⁴

[Beloved Demophoon, thy Thracian Phyllis complains that thou tarriest beyond the promised hour.]

She looks out at window still to see whether he come, and by report Phyllis went nine times to the seaside that day, to see if her Demophoon were approaching,⁵ and Troilus to the city gates, to look for his Creseid.⁶ She is ill at ease, and sick till she see him again, peevish in the meantime, discontent, heavy, sad; and why comes he not? where is he? why breaks he promise? why tarries he so long? sure he is not well; sure he hath some mischance; sure he forgets himself and me; with infinite such. And then, confident again, up she gets, out she looks, listens and inquires, hearkens, kens; every man afar off is sure

he, every stirring in the street, now he is there, that's he, *male auroræ, male soli dicit, dejeratque*, etc., the longest day that ever was, so she raves, restless and impatient; for *amor non patitur moras*, love brooks no delays: the time's quickly gone that's spent in her company, the miles short, the way pleasant; all weather is good whilst he goes to her house, heat or cold; though his teeth chatter in his head, he moves not; wet or dry, 'tis all one; wet to the skin, he feels it not, cares not at least for it, but will easily endure it and much more, because it is done with alacrity, and for his mistress' sweet sake; let the burden be never so heavy, love makes it light. Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and it was quickly gone because he loved her.¹ None so merry if he may haply enjoy her company, he is in heaven for a time; and if he may not, dejected in an instant, solitary, silent, he departs weeping, lamenting, sighing, complaining.

But the symptoms of the mind in lovers are almost infinite, and so diverse that no art can comprehend them; though they be merry sometimes, and rapt beyond themselves for joy, yet most part, love is a plague, a torture, an hell, a bitter-sweet passion at last; *Amor melle et felle est fecundissimus, gustum dat dulcem et amarum*² [love abounds with both honey and gall, it hath both sweet and bitter taste]. 'Tis *suavis amarities, dolentia delectabilis, hilare tormentum* [a sweet bitterness, a delightful grief, a cheerful torment];

*Et me melle beant suaviora,
Et me felle necant amariora.*³

[Its sweetness more than honey doth delight,
Its bitterness doth worse than wormwood spite.]

Like a summer fly or sphinx's wings, or a rainbow of all colours

*Quæ ad solis radios conversæ aureæ erant,
Adversus nubes cæruleæ, quale jubar iridis,*

[Which when turned to the sun were golden and when
turned to the clouds dark, like the colours of the
rainbow,]

fair, foul, and full of variation, though most part irksome and bad. For, in a word, the Spanish Inquisition is not comparable to it; "a torment and execution" it is, as he calls it in the poet,⁴ an unquenchable fire, and what not? "From it," saith Austin, "arise biting cares, perturbations, passions, sorrows, fears, suspicions, discontents, contentions, discords, wars

treacheries, enmities, flattery, cozening, riot, impudence, cruelty, knavery," etc.¹

*Dolor, querelæ,
Lamentatio, lacrimæ perennes,
Languor, anxietas, amaritudo;
Aut si triste magis potest quid esse,
Hos tu das comites, Neæra, vitæ.*²

[Grief, quarrels, laments, perpetual tears, languor, anxiety, bitterness, and even worse than these—such, Neæra, you make the companions of my life.]

These be the companions of lovers, and the ordinary symptoms, as the poet repeats them.

*In amore insunt vitia,
Suspiciones, inimicitia, audacia,
Bellum, pax rursum, etc.*³

*Insomnia, ærumna, error, terror, et fuga,
Incogitantia, excors immodestia,
Petulantia, cupiditas, et malevolentia;
Inhæret etiam aviditas, desidia, injuria,
Inopia, contumelia, et dispendium, etc.*⁴

In love these vices are: suspicions, Peace, war, and impudence, detractions, Dreams, cares, and errors, terrors and affrights, Immodest pranks, devices, sleights and flights, Heart-burnings, wants, neglects, desire of wrong, Loss continual, expense, and hurt among.

Every poet is full of such catalogues of love-symptoms; but fear and sorrow may justly challenge the chief place. Though Hercules de Saxonia, *cap. 3, Tract. de melanch.*, will exclude fear from love-melancholy, yet I am otherwise persuaded. *Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.*⁵ 'Tis full of fear, anxiety, doubt, care, peevishness, suspicion; it turns a man into a woman, which made Hesiod belike put Fear and Paleness Venus' daughters:

*Marti clypeos atque arma secanti
Alma Venus peperit Pallorem, unaque Timorem,*

because fear and love are still linked together. Moreover, they are apt to mistake, amplify, too credulous sometimes, too full of hope and confidence, and then again very jealous, unapt to believe or entertain any good news. The comical poet hath prettily painted out this passage amongst the rest in a dialogue betwixt Micio and Æschines, a gentle father and a lovesick son.⁶ "M. Be of good cheer, my son, thou shalt have her to wife. Æ. Ah, father, do you mock me now? M. I mock

thee, why? *Æ.* That which I so earnestly desire, I more suspect and fear. *M.* Get you home, and send for her to be your wife. *Æ.* What now, a wife? now, father," etc. These doubts, anxieties, suspicions are the least part of their torments; they break many times from passions to actions, speak fair, and flatter, now most obsequious and willing, by and by they are averse, wrangle, fight, swear, quarrel, laugh, weep; and he that doth not so by fits, Lucian holds,¹ is not thoroughly touched with this loadstone of love. So their actions and passions are intermixed, but of all other passions, sorrow hath the greatest share; love to many is bitterness itself;² *rem amaram* Plato calls it, a bitter potion, an agony, a plague.

*Eripile hanc pestem perniciemque mihi;
Quæ mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus
Expulit ex omni pectore lætities.*

O take away this plague, this mischief from me
Which, as a numbness over all my body,
Expels my joys, and makes my soul so heavy.

Phædria had a true touch of this, when he cried out:

*O Thais, utinam esset mihi
Pars æqua amoris tecum, ac pariter fieret ut
Aut hoc tibi doleret itidem, ut mihi dolet.³*

O Thais, would thou hadst of these my pains a part,
Or, as it doth me now, so it would make thee smart.

So had that young man, when she roared again for discontent:

*Jactor, crucior, agitor, stimulator,
Versor in amoris rota miser,
Exanimor, feror, distrahor, deripior,
Ubi sum, ibi non sum; ubi non sum, ibi est animus.⁴*

I am vext and toss'd, and rack'd on love's wheel:
Where not, I am; but where am, do not feel.

The Moon, in Lucian,⁵ made her moan to Venus, that she was almost dead for love, *Pereo equidem amore*, and after a long tale, she broke off abruptly and wept: "O Venus, thou knowest my poor heart."⁶ Charmides, in Lucian,⁷ was so impatient that he sobbed and sighed, and tore his hair, and said he would hang himself: "I am undone, O sister Tryphœna, I cannot endure these love pangs; what shall I do?" *Vos, o dii Averrunci, solvite me his curis!* O ye gods, free me from these cares and miseries! out of the anguish of his soul, Theocles prays.⁸ Shall I say, most part of a lover's life is full of agony, anxiety, fear,

and grief, complaints, sighs, suspicions, and cares (heigh-ho, my heart is wo), full of silence and irksome solitariness?

Frequenting shady bowers in discontent,
To the air his fruitless clamours he will vent,

except at such times that he hath *lucida intervalla*, pleasant gales, or sudden alterations, as if his mistress smile upon him, give him a good look, a kiss, or that some comfortable message be brought him, his service is accepted, etc.

He is then too confident and rapt beyond himself, as if he had heard the nightingale in the spring before the cuckoo, or as Callisto was at Melibœa's presence,¹ *Quis unquam hac mortali vita tam gloriosum corpus vidit? humanitatem transcendere videor*, etc. Who ever saw so glorious a sight, what man ever enjoyed such delight? More content cannot be given of the gods, wished, had, or hoped of any mortal man. There is no happiness in the world comparable to his, no content, no joy to this, no life to love, he is in paradise.

*Quis me uno vivit felicior? aut magis hac est
Optandum vita dicere quis poterit?*²

Who lives so happy as myself? what bliss
In this our life may be compared to this?

He will not change fortune in that case with a prince:

*Donec gratus eram tibi,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.*³

The Persian kings are not so jovial as he is. *O festus dies hominis!*⁴ O happy day! so Chærea exclaims when he came from Pamphila his sweetheart well pleased:

*Nunc est profecto interficere cum perpeti me possem,
Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aliqua ægritudine,*

he could find in his heart to be killed instantly, lest, if he live longer, some sorrow or sickness should contaminate his joys. A little after, he was so merrily set upon the same occasion that he could not contain himself.

*O populares, ecquis me vivit hodie fortunatior?
Nemo hercule quisquam; nam in me di plane potestatem suam
Omnem ostendere;*⁵

"Is 't possible (O my countrymen) for any living to be so happy as myself? No, sure, it cannot be, for the gods have showed all their power, all their goodness in me." Yet by and by,

when this young gallant was crossed in his wench, he laments, and cries, and roars downright: *Occidi*, I am undone,

*Neque virgo est usquam, neque ego, qui e conspectu illam amisi meo.
Ubi quæram, ubi investigem, quem percuncter, quam insistam viam?*

"The virgin's gone, and I am gone, she's gone, she's gone, and what shall I do? where shall I seek her, where shall I find her, whom shall I ask? what way, what course shall I take? what will become of me?" *Vitales auras invitus agebat*,¹ he was weary of his life, sick, mad, and desperate, *Utinam mihi esset aliquid hic, quo nunc me præcipitem darem*² [would there were some precipice here down which I might throw myself]. 'Tis not Chæreas' case this alone, but his, and his, and every lover's in the like state. If he hear ill news, have bad success in his suit, she frown upon him, or that his mistress in his presence respect another more (as Hædus observes³), "prefer author suitor, speak more familiarly to him, or use more kindly than himself, if by nod, smile, message she discloseth herself to another, he is instantly tormented, none so dejected as he is," utterly undone, a castaway, *in quem fortuna omnia odiorum suorum crudelissima tela exonerat*⁴ [on whom Fortune discharges the most cruel missiles of her hate], a dead man, the scorn of fortune, a monster of fortune, worse than naught, the loss of a kingdom had been less. Aretine's Lucretia made very good proof of this, as she relates it herself.⁵ "For when I made some of my suitors believe I would betake myself to a nunnery, they took on as if they had lost father and mother, because they were for ever after to want my company." *Omnes labores leves fuere*, all other labour was light: but this might not be endured, *Tui carendum quod erat*,⁶ "for I cannot be without thy company," mournful Amyntas, painful Amyntas, careful Amyntas; better a metropolitan city were sacked, a royal army overcome, an invincible armada sunk, and twenty thousand kings should perish, than her little finger ache, so zealous are they, and so tender of her good. "They would all turn friars for my sake," as she follows it, "in hope by that means to meet or see me again, as my confessors, at stool-ball or at barley-break." And so afterwards, when an importunate suitor came, "If I had bid my maid say that I was not at leisure, not within, busy, could not speak with him, he was instantly astonished, and stood like a pillar of marble; another went swearing, chafing, cursing, foaming":⁷ *Illà sibi vox ipsa Jovis violentior ira, cum tonat*⁸ [that word was more terrible to him than the

wrath of Jupiter when he thunders], etc., the voice of a mandrake had been sweeter music; "but he to whom I gave entertainment was in the Elysian Fields, ravished for joy, quite beyond himself." 'Tis the general humour of all lovers, she is their stern, pole-star, and guide: *Deliciumque animi, deliquiumque sui*¹ [the delight of their soul and their own eclipse]. As a tulipant to the sun (which our herbalists call narcissus) when it shines, is *admirandus flos ad radios solis se pandens*, a glorious flower exposing itself; but when the sun sets, or a tempest comes, it hides itself, pines away, and hath no pleasure left² (which Carolus Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in a cause not unlike, sometimes used for an impress), do all inamorates to their mistress; she is their sun, their *primum mobile*, or *anima informans* [animating soul]; this one³ hath elegantly expressed by a windmill, still moved by the wind, which otherwise hath no motion of itself: *Sic tua ni spiret gratia, truncus ero*. He is wholly animated from her breath, his soul lives in her body, *sola claves habet interitus et salutis*,⁴ she keeps the keys of his life: his fortune ebbs and flows with her favour, a gracious or bad aspect turns him up or down: *Mens mea lucescit, Lucia, luce tua*. Howsoever his present state be pleasing or displeasing, 'tis continue so long as he loves,⁵ he can do nothing, think of nothing but her; desire hath no rest, she is his cynosure, *Hesperus et Vesper*, his morning and evening star, his goddess, his mistress, his life, his soul, his everything; dreaming, waking, she is always in his mouth; his heart, his eyes, ears, and all his thoughts are full of her. His Laura, his Victorina, his Columbina, Flavia, Flaminia, Cælia, Delia, or Isabella (call her how you will), she is the sole object of his senses, the substance of his soul, *nidulus animæ suæ*, he magnifies her above measure, *totus in illa*, full of her, can breathe nothing but her. "I adore Melibœa," saith lovesick Callisto,⁶ "I believe in Melibœa, I honour, admire and love my Melibœa"; his soul was soused, imparadised, imprisoned in his lady. When Thais took her leave of Phædrîa,⁷ *Mi Phædrîa, et nunquid aliud vis?* "Sweetheart" (she said) "will you command me any further service?" He readily replied, and gave in this charge:

Egone quid velem?

Dies noctesque ames me, me desideres,

Me somnies, me expectes, me cogites,

Me speres, me te oblectes, mecum tota sis,

Meus fac sis postremo animus, quando ego sum tuus.

Dost ask (my dear) what service I will have?

To love me day and night is all I crave,

To dream on me, to expect, to think on me,
Depend and hope, still covet me to see,
Delight thyself in me, be wholly mine,
For know, my love, that I am wholly thine.

But all this needed not, you will say; if she affect once, she will be his, settle her love on him, on him alone:

*Illum absens absentem
Auditque videtque,*¹

[Though parted, she sees and hears but him,]

she can, she must think and dream of naught else but him, continually of him, as did Orpheus on his Eurydice:

*Te dulcis conjux, te solo in littore mecum,
Te veniente die, te discedente canebar.*

On thee, sweet wife, was all my song.
Morn, evening, and all along.

And Dido upon her Æneas:

*Et quæ me insomnia terrent,
Multa viri virtus, et plurima currit imago.*

And ever and anon she thinks upon the man
That was so fine, so fair, so blithe, so debonair.

Clitophon, in the first book of Achilles Tatius, complaineth how that his mistress Leucippe tormented him much more in the night than in the day. "For all day long he had some object or other to distract his senses, but in the night all ran upon her. All night long he lay awake, and could think of nothing else but her,"² he could not get her out of his mind; towards morning, sleep took a little pity on him, he slumbered awhile, but all his dreams were of her."³

*Te nocte sub atra
Alloquor, amplector, falsa que in imagine somni,
Gaudia sollicitam palpant evanida mentem.*⁴

In the dark night I speak, embrace, and find
That fading joys deceive my careful mind.

The same complaint Euryalus makes to his Lucretia: "Day and night I think of thee, I wish for thee, I talk of thee, call on thee, look for thee, hope for thee, delight myself in thee, day and night I love thee."⁵

*Nec mihi vespere
Surgente decedunt amores,
Nec rapidum fugiente solem.*⁶

[My love-thoughts leave me not, nor when the evening star rises nor when it flees before the sun.]

Morning, evening, all is alike with me, I have restless thoughts. *Te vigilans oculis, animo te nocte requiro*¹ [in waking hours I seek thee with my eyes, at night with my thoughts]. Still I think on thee. *Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi amat* [the soul is not where it breathes but where it loves]. I live and breathe in thee, I wish for thee.

*O niveam quæ te poterit mihi reddere lucem !
O mihi felicem terque quaterque diem !*²

O happy day that shall restore thee to my sight! In the meantime he raves on her; her sweet face, eyes, actions, gestures, hands, feet, speech, length, breadth, height, depth, and the rest of her dimensions, are so surveyed, measured, and taken by that astrolabe of phantasy, and that so violently sometimes, with such earnestness and eagerness, such continuance, so strong an imagination, that at length he thinks he sees her indeed; he talks with her, he embraceth her, Ixion-like, *pro Junone nubem*, a cloud for Juno, as he said. *Nihil præter Leucippen cerno, Leucippe mihi perpetuo in oculis et animo versatur*, I see and meditate of naught but Leucippe. Be she present or absent, all is one:

*Et quamvis aberat placidæ præsentia formæ
Quem dederat præsens forma, manebat amor.*³

[Though her fair form was no longer present in the flesh, the love which it had inspired remained.]

That impression of her beauty is still fixed in his mind, *hærent infixi pectore vultus*⁴ [the image of her face remains fixed in his heart]; as he that is bitten with a mad dog thinks all he sees dogs, dogs in his meat, dogs in his dish, dogs in his drink, his mistress is in his eyes, ears, heart, in all his senses. Valleriola had a merchant, his patient, in the same predicament; and Ulricus Molitor,⁵ out of Austin, hath a story of one that through vehemency of his love passion still thought he saw his mistress present with him; she talked with him, *et commisceri cum ea vigilans videbatur*, still embracing him.

Now if this passion of love can produce such effects if it be pleasantly intended, what bitter torments shall it breed when it is with fear and continual sorrow, suspicion, care, agony, as commonly it is, still accompanied! what an intolerable pain must it be!⁶

*Non tam grandes
Gargara culmos, quot demerso
Pectore curas longa nexas
Usque catena, vel quæ penitus
Crudehs amor vulnera miscet.*

Mount Gargarus hath not so many stems
As lover's breast hath grievous wounds,
And linked cares, which love compounds.

When the King of Babylon would have punished a courtier of his for loving of a young lady of the royal blood and far above his fortunes, Apollonius¹ in presence by all means persuaded to let him alone; "for to love and not enjoy was a most unspeakable torment," no tyrant could invent the like punishment; as a gnat at a candle, in a short space he would consume himself. For love is a perpetual flux, *angor animi*² [mental anguish], a warfare, *militat omnis amans* [every lover is in the wars], a grievous wound is love still, and a lover's heart is Cupid's quiver, a consuming fire³ (*Accede ad hanc, ignem*, etc.⁴), an inextinguishable fire.

*Alitur et crescit malum,
Et ardet intus, qualis Ætnæ vapor
Exundat antro.*⁵

As Ætna rageth, so doth love, and more than Ætna or any material fire.

*Nam amor sæpe Liparæo
Vulcano ardentiorum flammam incendere solet.*⁶

Vulcan's flames are but smoke to this. For fire, saith Xenophon, burns them alone that stand near it, or touch it; but this fire of love burneth and scorcheth afar off,⁷ and is more hot and vehement than any material fire; *Ignis in igne furit*,⁸ 'tis a fire in a fire, the quintessence of fire. For when Nero burnt Rome, as Callisto urgeth, he fired houses, consumed men's bodies and goods; but this fire devours the soul itself, "and one soul is worth an hundred thousand bodies."⁹ No water can quench this wild-fire.

*In pectus cæcos absorbunt ignes,
Ignes qui nec aqua perimi potuere, nec imbre
Diminui, neque graminibus, magicisque susurris.*¹⁰

A fire he took into his breast,
Which water could not quench,
Nor herb, nor art, nor magic spells
Could quell, nor any drench,

except it be tears and sighs, for so they may chance find a little ease.

*Sic candentia colla, sic patens frons,
Sic me blanda tui, Neæra, ocelli,*

*Sic pares minio genæ perurunt,
Ut ni me lacrimæ rigent perennes,
Totus in tenues eam favillas.¹*

So thy white neck, Næra, me poor soul
Doth scorch, thy cheeks, thy wanton eyes that roll
Were it not for my dropping tears that hinder,
I should be quite burnt up forthwith to cinder.

This fire strikes like lightning, which made those old Grécians paint Cupid in many of their temples with Jupiter's thunderbolts in his hands;² for it wounds, and cannot be perceived how, whence it came, where it pierced:

Urimur, et cæcum pectora vulnus habent,³
[We are aflame, our hearts smitten by an unseen hand,]

and can hardly be discerned at first.

*Est mollis flamma medullas,
Et tacitum insano vivit sub pectore vulnus.⁴*

A gentle wound, an easy fire it was,
And sly at first, and secretly did pass.

But by and by it began to rage and burn amain:

*Pectus insanum vapor,
Amorque torret, intus sævus vorat
Penitus medullas, atque per venas meat
Visceribus ignis mersus, et venis latens,
Ut agilis altas flamma percurrit trabes.⁵*

This fiery vapour rageth in the veins,
And scorcheth entrails, as when fire burns
A house, it nimbly runs along the beams,
And at the last the whole it overturns.

Abraham Hoffmannus, *lib. 1 Amor. conjugal. cap. 2, pag. 22*, relates out of Plato, how that Empedocles the philosopher was present at the cutting up of one that died for love, "his heart was combust, his liver smoky, his lungs dried up, insomuch that he verily believed his soul was either sod or roasted through the vehemency of love's fire."⁶ Which belike made a modern writer of amorous emblems express love's fury by a pot hanging over the fire, and Cupid blowing the coals. As the heat consumes the water, *Sic sua consumit viscera cæcus amor,⁷* so doth love dry up his radical moisture. Another compares love to a melting torch, which stood too near the fire.

*Sic quo quis propior suæ puellæ est,
Hoc stultus propior suæ ruinæ est.⁸*

The nearer he unto his mistress is,
The nearer he unto his ruin is.

So that to say truth, as Castilio describes it,¹ "The beginning, middle, end of love is naught else but sorrow, vexation, agony, torment, irksomeness, wearisomeness; so that to be squalid, ugly, miserable, solitary, discontent, dejected, to wish for death, to complain, rave, and to be peevish, are the certain signs and ordinary actions of a lovesick person." This continual pain and torture makes them forget themselves, if they be far gone with it, in doubt, despair of obtaining, or eagerly bent, to neglect all ordinary business.

*Pendent opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes, æquataque machina cælo.*²

[Half finished hang the works, the frowning wall,
The battlements to heaven rising tall.]

Lovesick Dido left her work undone, so did Phædra:³

*Palladis telæ vacant
Et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus.*

[The distaff is idle, the web drops from her listless hands.]

Faustus, in Mantuan,⁴ took no pleasure in anything he did:

*Nulla quies mihi dulcis erat, nullus labor ægro
Pectore, sensus iners, et mens torpore sepulta,
Carminis occiderat studium.*

[I found no pleasure either in rest or work, my senses
were numb and my mind inert, my love of poetry
faded.]

And 'tis the humour of them all to be careless of their persons and their estates, as the shepherd in Theocritus,⁵ *Et hæc barba inculta est, squalidique capilli*, their beards flag, and they have no more care of pranking themselves, or of any business; they care not, as they say, which end goes forward.

*Oblitusque greges et rura domestica, totus
Uritur, et noctes in luctum expendit amaras.*⁶

Forgetting flocks of sheep and country farms,
The silly shepherd always mourns and burns.

Lovesick Chærea,⁷ when he came from Pamphila's house and had not so good welcome as he did expect, was all amort, Parmeno meets him: *Quid tristis es?* "Why art thou so sad, man?" *unde es?* "whence com'st, how dost?" but he sadly replies, *Ego hercle nescio neque unde eam, neque quorsum eam, ita prorsus oblitus sum mei*, "I have so forgotten myself, I

neither know where I am, nor whence I come, nor whether I will, what I do." *P.* "How so?" *Ch.* "I am in love." ¹

*Prudens sciens,
Vivus vidensque pereo, nec quid agam scio.*²

[Knowingly and wittingly I perish with my eyes open,
and know not what to do.]

"He that erst had his thoughts free" (as Philostratus Lemnius, in an epistle of his, describes this fiery passion), "and spent his time like an hard student, in those delightsome philosophical precepts; he that with the sun and moon wandered all over the world, with stars themselves ranged about, and left no secret or small mystery in nature unsearched, since he was enamoured can do nothing now but think and meditate of love-matters, day and night composeth himself how to please his mistress; all his study, endeavour, is to approve himself to his mistress, to win his mistress' favour, to compass his desire, to be counted her servant."³ When Peter Abelhardus, that great scholar of his age, *cui soli patuit scibile quicquid erat*⁴ [to whom alone was known whatever is knowable], was now in love with Helonissa, he had no mind to visit or frequent schools and scholars any more. *Tædiosum mihi valde fuit* (as he confesseth⁵) *ad scholas procedere, vel in iis morari* [I had no patience to go to the schools or to stay there], all his mind was on his new mistress.

Now to this end and purpose, if there be any hope of obtaining his suit, to prosecute his cause, he will spend himself, goods, fortunes for her, and though he lose and alienate all his friends, be threatened, be cast off, and disinherited; for, as the poet saith, *Amori quis legem det?*⁶ [Who can lay down the law to love?] though he be utterly undone by it, disgraced, go a-begging, yet for her sweet sake, to enjoy her, he will willingly beg, hazard all he hath, goods, lands, shame, scandal, fame, and life itself.

*Non recedam neque quiescam, noctu et interdiu,
Prius profecto quam aut ipsam, aut mortem investigavero.*

I 'll never rest or cease my suit
Till she or death do make me mute.

Parthenis in Aristænetus⁷ was fully resolved to do as much. "I may have better matches, I confess, but farewell shame, farewell honour, farewell honesty, farewell friends and fortunes, etc. O Harpedona, keep my counsel, I will leave all for his sweet sake, I will have him, say no more, *contra gentes* [in the teeth of all the world], I am resolved, I will have him." Gobryas⁸

the captain, when he had espied Rhodanthe, the fair captive maid, fell upon his knees before Mystylus the general, with tears, vows, and all the rhetoric he could, by the scars he had formerly received, the good service he had done, or whatsoever else was dear unto him, besought his governor he might have the captive virgin to be his wife, *virtutis suæ spoliū*, as a reward of his worth and service; and moreover, he would forgive him the money which was owing, and all reckonings besides due unto him, "I ask no more, no part of booty, no portion, but Rhodanthe to be my wife." And whenas he could not compass her by fair means, he fell to treachery, force and villainy, and set his life at stake at last to accomplish his desire. 'Tis a common humour this, a general passion of all lovers to be so affected, and which Æmilia told Aretine, a courtier in Castilio's discourse: "Surely, Aretine, if thou werst not so indeed, thou didst not love; ingenuously confess, for if thou hadst been thoroughly enamoured, thou wouldst have desired nothing more than to please thy mistress. For that is the law of love, to will and nill the same." ¹ *Tantum velle et nolle, velit nolit quod amica.*²

Undoubtedly this may be pronounced of them all, they are very slaves, drudges for the time, madmen, fools, dizzards, *atrabilarii*,³ beside themselves, and as blind as beetles. Their dotage is most eminent,⁴ *Amare simul et sapere ipsi Jovi non datur*, as Seneca holds, Jupiter himself cannot love and be wise both together; the very best of them, if once they be overtaken with this passion, the most staid, discreet, grave, generous and wise, otherwise able to govern themselves, in this commit many absurdities, many indecorums, unbefitting their gravity and persons.

*Quisquis amat servit, sequitur captivus amantem,
Fert domita cervice jugum.*⁵

[Whoso loves is in bondage, he follows his lady-love
like a thrall, and bears the yoke with bowed neck.]

Samson, David, Solomon, Hercules, Socrates, etc., are justly taxed of indiscretion in this point; the middle sort are betwixt hawk and buzzard;⁶ and although they do perceive and acknowledge their own dotage, weakness, fury, yet they cannot withstand it; as well may witness those expostulations and confessions of Dido in Virgil:

*Incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit.*⁷

[She made as if to speak, but stopped with word half
uttered.]

Phædra in Seneca:

*Quod ratio poscit, vincit ac regnat furor,
Potensque tota mente dominatur deus.*¹

[The claims of reason are overborne by passion, and the God of Love completely sways her mind.]

Myrrha in Ovid:²

*Illa quidem sentit, fædoque repugnat amori,
Et secum "Quo mente feror, quid molior," inquit,
"Di, precor, et pietas," etc.*

She sees and knows her fault, and doth resist,
Against her filthy lust she doth contend,
And "Whither go I, what am I about?"
And "God forbid!" yet doth it in the end.

Again:

*Pervigil igni
Carpitur indomito, furiosaque vota retractat,
Et modo desperat, modo vult tentare, pudelque
Et cupit, et quid agat, non invenit, etc.*

With raging lust she burns, and now recalls
Her vow, and then despairs, and when 'tis past,
Her former thoughts she'll prosecute in haste,
And what to do she knows not at the last.

She will and will not, abhors; and yet as Medea did, doth it:

*Trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido,
Mens aliud suadet; video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor.*

Reason pulls one way, burning lust another.
She sees and knows what's good, but she doth neither.

*O fraus, amorque, et mentis emotæ furor,
Quo me abstulistis?*³

[Deceitful love and headstrong passion, whither have ye led me?]

The major part of lovers are carried headlong like so many brute beasts; reason counsels one way, thy friends, fortunes, shame, disgrace, danger, and an ocean of cares that will certainly follow; yet this furious lust precipitates, counterpoiseth, weighs down on the other; though it be their utter undoing, perpetual infamy, loss, yet they will do it, and become at last *insensati*, void of sense; degenerate into dogs, hogs, asses, brutes; as Jupiter into a bull, Apuleius an ass, Lycaon a wolf, Tereus a lapwing, Callisto a bear,⁴ Elpenor and Gryllus into swine by Circe. For what else may we think those ingenious poets to

have shadowed in their witty fictions and poems, but that a man once given over to his lust (as Fulgentius interprets that of Apuleius,¹ Alciat of Tereus) is no better than a beast.

*Rex fueram, sic crista docet, sed sordida vita
Immundam e tanto culmine fecit avem.*²

I was a king, my crown my witness is,
But by my filthiness am come to this.

Their blindness is all out as great, as manifest as their weakness and dotage, or rather an inseparable companion, an ordinary sign of it. Love is blind,³ as the saying is, Cupid's blind, and so are all his followers. *Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam* [whoso loves a frog, thinks that frog a Dian]. Every lover admires his mistress, though she be very deformed of herself, ill-favoured, wrinkled, pimpled, pale, red, yellow, tanned, tallow-faced, have a swollen juggler's platter face, or a thin, lean, chitty face, have clouds in her face, be crooked, dry, bald, goggle-eyed, blear-eyed, or with staring eyes, she looks like a squis'd cat, hold her head still awry, heavy, dull, hollow-eyed, black or yellow about the eyes, or squint-eyed, sparrow-mouthed, Persian hook-nosed, have a sharp fox-nose, a red nose, China flat, great nose, *nare simo patuloque* [snub and flat nose], a nose like a promontory, gubber-tushed, rotten teeth, black, uneven, brown teeth, beetle-browed, a witch's beard, her breath stink all over the room, her nose drop winter and summer, with a Bavarian poke under her chin, a sharp chin, lave-eared, with a long crane's neck, which stands awry too, *pendulis mammis*, "her dugs like two double jugs," or else no dugs, in that other extreme, bloody-fallen fingers, she have filthy, long unpared nails, scabbed hands or wrists, a tanned skin, a rotten carcass, crooked back, she stoops, is lame, splay-footed, "as slender in the middle as a cow in the waist," gouty legs, her ankles hang over her shoes, her feet stink, she breed lice, a mere changeling, a very monster, an oaf imperfect, her whole complexion savours, an harsh voice, incondite gesture, vile gait, a vast virago, or an ugly tit, a slug, a fat fustilugs, a truss, a long lean rawbone, a skeleton, a sneaker (*si qua latent meliora puta* [think that what is not seen is better]), and to thy judgment looks like a mard in a lanthorn, whom thou couldst not fancy for a world, but hatest, loathest, and wouldst have spit in her face, or blow thy nose in her bosom, *remedium amoris* [a cure for love] to another man, a dowdy, a slut, a scold, a nasty, rank, rammy, filthy, beastly quean, dishonest

peradventure, obscene, base, beggarly, rude, foolish, untaught, peevish, Irus' daughter, Thersites' sister, Grobian's scholar; if he love her once, he admires her for all this, he takes no notice of any such errors or imperfections of body or mind,

*Ipsa hæc
Delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Agnæ ;¹*

[These very things charm him, as Agna's polypus did
Balbinus;]

he had rather have her than any woman in the world. If he were a king, she alone should be his queen, his empress. O that he had but the wealth and treasure of both the Indies to endow her with, a carrack of diamonds, a chain of pearl, a carcanet of jewels (a pair of calf-skin gloves of fourpence a pair were fitter), or some such toy, to send her for a token, she should have it with all his heart; he would spend myriads of crowns for her sake. Venus herself, Panthea, Cleopatra, Tarquin's Tanaquil, Herod's Mariamne, or Mary of Burgundy,² if she were alive, would not match her.

*(Vincit vultus hæc Tyndaridos,
Qui moverunt horrida bella,³*

[Her beauty surpasseth Helen's, which caused a
mighty war,]

let Paris himself be judge), renowned Helen comes short, that Rhodopeian Phyllis, Larissæan Coronis, Babylonian Thisbe, Polyxena, Laura, Lesbia, etc., your counterfeit ladies were never so fair as she is.

*Quicquid erit placidi, lepidi, grati, atque faceti,
Vivida cunctorum retines Pandora deorum.⁴*

Whate'er is pretty, pleasant, facete, well,
Whate'er Pandora had, she doth excel.

Dicebam Triviæ formam nihil esse Dianæ,⁵ Diana was not to be compared to her, nor Juno, nor Minerva, nor any goddess. Thetis' feet were as bright as silver, the ankles of Hebe clearer than crystal, the arms of Aurora as ruddy as the rose, Juno's breasts as white as snow, Minerva wise, Venus fair; but what of this? Dainty, come thou to me. She is all in all:

*Cælia ridens
Est Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.⁶*

[Cælia is Venus laughing, Juno walking, Minerva speaking.]

Fairest of fair, that fairness doth excel.⁶

Euemerus, in Aristænetus, so far admireth his mistress' good

parts that he makes proclamation of them, and challengeth all comers in her behalf. "Who ever saw the beauties of the East, or of the West, let them come from all quarters, all, and tell truth, if ever they saw such an excellent feature as this is."¹ A good fellow in Petronius cries out, no tongue can tell his lady's fine feature, or express it.² *Quicquid dixeris minus erit*, etc.

No tongue can her perfections tell,
In whose each part all tongues may dwell.

Most of your lovers are of his humour and opinion. She is *nulli secunda* [second to none], a rare creature, a phoenix, the sole commandress of his thoughts, queen of his desires, his only delight: as Triton now feelingly sings,³ that lovesick sea-god:

*Candida Leucothoe placet, et placet atra Melæne,
Sed Galatea placet longe magis omnibus una.*

Fair Leucothe, black Melæne please me well,
Bat Galatea doth by odds the rest excel.

All the gracious elogies, metaphors, hyperbolical comparisons of the best things in the world, the most glorious names; whatsoever, I say, is pleasant, amiable, sweet, grateful, and delicious, are too little for her.

Phæbo pulchrior et sorore Phæbi.

His Phœbe is so fair, she is so bright,
She dims the sun's lustre, and the moon's light.

Stars, sun, moons, metals, sweet-smelling flowers, odours, perfumes, colours, gold, silver, ivory, pearls, precious stones, snow, painted birds, doves, honey, sugar, spice, cannot express her, so soft, so tender, so radiant, sweet, so fair is she.⁴ *Mollior cuniculi capillo* [softer than a rabbit's fur], etc.

*Lydia bella, puella candida,
Quæ bene superas lac, et lilium,
Albamque simul rosam et rubicundam,
Et expolitum ebur Indicum.*⁵

Fine Lydia, my mistress, white and fair,
The milk, the lily do not thee come near;
The rose so white, the rose so red to see,
And Indian ivory comes short of thee.

Such a description our English Homer makes of a fair lady:

That Emilia that was fairer to seen,
Than is lily upon the stalk green:
And fresher than May with flowers new,
For with the rose colour strove her hue,
I no't which was the fairer of the two.⁶

In this very phrase Polypæmus courts Galatea: ¹

*Candidior folio nivei Galatea ligustri,
Floridior prato, longa procerior alno,
Splendidior vitro, tenero lascivior hædo, etc.
Mollior et cygni plumis, et lacte coacto.*

Whiter Galet than the white withy-wind,
Fresher than a field, higher than a tree,
Brighter than glass, more wanton than a kid,
Softer than swan's down, or aught that may be.

So she admires him again, in that conceited dialogue of Lucian, which John Secundus, an elegant Dutch modern poet, hath translated into verse. When Doris and those other sea-nymphs upbraided her with her ugly misshapen lover Polyphemus, she replies, they speak out of envy and malice,

*Et plane invidia huc mera vos stimulare videtur,
Quod non vos itidem ut me Polyphemus amet.*

[Plainly 'tis envy that prompts you to this, since
Polyphemus loves you not as he loves me.]

Say what they could, he was a proper man. And as Helonissa writ to her sweetheart Peter Abelhardus, *Si me Augustus orbis imperator uxorem expeteret, mallet tua esse meretrix quam orbis imperatrix*; she had rather be his vassal, his quean, than the world's empress or queen; *non si me Jupiter ipse forte velit*, she would not change her love for Jupiter himself.

To thy thinking she is a most loathsome creature; and as when a country fellow discommended once that exquisite picture of Helen, made by Zeuxis, for he saw no such beauty in it,² Nichomachus, a lovesick spectator, replied, *Sume tibi meos oculos et deam existimabis*, take mine eyes, and thou wilt think she is a goddess, dote on her forthwith, count all her vices virtues, her imperfections infirmities, absolute and perfect: if she be flat-nosed, she is lovely; if hook-nosed, kingly; if dwarfish and little, pretty; if tall, proper and man-like, our brave British Bunduica; if crooked, wise; if monstrous, comely; her defects are no defects at all, she hath no deformities. *Immo nec ipsum amicæ stercus fælet*, though she be nasty, fulsome, as Sostratus' bitch, or Parmeno's sow; thou hadst as lieve have a snake in thy bosom, a toad in thy dish, and callest her witch, devil, hag, with all the filthy names thou canst invent; he admires her on the other side, she is his idol, lady, mistress, *Venerilla*³ [little Venus], queen, the quintessence of beauty, an angel, a star, a goddess.

Thou art my Vesta, thou my goddess art,
Thy hallowed temple only is my heart.¹

The fragrancy of a thousand courtesans is in her face: *Nec pulchræ effigies hæc Cypridis aut Stratonices*, 'tis not Venus' picture that, nor the Spanish infanta's, as you suppose (good sir), no princess, or king's daughter; no, no, but his divine mistress forsooth, his dainty Dulcinea, his dear Antiphila, to whose service he is wholly consecrate, whom he alone adores,

*Cui comparatus indecens erit pavo,
Inamabilis sciurus, et frequens phœnix.*²

To whom conferr'd a peacock 's undecent,
A squirrel 's harsh, a phœnix too frequent.

All the Graces, veneries, elegancies, pleasures, attend her. He prefers her before a myriad of court ladies.

He that commends Phyllis or Neæra,
Or Amaryllis, or Galatea,
Tityrus or Melibœa, by your leave,
Let him be mute, his love the praises have.³

Nay, before all the gods and goddesses themselves. So Quintus Catulus admired his squint-eyed friend Roscius:⁴

*Pace mihi liceat (cælestes) dicere vestra,
Mortalis visus pulchrior esse Deo.*

By your leave, gentle gods, this I 'll say true,
There 's none of you that have so fair a hue.

All the bombast epithets, pathological adjuncts, incomparably fair, curiously neat, divine, sweet, dainty, delicious, etc., pretty diminutives, *corculum*, *suaviolum* [little heart, little kiss], etc., pleasant names may be invented, bird, mouse, lamb, puss, pigeon, pigeoney, kid, honey, love, dove, chicken, etc., he puts on her:

*Meum mel, mea suavitas, meum cor,
Meum suaviolum, mei lepores.*⁵

[My honey, my sweetest, my heart, my kiss-cuddle,
my darling.]

my life, my light, my jewel, my glory, *Margarita speciosa, cujus respectu omnia mundi pretiosa sordent*,⁶ my sweet Margaret, my sole delight and darling. And as Rhodomant courted Isabella:⁷

By all kind words and gestures that he might,
He calls her his dear heart, his sole beloved,
His joyful comfort, and his sweet delight.
His mistress, and his goddess, and such names,
As loving knights apply to lovely dames.

Every cloth she wears, every fashion pleaseth him above measure; her hand, *O quales digitos, quos habet illa manus!* [what fingers, what hands are hers!], pretty foot, pretty coronets, her sweet carriage, sweet voice, tone, O that pretty tone, her divine and lovely looks, her everything, lovely, sweet, amiable, and pretty, pretty, pretty! Her very name (let it be what it will) is a most pretty, pleasing name; I believe now there is some secret power and virtue in names; every action, sight, habit, gesture he admires, whether she play, sing, or dance, in what tires soever she goeth, how excellent it was! how well it became her! never the like seen or heard. *Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet*¹ [a thousand ornaments she hath, and all become her]. Let her wear what she will, do what she will, say what she will, *Quicquid enim dicit, seu facit, omne decet*,² he applauds and admires everything she wears, saith or doth.

*Illam, quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia vertit,
Composuit furtim subsequiturque decor;
Seu solvit crines, fuis decet esse capillis,
Seu compsit, comptis est reverenda comis.*³

Whate'er she doth, or whither e'er she go,
A sweet and pleasing grace attends forsooth;
Or loose, or bind her hair, or comb it up,
She's to be honoured in what she doth.

*Vestem induitur, formosa est; exuitur, tota forma est:*⁴ let her be dressed or undressed, all is one, she is excellent still, beautiful, fair, and lovely to behold. Women do as much by men; nay more, far fonder, weaker, and that by many parasangs. "Come to me, my dear Lysias" (saith Musarium in Aristænetus⁵), "come quickly, sweetheart, all other men are satyrs, mere clowns, blockheads to thee, nobody to thee; thy looks, words, gestures, actions, etc., are incomparably beyond all others." Venus was never so much besotted on her Adonis, Phædra so delighted in Hippolytus, Ariadne in Theseus, Thisbe in her Pyramus, as she is enamoured on her Mopsus.

Be thou the marigold, and I will be the sun,
Be thou the friar, and I will be the nun.

I could repeat centuries of such. Now tell me what greater dotage or blindness can there be than this in both sexes? and yet their slavery is more eminent, a greater sign of their folly than the rest.

They are commonly slaves, captives, voluntary servants, *amator amicæ mancipium*, as Castilio terms him,⁶ his mistress'

servant, her drudge, prisoner, bondman, what not? "He composeth himself wholly to her affections to please her, and, as Æmilia said, makes himself her lackey. All his cares, actions, all his thoughts, are subordinate to her will and commandment"; her most devote, obsequious, affectionate servant and vassal. "For love" (as Cyrus in Xenophon well observed ¹) "is a mere tyranny, worse than any disease, and they that are troubled with it desire to be free and cannot, but are harder bound than if they were in iron chains." What greater captivity or slavery can there be (as Tully expostulates ²) than to be in love? "Is he a free man over whom a woman domineers, to whom she prescribes laws, commands, forbids what she will herself? that dares deny nothing she demands? she asks, he gives; she calls, he comes; she threatens, he fears; *nequissimum hunc servum puto*, I account this man a very drudge." And as he follows it, "Is this no small servitude for an enamorate to be every hour combing his head, stiffening his beard, perfuming his hair, washing his face with sweet waters, painting, curling, and not to come abroad but sprucely crowned, decked, and apparelled?" ³ Yet these are but toys in respect, to go to the barber, baths, theatres, etc., he must attend upon her wherever she goes, run along the streets by her doors and windows to see her, take all opportunities, sleeveless errands, disguise, counterfeit shapes, and as many forms as Jupiter himself ever took; and come every day to her house (as he will surely do if he be truly enamoured) and offer her service, and follow her up and down from room to room, as Lucretia's suitors did, he cannot contain himself but he will do it, he must and will be where she is, sit next her, still talking with her. "If I did but let my glove fall by chance" (as the said Aretine's Lucretia brags), "I had one of my suitors, nay, two or three at once, ready to stoop and take it up, and kiss it, and with a low congee deliver it unto me; if I would walk, another was ready to sustain me by the arm; a third to provide fruits, pears, plums, cherries, or whatsoever I would eat or drink." ⁴ All this and much more he doth in her presence, and when he comes home, as Troilus on his Creseid, 'tis all his meditation to recount with himself his actions, words, gestures, what entertainment he had, how kindly she used him in such a place, how she smiled, how she graced him, and that infinitely pleased him; and then he breaks out, "O sweet Areusa, O my dearest Antiphila, O most divine looks, O lovely graces!" and thereupon instantly he makes an epigram, or a sonnet to five or seven tunes, in her commendation,

or else he ruminates how she rejected his service, denied him a kiss, disgraced him, etc., and that as effectually torments him. And these are his exercises betwixt comb and glass, madrigals, elegies, etc., these his cogitations till he see her again. But all this is easy and gentle, and the least part of his labour and bondage; no hunter will take such pains for his game, fowler for his sport, or soldier to sack a city, as he will for his mistress' favour.

*Ipsa comes veniam, neque me salebrosa movebunt
Saxa, nec obliquo dente timendus aper;*

[I shall myself be thy comrade, nor shall the rude rocks
daunt me nor the boar with savage tusk;]

as Phædra to Hippolytus. No danger shall affright, for if that be true the poets feign, Love is the son of Mars and Venus; as he hath delights, pleasures, elegancies from his mother, so hath he hardness, valour, and boldness from his father. And 'tis true that Bernard hath: *Amore nihil mollius, nihil violentius*, nothing so boisterous, nothing so tender as love. If once therefore enamoured, he will go, run, ride many a mile to meet her, day and night, in a very dark night, endure scorching heat, cold, wait in frost and snow, rain, tempests, till his teeth chatter in his head, those northern winds and showers cannot cool or quench his flames of love. *Intempesta nocte non deterretur* [the dangers of the night will not deter him], he will, take my word, he will sustain hunger, thirst, *penetrabil omnia, perrumpet omnia*, "love will find out a way," through thick and thin he will to her, *expeditissimi montes videntur amnes tranabiles* [mountains will seem easy to cross, rivers to swim], he will swim through an ocean, ride post over the Alps, Apennines, or Pyrenean hills,

*Ignem marisque fluctus, atque turbines
Venti paratus est transire,*¹

[He is ready to go through fire and water, wind and storm,]

though it rain daggers with their points downward, light or dark, all is one (*Roscida per tenebras Faunus ad antra venit* [Faunus cometh through the darkness to the dewy caves]); for her sweet sake he will undertake Hercules' twelve labours, endure, hazard, etc., he feels it not. "What shall I say," saith Hædus,² "of their great dangers they undergo, single combats they undertake, how they will venture their lives, creep in at windows, gutters, climb over walls to come to their sweethearts" (anointing

the doors and hinges with oil, because they should not creak, tread soft, swim, wade, watch, etc.), "and if they be surprised, leap out at windows, cast themselves headlong down, bruising or breaking their legs or arms, and sometimes losing life itself," as Callisto did for his lovely Melibœa. Hear some of their own confessions, protestations, complaints, proffers, expostulations, wishes, brutish attempts, labours in this kind. Hercules served Omphale, put on an apron, took a distaff and spun; Thraso the soldier was so submissive to Thais that he was resolved to do whatever she enjoined. *Ego me Thaidi dedam, et faciam quod jubet*,¹ I am at her service. Philostratus, in an epistle to his mistress: "I am ready to die, sweetheart, if it be thy will; allay his thirst whom thy star hath scorched and undone; the fountains and rivers deny no man drink that comes; the fountain doth not say, Thou shalt not drink; nor the apple, Thou shalt not eat; nor the fair meadow, Walk not in me; but thou alone wilt not let me come near thee or see thee; contemned and despised, I die for grief."² Polyænus, when his mistress Circe did but frown upon him in Petronius, drew his sword, and bade her kill, stab, or whip him to death, he would strip himself naked, and not resist.³ Another will take a journey to Japan, *longæ navigationis molestis non curans* [recking nothing of the hardships of a long voyage]; a third (if she say it) will not speak a word for a twelvemonth's space, her command shall be most inviolably kept; a fourth will take Hercules' club from him, and with that centurion in the Spanish *Cælestina*,⁴ will kill ten men for his mistress Areusa, for a word of her mouth, he will cut bucklers in two like pippins, and flap down men like flies, *Elige quo mortis genere illum occidi cupis* [choose by what method you wish him to be killed]. Galeatus of Mantua⁵ did a little more; for when he was almost mad for love of a fair maid in the city, she, to try him, belike, what he would do for her sake, bade him in jest leap into the river Po if he loved her; he forthwith did leap headlong off the bridge and was drowned. Another at Ficinum in like passion, when his mistress by chance (thinking no harm, I dare swear) bade him go hang, the next night at her doors hanged himself. "Money" (saith Xenophon) "is a very acceptable and welcome guest, yet I had rather give it my dear Clinias than take it of others, I had rather serve him than command others, I had rather be his drudge than take my ease, undergo any danger for his sake than live in security. For I had rather see Clinias than all the world besides, and had rather want the sight of

all other things than him alone; I am angry with the night and sleep that I may not see him, and thank the light and sun because they show me my Clinias; I will run into the fire for his sake, and if you did but see him, I know that you likewise would run with me." ¹ So Philostratus to his mistress: "Command me what you will, I will do it; bid me go to sea, I am gone in an instant; take so many stripes, I am ready; run through the fire, and lay down my life and soul at thy feet, 'tis done." ² So did Æolus to Juno:

*Tuus, o regina, quod optas
Explorare labor, mihi jussa capessere fas est.*

O queen, it is thy pains to enjoin me still,
And I am bound to execute thy will.

And Phædra to Hippolytus:

*Me vel sororem, Hippolyte, aut famulam voca,
Famulamque potius, omne servitium feram.*

O call me sister, call me servant, choose,
Or rather servant, I am thine to use.

*Non me per altas ire si jubeas nives,
Pigeat gelatis ingredi Pindi jugis,
Non si per ignes ire aut infesta agmina
Cuncter, paratus ensibus pectus dare,³
Te tunc jubere, me decet jussa exsequi.⁴*

It shall not grieve me to the snowy hills,
Or frozen Pindus' tops forthwith to climb,
Or run through fire, or through an army,
Say but the word, for I am always thine.

Callicratides, in Lucian,⁵ breaks out into this passionate speech: "O God of Heaven, grant me this life for ever to sit over against my mistress, and to hear her sweet voice, to go in and out with her, to have every other business common with her; I would labour when she labours, sail when she sails; he that hates her should hate me; and if a tyrant kill her, he should kill me; if she should die, I would not live, and one grave should hold us both." *Finiat illa meos moriens morientis amores* ⁶ [her death shall end my love in death]. Abrocomas in Aristænetus makes the like petition for his Delphis.⁷ *Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam lubens* ⁸ [Gladly I'd live with thee, or gladly die]. 'Tis the same strain which Theagenes used to his Chariclea: "So that I may but enjoy thy love, let me die presently"; Leander to his Hero, when he besought the sea waves to let him go

quietly to his love, and kill him coming back: *Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo* ¹ [Spare me whilst I go, drown me as I return]. 'Tis the common humour of them all, to contemn death, to wish for death, to confront death in this case; "*Quippe queis nec fera, nec ignis, neque præcipitium, nec fretum, nec ensis, neque laqueus gravia videntur* [neither wild beasts nor fire nor precipice nor sea nor sword nor noose has any terrors for them], 'tis their desire" (saith Tyrius) "to die."

*Haud timet mortem, cupit ire in ipsos
Obvius enses.*

[He does not fear death, he desires to run upon the very swords.]

Though a thousand dragons or devils kept the gates, Cerberus himself, Sciron and Procrustes lay in wait, and the way as dangerous, as inaccessible as hell, through fiery flames and over burning coulters, he will adventure for all this. And as Peter Abelhardus lost his testicles for his Helonissa,² he will (I say) not venture an incision, but life itself. For how many gallants offered to lose their lives for a night's lodging with Cleopatra in those days! And in the hour or moment of death, 'tis their sole comfort to remember their dear mistress, as Zerbino slain in France, and Brandimart in Barbary;³ as Arcite did his Emily:

When he felt death,
Dusked been his eyes, and faded is his breath,
But on his lady yet casteth he his eye,
His last word was, Mercy Emely.
His spirit chang'd, and out went there,
Whither I cannot tell, ne where.⁴

When Captain Gobrias⁵ by an unlucky accident had received his death's wound, *Heu me miserum!* exclaimat, "Miserable man that I am!" (instead of other devotions), he cries out, "shall I die before I see Rhodanthe my sweetheart?" *Sic amor mortem* (saith mine author), *aut quicquid humanitus accidit, aspernatur*, so love triumphs, contemns, insults over death itself. Thirteen proper young men lost their lives for that fair Hippodamia's sake, the daughter of CEnomaus, King of Elis: when that hard condition was proposed of death or victory, they made no account of it, but courageously for love died, till Pelops at last won her by a sleight. As many gallants desperately adventured their dearest blood for Atalanta, the daughter of Schœneus, in hope of marriage, all vanquished and

overcame, till Hippomenes by a few golden apples happily obtained his suit.¹ Perseus of old fought with a sea-monster for Andromeda's sake; and our St. George freed the king's daughter of Sabea (the Golden Legend is mine author) that was exposed to a dragon, by a terrible combat. Our knights errant, and the Sir Lancelots of these days, I hope will adventure as much for ladies' favours, as the Squire of Dames, Knight of the Sun, Sir Bevis of Southampton, or that renowned peer,

Orlando, who long time had loved dear
Angelica the fair, and for her sake
About the world in nations far and near,
Did high attempts perform and undertake; ²

he is a very dastard, a coward, a block and a beast, that will not do as much, but they will sure, they will; for it is an ordinary thing for these inamoratos of our time to say and do more, to stab their arms, carouse in blood, or as that Thessalian Thero, that bit off his own thumb, *provocans rivalem ad hoc æmulandum*, to make his corival do as much.³ 'Tis frequent with them to challenge the field for their lady and mistress' sake, to run a tilt,

That either bears (so furiously they meet)
The other down under the horses' feet,⁴

and then up and to it again,

And with their axes both so sorely pour,
That neither plate nor mail sustain'd the stour,
But rivell'd wreak like rotten wood asunder,
And fire did flash like lightning after thunder;

and in her quarrel, to fight so long "till their head-piece, bucklers be all broken, and swords hacked like so many saws,"⁵ for they must not see her abused in any sort, 'tis blasphemy to speak against her, a dishonour without all good respect to name her. 'Tis common with these creatures, to drink healths upon their bare knees, though it were a mile to the bottom (no matter of what mixture), off it comes.⁶ If she bid them they will go barefoot to Jerusalem, to the Great Cham's court, to the East Indies,⁷ to fetch her a bird to wear in her hat: and with Drake and Candish sail round about the world for her sweet sake, *adversis ventis* [in the teeth of the wind]; serve twice seven years as Jacob did for Rachel; do as much as Gismunda, the daughter of Tancredus, Prince of Salerna, did for Guiscardus, her true love, eat his heart when he died;⁸ or as Artemisia

drank her husband's bones beaten to powder, and so bury him in herself, and endure more torments than Theseus or Paris. *Et his colitur Venus magis quam thure et victimis*, with such sacrifices as these (as Aristænetus holds¹) Venus is well pleased. Generally they undertake any pain, any labour, any toil, for their mistress' sake, love and admire a servant, not to her alone, but to all her friends and followers, they hug and embrace them for her sake; her dog, picture, and everything she wears, they adore it as a relic. If any man come from her, they feast him, reward him, will not be out of his company, do him all offices, still remembering, still talking of her:

*Nam si abest quod aves, præsto simulacra tamen sunt
Illius, et nomen dulce obversatur ad aures.*²

[For though the object of your love be absent, yet her image is with you, and her sweet name rings in your ears.]

The very carrier that comes from him to her is a most welcome guest; and if he bring a letter, she will read it twenty times over, and as Lucretia did by Euryalus, "kiss the letter a thousand times together, and then read it";³ and [as] Chelidonia by Philonius, after many sweet kisses, put the letter in her bosom,⁴

And kiss again, and often look thereon,
And stay the messenger that would be gone,

and ask many pretty questions, over and over again, as how he looked, what he did, and what he said? In a word,

*Vult placere sese amicæ, vult mihi, vult pedissequæ,
Vult famulis, vult etiam ancillis, et catulo meo.*⁵

He strives to please his mistress, and her maid,
Her servants, and her dog, and 's well apaid.

If he get any remnant of hers, a busk-point, a feather of her fan, a shoe-tie, a lace, a ring, a bracelet of hair,

*Pignusque direptum lacertis,
Aut digito male pertinaci,*⁶

[A token snatched from her arms or from her archly resisting finger,]

he wears it for a favour on his arm, in his hat, finger, or next his heart. Her picture he adores twice a day, and for two hours together will not look off it; as Laodamia did by Protesilaus, when he went to war, "sit at home with his picture before

her";¹ a garter or a bracelet of hers is more precious than any saint's relic, he lays it up in his casket (O blessed relic!), and every day will kiss it; if in her presence, his eye is never off her, and drink he will where she drank, if it be possible, in that very place, etc. If absent, he will walk in the walk, sit under that tree where she did use to sit, in that bower, in that very seat, *et foribus miser oscula figit* [and to relieve his misery kisses the very door], many years after sometimes; though she be far distant and dwell many miles off, he loves yet to walk that way still, to have his chamber-window look that way, to walk by that river's side, which (though far away) runs by the house where she dwells; he loves the wind blows to that coast:

*O quoties dixi Zephyris properantibus illuc,
Felices pulchram visuri Amaryllida ventis.*²

O happy western winds that blow that way,
For you shall see my love's fair face to-day.

He will send a message to her by the wind:

*Vos auræ Alpinae, placidis de montibus auræ,
Hæc illi portate.*³

[O Alpine breezes blowing from the peaceful mountains, this message bear to my beloved.]

He desires to confer with some of her acquaintance,⁴ for his heart is still with her, to talk of her,⁵ admiring and commending her, lamenting, moaning, wishing himself anything for her sake, to have opportunity to see her, O that he might but enjoy her presence! So did Philostratus to his mistress, "O happy ground on which she treads! and happy were I if she would tread upon me. I think her countenance would make the rivers stand, and when she comes abroad, birds will sing and come about her."⁶

*Ridebunt valles, ridebunt obvia Tempe,
In florem viridis protinus ibit humus.*

The fields will laugh, the pleasant valleys burn,
And all the grass will into flowers turn.

Omnis ambrosiam spirabit aura [every breeze shall breathe ambrosia]. "When she is in the meadow, she is fairer than any flower, for that lasts but for a day; the river is pleasing, but it vanisheth on a sudden, but thy flower doth not fade, thy stream is greater than the sea. If I look upon the heaven, methinks I see the sun fallen down to shine below, and thee to shine in his place, whom I desire. If I look upon the night,

methinks I see two more glorious stars, Hesperus and thyself.”¹ A little after he thus courts his mistress: “If thou goest forth of the city, the protecting gods that keep the town will run after to gaze upon thee: if thou sail upon the seas, as so many small boats they will follow thee: what river would not run into the sea?”² Another, he sighs and sobs, swears he hath *cor scissum*, an heart bruised to powder, dissolved and melted within him, or quite gone from him, to his mistress’ bosom belike; he is in an oven, a salamander in the fire, so scorched with love’s heat; he wisheth himself a saddle for her to sit on, a posy for her to smell to, and it would not grieve him to be hanged, if he might be strangled in her garters; he would willingly die to-morrow, so that she might kill him with her own hands. Ovid would be a flea, a gnat, a ring;³ Catullus, a sparrow:

*O si tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem,
Et tristes animi levare curas;*

[Would I might sport with thee as she does, ’twould serve to lighten my heavy care:]

Anacreon, a glass, a gown, a chain, anything: ⁴

*Sed speculum ego ipse fiam,
Ut me tuum usque cernas,
Et vestis ipse fiam,
Ut me tuum usque gestes.
Mutari et opto in undam,
Lavem tuos ut artus,
Nardus, puella, fiam,
Ut ego leipsuni inungam,
Sim fascia in papillis,
Tuo et monile collo,
Fiamque calceus, me
Saltem ut pede usque calces.*

But I a looking-glass would be,
Still to be lookt upon by thee,
Or I, my love, would be thy gown,
By thee to be worn up and down;
Or a pure well full to the brims,
That I might wash thy purer limbs:
Or, I’d be precious balm to ’noint,
With choicest care each choicest joint;
Or, if I might, I would be fain
About thy neck thy happy chain,
Or would it were my blessed hap
To be the lawn o’er thy fair pap,
Or would I were thy shoe, to be
Daily trod upon by thee.⁵

O thrice happy man that shall enjoy her! as they that saw Hero in Musæus, and Salmacis to Hermaphroditus: ¹

*Felices, mater, etc., felix nutrix,
Sed longe cunctis, longæque beator ille,
Quem fructu sponsi et socii dignabere lecti.*

[Happy thy parents and thy nurse, but far more blessed than all he whom thou wilt acknowledge thy spouse.]

The same passion made her break out in the comedy, *Næ illæ fortunatæ sunt quæ cum illo cubant*,² happy are his bed-fellows; and as she said of Cyrus, *Beata quæ illi uxor futura esset*,³ blessed is that woman that shall be his wife, nay, thrice happy she that shall enjoy him but a night. *Una nox Jovis sceptro æquiparanda*,⁴ such a night's lodging is worth Jupiter's sceptre.

*Qualis nox erit illa, dii, deæque!
Quam mollis torus* ^{1 5}

O what a blissful night would it be, how soft, how sweet a bed! She will adventure all her estate for such a night, for a nectarean, a balsam kiss alone.

*Qui te videt beatus est,
Beatior qui te audiet,
Qui te potitur est deus.*⁶

[Happy is he who sees thee, happier still he who hears thee, but he who possesses thee is a god.]

The Sultan of Sana's wife in Arabia, when she had seen Vertomannus: that comely traveller, lamented to herself in this manner: "O God, thou hast made this man whiter than the sun, but me, mine husband, and all my children black; I would to God he were my husband, or that I had such a son";⁷ she fell a-weeping, and so impatient for love at last, that (as Potiphar's wife did by Joseph) she would have had him gone in with her, she sent away Gazella, Tegeia, Galzerana, her waiting-maids, loaded him with fair promises and gifts, and wooed him with all the rhetoric she could: *Extremum hoc miseræ damunus amanti* [grant this last request to a wretched lover]. But when he gave no consent, she would have gone with him, and left all, to be his page, his servant, or his lackey, *Certa sequi carum corpus ut umbra solet* [determined to follow him like his shadow], so that she might enjoy him, threatening moreover to kill herself, etc. Men will do as much and

more for women, spend goods, lands, lives, fortunes; kings will leave their crowns, as King John for Matilda the nun at Dunmow.

But kings in this yet privileg'd may be,
I'll be a monk so I may live with thee.¹

The very gods will endure any shame (*atque aliquis de dis non tristibus optat*, etc.), be a spectacle as Mars and Venus were to all the rest; so did Lucian's Mercury wish, and peradventure so dost thou. They will adventure their lives with alacrity: *pro qua non metuam mori* ² [I would not fear to die for her], nay more, *pro qua non metuam bis mori*, I will die twice, nay, twenty times for her. If she die, there's no remedy, they must die with her, they cannot help it. A lover in Calcagninus wrote this on his darling's tomb:

*Quincia obiit, sed non Quincia sola obiit,
Quincia obiit, sed cum Quincia et ipse obiit;
Risus obiit, obiit gratia, lusus obiit,
Nec mea nunc anima in pectore, at in tumulto est.*

Quincia my dear is dead, but not alone,
For I am dead, and with her I am gone:
Sweet smiles, mirth, graces, all with her do rest,
And my soul too, for 'tis not in my breast.

How many doting lovers upon the like occasion might say the same! But these are toys in respect, they will hazard their very souls for their mistress' sake.

*Atque aliquis inter juvenes miratus est, et verbum dixit,
Non ego in cælo cuperem Deus esse,
Nostram uxorem habens domi Hero.*

One said, To heaven would I not desire at all to go,
If that at mine own house I had such a fine wife as Hero.

Venus forsook heaven for Adonis' sake, *cælo præfertur Adonis*.³ Old Janivere, in Chaucer, thought when he had his fair May he should never go to heaven, he should live so merrily here on earth; had I such a mistress, he protests,

*Cælum diis ego non suum inviderem,
Sed sortem mihi dii meam inviderent.*⁴

I would not envy their prosperity,
The gods should envy my felicity.

Another as earnestly desires to behold his sweetheart, he will

adventure and leave all this, and more than this, to see her alone.

*Omnia quæ patior mala si pensare vellet fors,
Una aliqua nobis prosperitate, dii
Hoc precor, ut faciant, faciant me cernere coram,
Cor mihi captivum quæ tenet hocce, deam.*¹

If all my mischiefs were recompensed,
And God would give me what I requested,
I would my mistress' presence only seek,
Which doth mine heart in prison captive keep.

But who can reckon upon the dotage, madness, servitude and blindness, the foolish phantasms and vanities of lovers, their torments, wishes, idle attempts?

Yet for all this, amongst so many irksome, absurd, troublesome symptoms, inconveniences, phantastical fits and passions which are usually incident to such persons, there be some good and graceful qualities in lovers, which this affection causeth. "As it makes wise men fools, so many times it makes fools become wise; "it makes base fellows become generous, cowards courageous," as Cardan notes out of Plutarch;² "covetous, liberal and magnificent; clowns, civil; cruel, gentle; wicked, profane persons to become religious; slovens, neat; churls, merciful; and dumb dogs, eloquent; your lazy drones, quick and nimble." *Feras mentes domat Cupido* [love subdues savage breasts], that fierce, cruel and rude Cyclops Polyphemus sighed and shed many a salt tear for Galatea's sake. No passion causeth greater alterations, or more vehement of joy or discontent. Plutarch, *Sympos lib. 5, quæst. 1*, saith "that the soul of a man in love is full of perfumes and sweet odours, and all manner of pleasing tones and tunes, insomuch that it is hard to say" (as he adds) "whether love do mortal men more harm than good."³ It adds spirits and makes them, otherwise soft and silly, generous and courageous, *Audacem faciebat amor*⁴ [love made him bold]. Ariadne's love made Theseus so adventurous, and Medea's beauty Jason so victorious; *expectorat amor timorem* [love drives fear from the heart]. Plato⁵ is of opinion that the love of Venus made Mars so valorous: "A young man will be much abashed to commit any foul offence that shall come to the hearing or sight of his mistress." As he that desired of his enemy, now dying, to lay him with his face upward, *ne amasius videret eum a tergo vulneratum*, lest his sweetheart should say he was a coward.⁶ "And if it were possible to have an army consist of lovers, such as love, or are beloved, they would be extra-

ordinary valiant and wise in their government, modesty would detain them from doing amiss, emulation incite them to do that which is good and honest, and a few of them would overcome a great company of others." ¹ There is no man so pusillanimous, so very a dastard, whom love would not incense, make of a divine temper and an heroical spirit. As he said in like case, *Tota ruat cæli moles, non terreor* ² [though the heavens fall, I am not dismayed], etc. Nothing can terrify, nothing can dismay them; but as Sir Blandamour and Paridell, those two brave fairy knights, fought for the love of fair Florimell in presence:

And drawing both their swords with rage anew,
 Like two mad mastives each other slew,
 And shields did share, and mails did rash, and helms did hew:
 So furiously each other did assail,
 As if their souls at once they would have rent
 Out of their breasts, that streams of blood did rail
 Adown as if their springs of life were spent,
 That all the ground with purple blood was sprent,
 And all their armour stain'd with bloody gore;
 Yet scarcely once to breathe would they relent.
 So mortal was their malice and so sore,
 That both resolved (than yield) to die before.³

Every base swain in love will dare to do as much for his dear mistress' sake. He will fight and fetch *Argivum clypeum*,⁴ that famous buckler of Argos, to do her service, adventure at all, undertake any enterprise. And as Serranus the Spaniard, then Governor of Sluys, made answer to Marquess Spinola, if the enemy brought 50,000 devils against him he would keep it. The Nine Worthies, Oliver and Rowland, and forty dozen of peers are all in him, he is all mettle, armour of proof, more than a man, and in this case improved beyond himself. For as Agatho contends,⁵ a true lover is wise, just, temperate, and valiant. "I doubt not, therefore, but if a man had such an army of lovers" (as Castilio supposeth⁶) "he might soon conquer all the world, except by chance he met with such another army of inamoratos to oppose it." For so perhaps they might fight as that fatal dog and fatal hare in the heavens, course one another round, and never make an end.⁷ Castilio thinks Ferdinand King of Spain would never have conquered Granada, had not Queen Isabel and her ladies been present at the siege: "It cannot be expressed what courage the Spanish knights took when the ladies were present; a few Spaniards overcame a multitude of Moors."⁸ They will undergo any danger whatsoever, as Sir Walter Manny in Edward the Third's time, stuck

full of ladies' favours, fought like a dragon. For *solī amantes*, as Plato holds,¹ *pro amicis mori appetunt*, only lovers will die for their friends, and in their mistress' quarrel. And for that cause he would have women follow the camp, to be spectators and encouragers of noble actions: upon such an occasion, the Squire of Dames² himself, Sir Lancelot or Sir Tristram, Cæsar or Alexander, shall not be more resolute or go beyond them.

Not courage only doth love add, but as I said, subtlety, wit, and many pretty devices, *Namque dolos inspirat amor, fraudesque ministrat*³ [for love suggests stratagems and wiles]. Jupiter,⁴ in love with Leda, and not knowing how to compass his desire, turned himself into a swan, and got Venus to pursue him in the likeness of an eagle; which she doing, for shelter he fled to Leda's lap, *et in ejus gremio se collocavit*, Leda embraced him, and so fell fast asleep, *sed dormientem Jupiter compressit*, by which means Jupiter had his will. Infinite such tricks love can devise, such fine feats in abundance, with wisdom and wariness—*Quis fallere possit amantem?*⁵ [Who can deceive a lover?]⁵—all manner of civility, decency, complement and good behaviour, *plus salis et leporis*, polite graces and merry conceits. Boccace hath a pleasant tale to this purpose, which he borrowed from the Greeks, and which Beroaldus hath turned into Latin, Bebelius in verse, of Cymon and Iphigenia. This Cymon was a fool, a proper man of person, and the governor of Cyprus' son, but a very ass, insomuch that his father, being ashamed of him, sent him to a farm-house he had in the country, to be brought up; where by chance, as his manner was, walking alone, he espied a gallant young gentlewoman, named Iphigenia, a burgomaster's daughter of Cyprus, with her maid, by a brook-side in a little thicket, fast asleep in her smock, where she had newly bathed herself. "When Cymon saw her, he stood leaning on his staff, gaping on her immovable, and in a maze";⁶ at last he fell so far in love with the glorious object that he began to rouse himself up, to bethink what he was, would needs follow her to the city, and for her sake began to be civil, to learn to sing and dance, to play on instruments, and got all those gentlemanlike qualities and complements in a short space, which his friends were most glad of. In brief, he became, from an idiot and a clown, to be one of the most complete gentlemen in Cyprus, did many valorous exploits, and all for the love of Mistress Iphigenia. In a word, I may say thus much of them all, let them be never so clownish, rude and horrid, Grobians and sluts, if once they be in love they will be most neat and

spruce; for *omnibus rebus, et nilidis nitoribus antevenit amor*¹ [love introduces itself by all means, and especially by spruceness and elegance], they will follow the fashion, begin to trick up, and to have a good opinion of themselves, *venustatum enim mater Venus* [for Venus is the mother of the graces]; a ship is not so long a-rigging as a young gentlewoman a-trimming up herself against her sweetheart comes. A painter's shop, a flowery meadow, no so gracious aspect in nature's storehouse as a young maid, *nubilis puella*, a *novitsa* [*novizia*, novice] or Venetian bride, that looks for a husband, or a young man that is her suitor; composed looks, composed gait, clothes, gestures, actions, all composed; all the graces, elegancies in the world are in her face. Their best robes, ribbons, chains, jewels, lawns, linens, laces, spangles, must come on, *præter quam res patitur student elegantia*² [they study elegance beyond all measure], they are beyond all measure coy, nice, and too curious on a sudden: 'tis all their study, all their business, how to wear their clothes neat, to be polite and terse, and to set out themselves. No sooner doth a young man see his sweetheart coming, but he smugs up himself, pulls up his cloak now fallen about his shoulders, ties his garters, points, sets his band, cuffs, slicks his hair, twires his beard, etc. When Mercury was to come before his mistress,

*Chlamydemque ut pendeat apte
Collocat, ut limbus totumque appareat aurum.*³

He put his cloak in order, that the lace,
And hem, and gold-work, all might have his grace.

Salmacis would not be seen of Hermaphroditus, till she had spruced up herself first.

*Nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,
Quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus,
Et finxit vultum, et meruit formosa videri.*⁴

Nor did she come, although 'twas her desire,
Till she compos'd herself, and trimm'd her tire,
And set her looks to make him to admire.

Venus had so ordered the matter, that when her son Æneas⁵ was to appear before Queen Dido, he was

*Os humerosque deo similis (namque ipsa decoram
Cæsariem nato genetrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum et lætos oculis afflarat honores),*

like a god, for she was the tire-woman herself, to set him out with all natural and artificial impostures, as mother Mamæa

did her son Heliogabalus,¹ new chosen emperor, when he was to be seen of the people first. When the hirsute cyclopal Polyphemus courted Galatea:

*Jamque tibi formæ, jamque est tibi cura placendi,
Jam rigidos pectus rastris, Polypheme, capillos,
Jam libet hirsutam tibi falce recidere barbam,
Et spectare feros in aqua et componere vultus.*²

And then he did begin to prank himself,
To plait and comb his head, and beard to shave,
And look his face i' th' water as a glass,
And to compose himself for to be brave.

He was upon a sudden now spruce, and keen as a new-ground hatchet. He now began to have a good opinion of his own features and good parts, now to be a gallant.

*Jam, Galatea, veni, nec munera despice nostra,
Certe ego me novi, liquidæque in imagine vidi
Nuper aquæ, placuilque mihi mea forma videnti.*

Come now, my Galatea, scorn me not,
Nor my poor presents; for but yesterday
I saw myself i' th' water, and methought
Full fair I was; then scorn me not, I say.

*Non sum adeo informis, nuper me in littore vidi,
Cum placidum ventis staret mare.*³

[I am not so unshapely, I late saw myself upon the
shore in a glassy sea]

'Tis the common humour of all suitors to trick up themselves, to be prodigal in apparel, *pure lotus*, neat, combed and curled, with powdered hairs, *comptus et calamistratus*, with a long love-lock, a flower in his ear, perfumed gloves, rings, scarfs, feathers, points, etc., as if he were a prince's Ganymede, with every day new suits, as the fashion varies; going as if he trod upon eggs; and, as Heinsius writ to Primerius,⁴ "If once he be besotten on a wench, he must lie awake nights, renounce his book, sigh and lament, now and then weep for his hard hap, and mark above all things what hats, bands, doublets, breeches, are in fashion, how to cut his beard and wear his locks, to turn up his mushatos and curl his head, prune his pickitivant, or if he wear it abroad, that the east side be correspondent to the west": he may be scoffed at otherwise, as Julian, that apostate emperor, was for wearing a long hirsute goatish beard, fit to make ropes with, as in his *Misopogon*, or that apologetical oration he made at Antioch to excuse himself, he doth ironically confess it hindered

his kissing, *nam non licuit inde pura puris, eoque suavioribus labra labris adjungere* [it made it impossible to put lips to lips without impediment, which would have been more pleasant], but he did not much esteem it, as it seems by the sequel, *De accipiendis dandisque osculis non laboro* [I am not much concerned about taking and giving kisses], yet (to follow mine author) it may much concern a young lover, he must be more respectful in this behalf, "he must be in league with an excellent tailor, barber,"

*Tonsorem puerum sed arte talem,
Qualis nec Thalamus fuit Neronis ;¹*

[A young barber, but a greater artist than Nero's Thalamus;]

"have neat shoe-ties, points, garters, speak in print, walk in print, eat and drink in print, and that which is all in all, he must be mad in print."

Amongst other good qualities an amorous fellow is endowed with, he must learn to sing and dance, play upon some instrument or other, as without all doubt he will, if he be truly touched with this loadstone of love. For as Erasmus hath it,² *Musicam docet amor et poesin*, love will make them musicians, and to compose ditties, madrigals, elegies, love-sonnets, and sing them to several pretty tunes, to get all good qualities may be had. Jupiter perceived Mercury to be in love with Philologia,³ because he learned languages, polite speech (for Suadela [Persuasion] herself was Venus' daughter, as some write), arts and sciences, *quo virgini placeret*, all to ingratiate himself and please his mistress. 'Tis their chiefest study to sing, dance; and without question, so many gentlemen and gentlewomen would not be so well qualified in this kind, if love did not incite them. "Who," saith Castilio,⁴ "would learn to play, or give his mind to music, learn to dance, or make so many rhymes, love-songs, as most do, but for women's sake, because they hope by that means to purchase their good wills and win their favour?" We see this daily verified in our young women and wives, they that being maids took so much pains to sing, play, and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents to get those graceful qualities, now being married will scarce touch an instrument, they care not for it. Constantine, *Agriculi. lib. 11, cap. 18*, makes Cupid himself to be a great dancer; by the same token as he was capering amongst the gods, "he flung down a bowl of nectar, which, distilling upon the white rose, ever since made it red":⁵ and Callistratus, by the help of Dædalus, about Cupid's statue made a many of young wenches still a-dancing,⁶ to signify

belike that Cupid was much affected with it, as without all doubt he was. For at his and Psyche's wedding, the gods being present to grace the feast, Ganymede filled nectar in abundance (as Apuleius describes it ¹), Vulcan was the cook, the Hours made all fine with roses and flowers, Apollo played on the harp, the Muses sang to it, *sed suavi musicæ superingressa Venus saltavit*, but his mother Venus danced to his and their sweet content. Witty Lucian ² in that pathological love-passage or pleasant description of Jupiter's stealing of Europa and swimming from Phœnicia to Crete, makes the sea calm, the winds hush, Neptune and Amphitrite riding in their chariot to break the waves before them, the tritons dancing round about, with every one a torch, the sea-nymphs half naked, keeping time on dolphins' backs, and singing *Hymenæus* [the nuptial song], Cupid nimbly tripping on the top of the waters, and Venus herself coming after in a shell, strewing roses and flowers on their heads. Praxiteles, in all his pictures of Love, feigns Cupid ever smiling, and looking upon dancers; and in Saint Mark's garden in Rome (whose work I know not), one of the most delicious pieces is a many of satyrs dancing about a wench asleep. ³ So that dancing still is, as it were, a necessary appendix to love matters. Young lasses are never better pleased than whenas upon an holiday, after evensong, they may meet their sweethearts, and dance about a maypole, or in a town-green under a shady elm. Nothing so familiar in France, ⁴ as for citizens' wives and maids to dance a round in the streets, and often too, for want of better instruments, to make good music of their own voices, and dance after it. Yea many times this love will make old men and women, that have more toes than teeth, dance, "John come kiss me now," mask and mum; for Comus and Hymen love masks and all such merriments above measure; will allow men to put on women's apparel in some cases, and promiscuously to dance; young and old, rich and poor, generous and base, of all sorts. Paulus Jovius taxeth Augustine Niphus the philosopher, ⁵ "for that being an old man, and a public professor, a father of many children, he was mad for the love of a young maid (that which many of his friends were ashamed to see), an old gouty fellow, yet would dance after fiddlers." Many laughed him to scorn for it, but this omnipotent love would have it so.

*Hyacinthino bacillo
Properans amor, me adagit
Violenter ad sequendum.* ⁶

Love hasty with his purple staff did make
Me follow and the dance to undertake.

And 'tis no news this, no indecorum; for why? a good reason may be given of it. Cupid and Death met both in an inn; and being merrily disposed, they did exchange some arrows from either quiver; ever since young men die, and oftentimes old men dote.

*Sic moritur juvenis, sic moribundus amat.*¹

[So the youth dies, so dying still he loves.]

And who can then withstand it? If once we be in love, young or old, though our teeth shake in our heads like virginal jacks, or stand parallel asunder like the arches of a bridge, there is no remedy, we must dance trenchmore for a need, over tables, chairs, and stools, etc. And primum primum is a fine dance. Plutarch, *Sympos.* 1, *quæst.* 5, doth in some sort excuse it, and telleth us moreover in what sense *musicam docet amor, licet prius fuerit rudis*, how love makes them that had no skill before learn to sing and dance; he concludes, 'tis only that power and prerogative love hath over us. "Love" (as he holds) "will make a silent man speak, a modest man most officious; dull, quick; slow, nimble; and that which is most to be admired, a hard, base, untractable churl, as fire doth iron in a smith's forge, free, facile, gentle, and easy to be entreated."² Nay, 'twill make him prodigal in the other extreme, and give an hundred sesterces for a night's lodging,³ as they did of old to Lais of Corinth, or *ducenta drachmarum millia pro unica nocte*⁴ [two thousand drachmas for a single night], as Mundus to Paulina, spend all his fortunes (as too many do in like case) to obtain his suit. For which cause many compare love to wine, which makes men jovial and merry, frolic and sad, whine, sing, dance, and what not.

But above all the other symptoms of lovers, this is not lightly to be overpassed, that likely of what condition soever, if once they be in love, they turn to their ability, rhymers, ballet-makers, and poets. For, as Plutarch saith, "They will be witnesses and trumpeters of their paramours' good parts, bedecking them with verses and commendatory songs, as we do statues with gold, that they may be remembered and admired of all."⁵ Ancient men will dote in this kind sometimes as well as the rest; the heat of love will thaw their frozen affections, dissolve the ice of age, and so far enable them, though they be sixty years of age above the girdle, to be scarce thirty beneath.

Jovianus Pontanus makes an old fool rhyme, and turn poetaster to please his mistress.

*Ne ringas, Mariana, meos ne despice canos,
De sene nam juvenem, dia, referre potes, etc.*¹

Sweet Marian, do not mine age disdain,
For thou canst make an old man young again.

They will be still singing amorous songs and ditties (if young especially), and cannot abstain, though it be when they go to, or should be at church. We have a pretty story to this purpose in Westmonasteriensis,² an old writer of ours (if you will believe it). *An. Dom.* 1012, at Colewiz in Saxony, on Christmas Eve a company of young men and maids, whilst the priest was at mass in the church, were singing catches and love-songs in the churchyard; he sent to them to make less noise, but they sung on still; and if you will, you shall have the very song itself:

*Equitabat homo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebatque secum Meswinden formosam,
Quid stamus, cur non imus?*

A fellow rid by the greenwood side,
And fair Meswinde was his bride,
Why stand we so, and do not go?

This they sung, he chafed, till at length, impatient as he was, he prayed to St. Magnus, patron of the church, they might all there sing and dance till that time twelvemonth, and so they did, without meat and drink, wearisomeness or giving over, till at year's end they ceased singing, and were absolved by Herebertus, Archbishop of Cologne.³ They will in all places be doing thus, young folks especially, reading love stories, talking of this or that young man, such a fair maid, singing, telling or hearing lascivious tales, scurrile tunes; such objects are their sole delight, their continual meditation, and as Guastavinus adds, *Com. in 4 sect. 27, Prob. Arist., ob seminis abundantiam crebræ cogitationes, veneris frequens recordatio et pruriens voluptas*, etc., an earnest longing comes hence, *pruriens corpus, pruriens anima*, amorous conceits, tickling thoughts, sweet and pleasant hopes; hence it is, they can think, discourse willingly, or speak almost of no other subject. 'Tis their only desire, if it may be done by art, to see their husband's picture in a glass, they 'll give anything to know when they shall be married, how many husbands they shall have, by *crommyomantia*, a kind of divination with onions⁴ laid on the altar on Christmas Eve, or by

fasting on St. Agnes' Eve or Night, to know who shall be their first husband, or by *alphitomanlia*, by beans in a cake, etc., to burn the same. This love is the cause of all good conceits, neatness, exornations, plays, elegancies, delights, pleasant expressions, sweet motions and gestures, joys, comforts, exultancies, and all the sweetness of our life;¹ *Qualis jam vita foret, aut quid jucundi sine aurea Venere?*² [What would life be, what joy would there be, without golden Aphrodite?] *Emoriar cum ista non amplius mihi cura fuerit.*³ let me live no longer than I may love, saith a mad merry fellow in Mimnermus. This love is that salt that seasoneth our harsh and dull labours, and gives a pleasant relish to our other unsavoury proceedings; *Absit amor, surgunt tenebræ, torpedo, veternum, pestis, etc.*⁴ [when love departs, there enter darkness, sluggishness, senility, disease, etc.]. All our feasts almost, masques, mummings, banquets, merry meetings, weddings, pleasing songs, fine tunes, poems, love stories, plays, comedies, Atellances, jigs, Fescennines, elegies, odes, etc., proceed hence. Danaus, the son of Belus, at his daughter's wedding at Argos, instituted the first plays (some say) that ever were heard of. Symbols, emblems, impresses, devices, if we shall believe Jovius, Contiles, Paradine, Camillus de Camillis, may be ascribed to it.⁵ Most of our arts and sciences; painting amongst the rest was first invented, saith Patricius,⁶ *ex amoris beneficio*, for love's sake. For when the daughter of Dibutades the Sicyonian was to take leave of her sweetheart now going to wars, *ut desiderio ejus minus tabesceret*, to comfort herself in his absence, she took his picture with coal upon a wall, as the candle gave the shadow, which her father admiring perfected afterwards, and it was the first picture by report that ever was made.⁷ And long after, Sicyon for painting, carving, statuary, music, and philosophy, was preferred before all the cities in Greece. Apollo⁸ was the first inventor of physic, divination, oracles; Minerva found out weaving, Vulcan curious ironwork, Mercury letters; but who prompted all this into their heads? Love. *Nunquam talia invenissent, nisi talia adamassent*, they loved such things, or some party, for whose sake they were undertaken at first. 'Tis true, Vulcan made a most admirable brooch or necklace, which long after Axion and Temenus, Phegeus' sons, for the singular worth of it, consecrated to Apollo at Delphi, but Pharyllus the tyrant stole it away, and presented it to Ariston's wife, on whom he miserably doted (Parthenius tells the story out of Phylarchus); but why did Vulcan make this excellent ouch? to give Hermione, Cadmus'

wife, whom he dearly loved. All our tilts and tournaments, Orders of the Garter, Golden Fleece, etc.—*Nobilitas sub amore jacet*—owe their beginnings to love, and many of our histories. By this means, saith Jovius, they would express their loving minds to their mistress, and to the beholders. 'Tis the sole subject almost of poetry, all our invention tends to it, all our songs (and therefore Hesiod makes the Muses and Graces still follow Cupid, and, as Plutarch holds, Menander and the rest of the poets were Love's priests); whatever those old Anacreons, all our Greek and Latin epigrammatists, love writers, Antony Diogenes the most ancient, whose epitome we find in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, Longus Sophista, Eustathius, Achilles Tatius, Aristænetus, Heliodorus, Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, Parthenius, Theodorus Prodromus, Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, etc., our new Ariostos, Boiardos, authors of Arcadia, Urania, Faerie Queene, etc., Marullus, Lotichius, Angerianus, Stroza, Secundus, Capellanus, etc., with the rest of those facete modern poets, have written in this kind, are but as so many symptoms of love. Their whole books are a synopsis or breviary of love, the portuons of love, legends of lovers' lives and deaths, and of their memorable adventures; nay more, *quod leguntur, quod laudantur amori debent* [they owe it to love that they are read and admired], as Nevisanus the lawyer holds,¹ "there never was any excellent poet that invented good fables, or made laudable verses, which was not in love himself"; had he not taken a quill from Cupid's wings, he could never have written so amorously as he did.

*Cynthia te vatem fecit lascive Properti,
Ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris habet.
Fama est arguti Nemesis formosa Tibulli,
Lesbia dictavit, docte Catulle, tibi.
Non me Pelignus, nec spernet Mantua vatem,
Si qua Corinna mihi, si quis Alexis erit.*²

Wanton Propertius and witty Gallus,
Subtle Tibullus, and learned Catullus,
It was Cynthia, Lesbia, Lycoris,
That made you poets all; and if Alexis,
Or Corinna chance my paramour to be,
Virgil and Ovid shall not despise me.

*Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
Nec Linus.*³

[Not Thracian Orpheus nor Linus shall excel my poetry.]

Petrarch's Laura made him so famous, Astrophel's Stella, and

Jovianus Pontanus' mistress was the cause of his Roses, Violets, Lilies, *Nequitia*, *Blanditia*, *Joci*, *Decor*, *Nardus*, *Ver*, *Corolla*, *Thus*, *Mars*, *Pallas*, *Venus*, *Charis*, *Crocum*, *Laurus*, *Unguentem*, *Costum*, *Lacrimæ*, *Myrrha*, *Musæ*, etc., and the rest of his poems. Why are Italians at this day generally so good poets and painters? Because every man of any fashion amongst them hath his mistress. The very rustics and hog-rubbers, Menalcas and Corydon, *qui fœtent de stercore equino* [who stink of horse-dung], those fulsome knaves, if once they taste of this love-liquor, are inspired in an instant. Instead of those accurate emblems, curious impresses, gaudy masques, tilts, tournaments, etc., they have their wakes, Whitsun-ales, shepherds' feasts, meetings on holidays, country dances, roundelays, writing their names on trees,¹ true-lovers' knots, pretty gifts.

With tokens, hearts divided, and half rings,
Shepherds in their loves are as coy as kings.

Choosing lords, ladies, kings, queens, and valentines, etc., they go by couples:

Corydon's Phyllis, Nysa and Mopsus,
With dainty Dousibel and Sir Tophus.

Instead of odes, epigrams and elegies, etc., they have their ballads, country tunes, "O the broom, the bonny, bonny broom," ditties and songs, "Bess a Bell, she doth excel"; they must write likewise and indite all in rhyme.

Thou honeysuckle of the hawthorn hedge,
Vouchsafe in Cupid's cup my heart to pledge;
My heart's dear blood, sweet Cis, is thy carouse
Worth all the ale in Gammer Gubbin's house.
I say no more, affairs call me away,
My father's horse for provender doth stay.
Be thou the Lady Cressetlight to me,
Sir Trolly Lolly will I prove to thee.
Written in haste, farewell, my cowslip sweet,
Pray let 's a' Sunday at the alehouse meet.²

Your most grim Stoics and severe philosophers will melt away with this passion, and if Athenæus³ belie them not, Aristippus, Apollodorus, Antiphanes, etc., have made love-songs and commentaries of their mistresses' praises, orators write epistles,⁴ princes give titles, honours, what not? Xerxes gave to Themistocles Lampsacus to find him wine, Magnesia for bread, and Myus for the rest of his diet.⁵ The Persian kings allotted whole cities to like use, *hæc civitas mulieri redimiculum præbeat*,

hæc in collum, hæc in crines,¹ one whole city served to dress her hair, another her neck, a third her hood. Ahasuerus would have given Esther half his empire,² and Herod bid Herodias "ask what she would, she should have it."³ Caligula gave an 100,000 sesterces to his courtesan at first word, to buy her pins, and yet when he was solicited by the senate to bestow something to repair the decayed walls of Rome for the commonwealth's good, he would give but 6000 sesterces at most. Dionysius, that Sicilian tyrant, rejected all his privy councillors, and was so besotted on Myrrha, his favourite and mistress, that he would bestow no office, or in the most weightiest business of the kingdom do aught, without her especial advice, prefer, depose, send, entertain no man, though worthy and well-deserving, but by her consent;⁴ and he again whom she commended, howsoever unfit, unworthy, was as highly approved. Kings and emperors, instead of poems, build cities; Hadrian built Antinoë in Egypt, besides constellations, temples, altars, statues, images, etc., in the honour of his Antinous. Alexander bestowed infinite sums to set out his Hephæstion to all eternity. Socrates professeth himself love's servant, ignorant in all arts and sciences, a doctor alone in love matters,⁵ *et quum alienarum rerum omnium scientiam diffiteretur*, saith Maximus Tyrius,⁶ *his sectator, hujus negotii professor*, etc., and this he spake openly, at home and abroad, at public feasts, in the academy, *in Piræo, Lyceo, sub platano*, etc. [in the Piræus, the Lyceum, under the plane-tree, etc.], the very blood-hound of beauty, as he is styled by others. But I conclude there is no end of love's symptoms, 'tis a bottomless pit. Love is subject to no dimensions; not to be surveyed by any art or engine: and besides, I am of Hædus' mind, "no man can discourse of love matters, or judge of them aright, that hath not made trial in his own person,"⁷ or, as Æneas Sylvius adds,⁸ "hath not a little doted, been mad or love-sick himself." I confess I am but a novice, a contemplator only, *Nescio quid sit amor nec amo* [I know not what is love nor am I in love], I have a tincture, for why should I lie, dissemble or excuse it? yet *homo sum*, etc., not altogether inexpert in this subject, *non sum præceptor amandi* [I am not an instructor in love], and what I say is merely reading, *ex aliorum forsitan ineptiis* [perhaps from the triflings of others], by mine own observation and others' relation.

MEMB. IV.

Prognostics of Love-Melancholy

WHAT fires, torments, cares, jealousies, suspicions, fears, griefs, anxieties, accompany such as are in love, I have sufficiently said; the next question is, what will be the event of such miseries, what they foretell. Some are of opinion that this love cannot be cured, *Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis* [love can be cured by no herbs], it accompanies them to the last,¹ *Idem amor exitio est pecori pecorisque magistro* [the same passion consumes both the sheep and the shepherd], and is so continue, that by no persuasion almost it may be relieved. "Bid me not love," said Euryalus, "bid the mountains come down into the plains, bid the rivers run back to their fountains; I can as soon leave to love, as the sun leave his course."²

*Et prius æquoribus pisces, et montibus umbræ,
Et volucres deerunt silvis, et murmura ventis,
Quam mihi discedent formosæ Amaryllidis ignes.*³

First seas shall want their fish, the mountains shade,
Woods singing-birds, the wind's murmur shall fade,
Than my fair Amaryllis' love allay'd.

Bid me not love, bid a deaf man hear, a blind man see, a dumb speak, lame run, counsel can do no good, a sick man cannot relish, no physic can ease me. *Non prosunt domino quæ prosunt omnibus artes* [the arts that help all others help not him], as Apollo confessed, and Jupiter himself could not be cured.

*Omnes humanos curat medicina dolores,
Solut amor morbi non habet artificem.*⁴

Physic can soon cure every disease,
Excepting love, that can it not appease.⁵

But whether love may be cured or no, and by what means, shall be explained in his place; in the meantime, if it take his course and be not otherwise eased or amended, it breaks out into outrageous often and prodigious events. *Amor et Liber violenti dii sunt*, as Tattius observes,⁶ *et eo usque animum incendunt, ut pudoris oblivisci cogant*, Love and Bacchus are so violent gods, so furiously rage in our minds, that they make us forget all honesty, shame, and common civility. For such men ordinarily as are thoroughly possessed with this humour, become *insensati et insani* (for it is *amor insanus* [insane love]),

as the poet calls it ¹), beside themselves, and as I have proved, no better than beasts, irrational, stupid, headstrong, void of fear of God or men, they frequently forswear themselves, spend, steal, commit incests, rapes, adulteries, murders, depopulate towns, cities, countries, to satisfy their lust.

A devil 'tis, and mischief such doth work,
As never yet did Pagan, Jew, or Turk.²

The wars of Troy may be a sufficient witness; and as Appian, *Hist. lib.* 5, saith of Antony and Cleopatra, "Their love brought themselves and all Egypt into extreme and miserable calamities."³ "The end of her is as bitter as wormwood, and as sharp as a two-edged sword. Her feet go down to death, her steps lead on to hell" (Prov. v, 4, 5). "She is more bitter than death, and the sinner shall be taken by her" (Eccles. vii, 26). *Qui in amore præcipitavit, pejus perit quam qui saxo salit.*⁴ He that runs headlong from the top of a rock is not in so bad a case as he that falls into this gulf of love.⁵ "For hence," saith Platina,⁶ "comes repentance, dotage, they lose themselves, their wits, and make shipwreck of their fortunes altogether"; madness, to make away themselves and others, violent death. *Prognosticatio est talis*, saith Gordonius, *si non succurratur iis, aut in maniam cadunt, aut moriuntur*: the prognostication is, they will either run mad, or die.⁷ "For if this passion continue," saith Ælian Montaltus,⁸ "it makes the blood hot, thick, and black; and if the inflammation get into the brain, with continual meditation and waking, it so dries it up that madness follows, or else they make away themselves." *O Corydon, Corydon, quæ te dementia cepit?*⁹ [O Corydon, Corydon, what madness hath come over thee?] Now, as Arnoldus adds, it will speedily work these effects if it be not presently helped; "they will pine away, run mad, and die upon a sudden"; *Facile incidunt in maniam*, saith Valescus, quickly mad, *nisi succurratur*,¹⁰ if good order be not taken:

*Eheu triste jugum quisquis amoris habet,
Is prius ac norit se periisse perit.*¹¹

Oh heavy yoke of love, which whoso bears,
Is quite undone, and that at unawares.

So she confessed of herself in the poet:

*Insaniam priusquam quis sentiat,
Vix pili intervallo a furore absum.*¹²

I shall be mad before it be perceived,
A hair-breadth off scarce am I, now distracted.

As mad as Orlando for his Angelica, or Hercules for his Hylas:

*At ille ruebat quo pedes ducebant, furibundus,
Nam illi sævus deus intus jecur laniabat.*

He went he car'd not whither, mad he was,
The cruel god so tortured him, alas!

At the sight of Hero I cannot tell how many ran mad:

Alius vulnus celans insanit pulchritudine puellæ.¹

And whilst he doth conceal his grief,
Madness comes on him like a thief.

Go to Bedlam for examples. It is so well known in every village, how many have either died for love, or voluntarily made away themselves, that I need not much labour to prove it; *Nec modus aut requies nisi mors reperitur amoris*² [love knows no limit or escape save death]: death is the common catastrophe to such persons.

*Mori mihi contingat, non enim alia
Liberatio ab ærumnis fuerit ullo pacto istis.³*

Would I were dead, for nought, God knows,
But death can rid me of these woes.

As soon as Euryalus departed from Senes, Lucretia, his paramour, "never looked up, no jests could exhilarate her sad mind, no joys comfort her wounded and distressed soul, but a little after she fell sick and died."⁴ But this is a gentle end, a natural death, such persons commonly make away themselves:

*Proprioque in sanguine lætus,
Indignantem animam vacuas effudit in auras.*

[Shedding his life-blood with glee, he gave his disdainful
breath to the empty air.]

So did Dido:

Sed moriamur, ait. Sic, sic juvat ire per umbras;

["But let me die," she said. "As I am, so let me
descend to the underworld";]

Pyramus and Thisbe, Medea, Coresus and Callirhoe,⁵ Theagenes the philosopher,⁶ and many myriads besides, and so will ever do:

*Et mihi fortis
Est manus, est et amor, dabit hic in vulnera vires.⁷*

Who ever heard a story of more woe,
Than that of Juliet and her Romeo?

Read Parthenius in *Eroticis*, and Plutarch's *amatorias*

narrationes, or love stories, all tending, almost, to this purpose. Valleriola, *lib. 2, observ. 7*, hath a lamentable narration of a merchant, his patient, "that raving through impatience of love, had he not been watched, would every while have offered violence to himself."¹ Amatus Lusitanus, *cent. 3, cur. 56*, hath such another story,² and Felix Plater, *Med. observ. lib. 1*, a third of a young gentleman that studied physic, and for the love of a doctor's daughter, having no hope to compass his desire, poisoned himself.³ Anno 1615, a barber in Frankfort, because his wench was betrothed to another, cut his own throat.⁴ At Neuburg, the same year, a young man, because he could not get her parents' consent, killed his sweetheart, and afterward himself, desiring this of the magistrate, as he gave up the ghost, that they might be buried in one grave,⁵ *Quodque rogis superest una requiescat in urna*, which Gismunda besought of Tancredus, her father,⁶ that she might be in like sort buried with Guiscardus, her lover, that so their bodies might lie together in the grave, as their souls wander about *campos lugentes*⁷ [the mourning meadows] in the Elysian Fields, *quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit* [whom pitiless love with wasting flame consumed], in a myrtle grove:

*Et myrtea circum
Silva tegit: curæ non ipsa in morte relinquunt.*

[A myrtle grove encompasses them; but not even in death are they free from the cares of love.]

You have not yet heard the worst, they do not offer violence to themselves in this rage of lust, but unto others, their nearest and dearest friends. Catiline killed his only son,⁸ *misitque ad Orci pallida, lethi obnubila, obsita tenebris loca* [he sent him to the pale, misty, dark abodes of death], for the love of Aurelia Orestilla, *quod ejus nuptias vivo filio recusaret* [because she refused to marry him while his son was alive]. Laodice, the sister of Mithridates, poisoned her husband, to give content to a base fellow whom she loved.⁹ Alexander, to please Thais, a concubine of his, set Persepolis on fire.¹⁰ Nereus' wife, a widow and lady of Athens, for the love of a Venetian gentleman, betrayed the city; and he for her sake murdered his wife, the daughter of a nobleman in Venice.¹¹ Constantine Despota made away Catherine his wife, turned his son Michael and his other children out of doors, for the love of a base scrivener's daughter in Thessalonica, with whose beauty he was enamoured.¹² Leucophrye betrayed the city where she dwelt, for her sweetheart's

sake, that was in the enemies' camp.¹ Pisidice, the governor's daughter of Methymna, for the love of Achilles, betrayed the whole island to him, her father's enemy.² Diognetus did as much in the city where he dwelt, for the love of Polycrite,³ Medea for the love of Jason; she taught him how to tame the fire-breathing, brass-footed bulls, and kill the mighty dragon that kept the golden fleece, and tore her little brother Absyrtus in pieces, that her father Æetes might have something to detain him, while she ran away with her beloved Jason, etc. Such acts and scenes hath this tragi-comedy of love.

MEMB. V.

SUBSECT. I.—*Cure of Love-Melancholy, by Labour,
Diet, Physic, Fasting, etc.*

ALTHOUGH it be controverted by some, whether love-melancholy may be cured, because it is so irresistible and violent a passion; for as you know,

*Facilis descensus Averni;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hic labor, hoc opus est;*⁴

It is an easy passage down to hell,
But to come back, once there, you cannot well;

yet without question, if it be taken in time, it may be helped, and by many good remedies amended. Avicenna, *lib. 3, Fen. cap. 23 et 24*, sets down seven compendious ways how this malady may be eased, altered, and expelled. Savonarola nine principal observations, Jason Pratensis prescribes eight rules, besides physic, how this passion may be tamed, Laurentius two main precepts, Arnoldus, Valleriola, Montaltus, Hildesheim, Langius, and others inform us otherwise, and yet all tending to the same purpose. The sum of which I will briefly epitomize (for I light my candle from their torches), and enlarge again upon occasion, as shall seem best to me, and that after mine own method. The first rule to be observed in this stubborn and unbridled passion, is exercise and diet. It is an old and well-known sentence, *Sine Cere et Baccho friget Venus* [love grows cool without bread and wine]. As an idle sedentary life,⁵ liberal feeding, are great causes of it, so the opposite, labour,

slender and sparing diet, with continual business, are the best and most ordinary means to prevent it.

*Otia si tollas, perire Cupidinis artes,
Contemplæque jacent, et sine luce faces.*

Take idleness away, and put to flight
Are Cupid's arts, his torches give no light.

Minerva, Diana, Vesta, and the nine Muses were not enamoured at all, because they never were idle.

*Frustra blanditiæ appulisti ad has,
Frustra nequitiae venitisti ad has,
Frustra deliciae obsidebitis has,
Frustra has illecebræ, et procacitates,
Et suspiria, et oscula, et susurri,
Et quisquis male sana corda amantum
Blandis ebria fascinat venenis.¹*

In vain are all your flatteries,
In vain are all your knaveries,
Delights, deceits, procacities,
Sighs, kisses, and conspiracies,
And whate'er is done by art,
To bewitch a lover's heart.

'Tis in vain to set upon those that are busy. 'Tis Savonarola's third rule, *occupari in multis et magnis negotiis* [to busy oneself with important affairs], and Avicenna's precept, *cap. 24 (Cedit amor rebus; res age, tutus eris* ² [love retires before business; be busy and you will be safe]), to be busy still, and, as Guianerius enjoins,³ about matters of great moment, if it may be. Magninus adds, "never to be idle but at the hours of sleep." ⁴

*Et ni
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
Intendes animum studiis, et rebus honestis,
Invidia vel amore miser torquebere.⁵*

For if thou dost not ply thy book,
By candle-light to study bent,
Employ'd about some honest thing,
Envy or love shall thee torment.

No better physic than to be always occupied, seriously intent.

*Cur in penates rarius tenues subit,
Hæc delicatas eligens pestis domos,
Mediumque sanos vulgus affectus tenet? etc.⁶*

Why, dost thou ask, poor folks are often free,
And dainty places still molested be?

Because poor people fare coarsely, work hard, go woolward and

bare. *Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem* [poverty hath not the wherewithal to feed its passion]. Guianerius¹ therefore prescribes his patient "to go with hair-cloth next his skin, to go bare-footed, and bare-legged in cold weather, to whip himself now and then, as monks do, but above all, to fast." Not with sweet wine, mutton and pottage, as many of those tenter-bellies do, howsoever they put on Lenten faces, and whatsoever they pretend, but from all manner of meat. Fasting is an all-sufficient remedy of itself; for, as Jason Pratensis holds, the bodies of such persons that feed liberally, and live at ease, "are full of bad spirits and devils, devilish thoughts; no better physic for such parties than to fast."² Hildesheim, *Spicil.* 2, to this of hunger, adds "often baths, much exercise and sweat,"³ but hunger and fasting he prescribes before the rest. And 'tis indeed our Saviour's oracle, "This kind of devil is not cast out but by fasting and prayer," which makes the Fathers so immoderate in commendation of fasting. "As hunger," saith Ambrose,⁴ "is a friend of virginity, so is it an enemy to lasciviousness, but fullness overthrows chastity and fostereth all manner of provocations." If thine horse be too lusty, Hierome adviseth thee to take away some of his provender; by this means those Pauls, Hilaries, Antonies, and famous anchorites subdued the lusts of the flesh; by this means Hilarion "made his ass, as he called his own body, leave kicking" (so Hierome relates of him in his life⁵), when the devil tempted him to any such foul offence. By this means those Indian Brachmanni kept themselves continent:⁶ they lay upon the ground covered with skins, as the redshanks do on heather, and dieted themselves sparingly on one dish, which Guianerius would have all young men put in practice; and if that will not serve, Gordonius⁷ would have them soundly whipped, or, to cool their courage, kept in prison, and there fed with bread and water till they acknowledge their error and become of another mind. If imprisonment and hunger will not take them down, according to the directions of that Theban Crates,⁸ "time must wear it out; if time will not, the last refuge is an halter." But this, you will say, is comically spoken. Howsoever, fasting by all means must be still used; and as they must refrain from such meats formerly mentioned, which cause venery or provoke lust, so they must use an opposite diet. Wine must be altogether avoided of the younger sort.⁹ So Plato prescribes,¹⁰ and would have the magistrates themselves abstain from it, for example's sake, highly commending the

Carthaginians for their temperance in this kind. And 'twas a good edict, a commendable thing, so that it were not done for some sinister respect, as those old Egyptians abstained from wine because some fabulous poets had given out, wine sprang first from the blood of the giants, or out of superstition, as our modern Turks, but for temperance, it being *animæ virus et vitiorum fomes* [a poison of the soul and a stimulant of vice], a plague itself if immoderately taken. Women of old for that cause, in hot countries, were forbid the use of it, as severely punished for drinking of wine as for adultery;¹ and young folks, as Leonicus hath recorded, *Var. hist. lib. 3, cap. 87, 88*, out of Athenæus and others, and is still practised in Italy and some other countries of Europe and Asia, as Claudius Minos hath well illustrated in his comment on the 23rd Emblem of Alciat. So choice is to be made of other diet.

*Nec minus erucas aptum est vitare salaces,
Et quicquid veneri corpora nostra parat.*

Eringos are not good for to be taken,
And all lascivious meats must be forsaken.

Those opposite meats which ought to be used are cucumbers, melons, purslane, water-lilies, rue, woodbine, ammi, lettuce, which Lemnius so much commends, *lib. 2, cap. 42*, and Mizaldus, *Hort. med.*, to this purpose; vitex, or agnus castus, before the rest, which, saith Magninus,² hath a wonderful virtue in it. Those Athenian women, in their solemn feasts called Thesmophories, were to abstain nine days from the company of men, during which time, saith Ælian, they laid a certain herb, named hanea, in their beds, which assuaged those ardent flames of love, and freed them from the torments of that violent passion. See more in Porta, Matthiolus, Crescentius, *lib. 5*, etc., and what every herbalist almost and physician hath written, *cap. de Satyriasi et Priapismo*; Rhasis amongst the rest. In some cases again, if they be much dejected and brought low in body, and now ready to despair through anguish, grief, and too sensible a feeling of their misery, a cup of wine and full diet is not amiss, and, as Valescus adviseth, *cum alia honesta venerem sæpe exercendo*, which Langius, *Epist. med. lib. 1, epist. 24*, approves out of Rhasis (*ad assiduationem coitus invitat*), and Guanerius seconds it, *cap. 16, tract. 16*, as a very profitable remedy.³

*Tument tibi quum inguina, num si
Ancilla, aut verna præsto est, tentigine rumpi
Malis? non ego namque, etc.*⁴

Jason Pratensis¹ subscribes to this counsel of the poet, *Excretio enim aut tollit prorsus aut lenit ægritudinem*, as it did the raging lust of Ahasuerus, *qui ad impatientiam amoris leniendam, per singulas fere noctes novas puellas devirgavit*.² And to be drunk too by fits; but this is mad physic, if it be at all to be permitted. If not, yet some pleasure is to be allowed, as that which Vives speaks of, *lib. 3 de anima*: "A lover that hath as it were lost himself through impotency, impatience, must be called home as a traveller, by music, feasting, good wine, if need be to drunkenness itself, which many so much commend for the easing of the mind, all kinds of sports and merriments, to see fair pictures, hangings, buildings, pleasant fields, orchards, gardens, groves, ponds, pools, rivers, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, to hear merry tales and pleasant discourse, reading, to use exercise till he sweat, that new spirits may succeed, or by some vehement affection or contrary passion to be diverted till he be fully weaned from anger, suspicion, cares, fears, etc., and habituated into another course."³ *Semper tecum sit* (as Sempronius adviseth Callisto his lovesick master⁴), *qui sermones joculars moveat, conciones ridiculas, dicteria falsa, suaves historias, fabulas venustas recenseat, coram ludat, etc.*, still have a pleasant companion to sing and tell merry tales, songs and facete histories, sweet discourse, etc. And as the melody of music, merriment, singing, dancing, doth augment the passion of some lovers, as Avicenna notes,⁵ so it expelleth it in others, and doth very much good. These things must be warily applied, as the parties' symptoms vary, and as they shall stand variously affected.

If there be any need of physic, that the humours be altered, or any new matter aggregated, they must be cured as melancholy men. Carolus a Lorme, amongst other questions discussed for his degree at Montpelier in France, hath this: *An amantes et amentes iisdem remediis curentur?* whether lovers and madmen be cured by the same remedies? He affirms it; for love extended is mere madness. Such physic, then, as is prescribed is either inward or outward, as hath been formerly handled in the precedent partition in the cure of melancholy. Consult with Valleriola, *Observat. lib. 2, observ. 7*; Lod. Mercatus, *lib. 2, cap. 4, de mulier. affect.*; Daniel Sennertus, *lib. 1, part. 2, cap. 10*; Jacobus Ferrandus the Frenchman,⁶ in his tract *de amore erotico*; Forestus, *lib. 10, observ. 29 and 30*; Jason Pratensis, and others for peculiar receipts. Amatus Lusitanus cured a young Jew, that was almost mad for love, with the

syrup of hellebore, and such other evacuations and purges which are usually prescribed to black choler;¹ Avicenna confirms as much if need require, and "blood-letting above the rest,"² which makes *amantes ne sint amentes*, lovers to come to themselves, and keep in their right minds.³ 'Tis the same which *Schola Salernitana* [the School of Salerno], Jason Pratensis, Hildesheim, etc., prescribe, blood-letting to be used as a principal remedy. Those old Scythians had a trick to cure all appetite of burning lust, by letting themselves blood under the ears, and to make both men and women barren,⁴ as Sabellicus in his *Enneades* relates of them. Which Salmuth, *tit. 10 de Horol. comment. in Pancirol. de nov. rept.*, Mercurialis, *var. lec. lib. 3, cap. 7*, out of Hippocrates and Benzo, say still is in use amongst the Indians, a reason of which Langius gives, *lib. 1, epist. 10*.

Huc faciunt medicamenta venerem sopientia, ut *camphora pudendis alligata, et in braca gestata* (quidam ait) *membrum flaccidum reddit. Laboravit hoc morbo virgo nobilis, cui inter cætera præscripsit medicus, ut lammam plumbeam multis foraminibus perlusam ad dies viginti portaret in dorso; ad exsiccandum vero sperma jussit eam quam parcissime cibari, et manducare frequenter coriandrum præparatum, et semen lactucæ et acetosæ, et sic eam a morbo liberavit.* Porro impediunt et remittunt coitum folia salicis trita et epota, et si frequentius usurpentur ipsa in totum auferunt. Idem præstat topazius annulo gestatus, dexterum lupi testiculum attritum, et oleo vel aqua rosata exhibitum veneris tædium inducere scribit Alexander Benedictus: lac butyri comestum et semen cannabis, et camphora exhibita idem præstant. Verbenæ herba gestata libidinem extinguit, pulvisquæ ranæ decollatæ et exsiccata. Ad extinguendum coitum, ungantur membra genitalia et renes et pecten aqua in qua opium Thebaicum sit dissolutum; libidini maxime contraria camphora est, et coriandrum siccum frangit coitum, et erectionem virgæ impedit; idem efficit sinapium ebitum. *Da verbenam in potu et non erigetur virga sex diebus; utere mentha sicca cum aceto, genitalia illinita succo hyoscyami aut ciculæ, coitus appetitum sedant, etc. R. seminis lactuc. portulac. coriandri an. ʒj menthæ siccæ ʒss sacchari albiss. ʒiij pulveriscentur omnia subtiliter, et post ea simul misce aqua nenupharis, f. confec. solida in morsulis. Ex his sumat mane unum quum surgat.* Innumera fere his similia petas ab Hildesheim loco prædicto, Mizaldo, Porta, cæterisque.

SUBJECT. II.—*Withstand the beginnings, avoid occasions, change his place: fair and foul means, contrary passions, with witty inventions: to bring in another, and discommend the former*

Other good rules and precepts are enjoined by our physicians, which, if not alone, yet certainly conjoined may do much; the first of which is *obstare principiis*, to withstand the beginnings. *Quisquis in primo obstitit Pepulitque amorem, tutus ac victor fuit*,¹ he that will but resist at first, may easily be a conqueror at the last. Balthasar Castilio, *lib. 4*, urgeth this prescript above the rest. "When he shall chance" (saith he) "to light upon a woman that hath good behaviour joined with her excellent person, and shall perceive his eyes with a kind of greediness to pull unto them this image of beauty, and carry it to the heart; shall observe himself to be somewhat incensed with this influence, which moveth within; when he shall discern those subtile spirits sparkling in her eyes to administer more fuel to the fire, he must wisely withstand the beginnings, rouse up reason, stupefied almost, fortify his heart by all means, and shut up all those passages by which it may have entrance."² 'Tis a precept which all concur upon.

*Opprime dum nova sunt subiti mala semina morbi,
Dum licet, in primo lumine siste pedem.*³

Thy quick disease, whilst it is fresh to-day,
By all means crush, thy feet at first step stay.

Which cannot speedier be done, than if he confess his grief and passion to some judicious friend (*qui tacitus ardet magis uritur*,⁴ the more he conceals, the greater is his pain) that by his good advice may happily ease him on a sudden; and withal to avoid occasions, or any circumstance that may aggravate his disease, to remove the object by all means; for who can stand by a fire and not burn?

*Sussilite, obsecro, et mittite istanc foras,
Quæ misero mihi amanti ebibit sanguinem.*⁵

[Leap up, ye bolts, and send her out of doors, for the
love of her has drained my very life-blood.]

'Tis good therefore to keep quite out of her company, which Hierome so much labours to Paula, to Nepotian; Chrysostom so much inculcates *in ser. in contubern.*, Cyprian, and many other Fathers of the Church, Siracides in his ninth chapter, Jason Pratensis, Savonarola, Arnoldus, Valleriola, etc., and

every physician that treats of this subject. Not only to avoid, as Gregory Tholosanus exhorts,¹ "kissing, dalliance, all speeches, tokens, love-letters, and the like," or as Castilio, *lib.* 4, to converse with them, hear them speak or sing (*tolerabilius est audire basiliscum sibilantem*, thou hadst better hear, saith Cyprian,² a serpent hiss), "those amiable smiles, admirable graces, and sweet gestures,"³ which their presence affords,

*Neu capita liment solitis morsiunculis,
Et his papillarum oppressiunculis
Abstineant:*⁴

but all talk, name, mention, or cogitation of them, and of any other women, persons, circumstance, amorous book or tale that may administer any occasion of remembrance. Prosper⁵ adviseth young men not to read the Canticles, and some parts of Genesis at other times; but for such as are enamoured they forbid, as before, the name mentioned, etc., especially all sight, they must not so much as come near, or look upon them.

*Et fugitare decet simulacra et pabula amoris,
Abstinere sibi atque alio convertere mentem.*⁶

[It is well to avoid all sights that feed love, and to turn one's thoughts elsewhere.]

"Gaze not on a maid," saith Siracides, "turn away thine eyes from a beautiful woman" (*cap.* 9, *v.* 5, 7, 8), *Averte oculos*, saith David, or if thou dost see them, as Ficinus adviseth, let not thine eye be *intentus ad libidinem*, do not intend her more than the rest: for as Propertius holds,⁷ *Ipsæ alimenta sibi maxima præbet amor* [love provides its own chief nourishment], love as a snowball enlargeth itself by sight: but as Hierome to Nepotian, *aut æqualiter ama, aut æqualiter ignora*, either see all alike, or let all alone; make a league with thine eyes, as Job did,⁸ and that is the safest course, let all alone, see none of them. Nothing sooner revives, or "waxeth sore again," as Petrarch holds,⁹ "than love doth by sight. As pomp renews ambition, the sight of gold covetousness, a beauteous object sets on fire this burning lust." *Et multum saliens incitat unda sitim*. The sight of drink makes one dry, and the sight of meat increaseth appetite. 'Tis dangerous therefore to see. A young gentleman in merriment would needs put on his mistress' clothes, and walk abroad alone, which some of her suitors espying, stole him away for her that he represented.¹⁰ So much can sight enforce. Especially if he have been formerly

enamoured, the sight of his mistress strikes him into a new fit, and makes him rave many days after.

*Infirmis causa pusilla nocet,
Ut pene extinctum cinerem si sulphure tansas,
Vivet, et ex minimo maximus ignis erit :
Sic nisi vitabis quicquid renovabit amorem,
Flamma recrudescet, quæ modo nulla fuit.*¹

A sickly man a little thing offends,
As brimstone doth a fire decayed renew,
And make it burn afresh, doth love's dead flames,
If that the former object it review.

Or, as the poet compares it to embers in ashes, which the wind blows, *ut solet a ventis*, etc.,² a scald head (as the saying is) is soon broken, dry wood quickly kindles, and when they have been formerly wounded with sight, how can they by seeing but be inflamed? Ismenias acknowledgeth as much of himself, when he had been long absent, and almost forgotten his mistress, "at the first sight of her, as straw in a fire, I burned afresh, and more than ever I did before."³ Chariclea was as much moved at the sight of her dear Theagenes, after he had been a great stranger.⁴ Myrtila, in Aristanetus,⁵ swore she would never love Pamphilus again, and did moderate her passion so long as he was absent; but the next time he came in presence, she could not contain, *effuse amplexa attrectari se sinit*, etc., she broke her vow, and did profusely embrace him. Hermotinus, a young man (in the said author⁶), is all out as unstead; he had forgot his mistress quite, and by his friends was well weaned from her love; but seeing her by chance, *agnovit veteris vestigia flammæ*, he raved amain, *illa tamen emergens veluti lucida stella cœpit elucere*, etc., she did appear as a blazing star or an angel to his sight. And it is the common passion of all lovers to be overcome in this sort. For that cause belike, Alexander, discerning this inconvenience and danger that comes by seeing, "when he heard Darius' wife so much commended for her beauty, would scarce admit her to come in his sight,"⁷ foreknowing belike that of Plutarch, *formosam videre periculosissimum*, how full of danger it is to see a proper woman; and though he was intemperate in other things, yet in this *superbe se gessit*, he carried himself bravely. And so whenas Araspas, in Xenophon, had so much magnified that divine face of Panthea to Cyrus, "by how much she was fairer than ordinary, by so much he was the more unwilling to see her."⁸ Scipio, a young man of twenty-three years of age, and the most beautiful of the Romans,

equal in person to that Grecian Clinias, or Homer's Nireus, at the siege of a city in Spain, whenas a noble and most fair young gentlewoman was brought unto him, "and he had heard she was betrothed to a lord, rewarded her, and sent her back to her sweetheart."¹ St. Austin, as Gregory reports of him,² *ne cum sorore quidem sua putavit habitandum*, would not live in the house with his own sister. Xenocrates lay with Lais of Corinth all night, and would not touch her. Socrates, though all the city of Athens supposed him to dote upon fair Alcibiades, yet when he had an opportunity *solus cum solo*, to lie [alone] in the chamber with,³ and was wooed by him besides, as the said Alcibiades publicly confessed,⁴ *formam spreuit et superbe contempsit*, he scornfully rejected him. Petrarch, that had so magnified his Laura in several poems, when by the Pope's means she was offered unto him, would not accept of her. "It is a good happiness to be free from this passion of love, and great discretion it argues in such a man that he can so contain himself; but when thou art once in love, to moderate thyself" (as he saith⁵) "is a singular point of wisdom.

*Nam vitare plagas in amoris ne jaciatur
Non ita difficile est, quam captum retibus ipsis
Exire, et validos Veneris perrumpere nodos.*⁶

To avoid such nets is no such mastery,
But ta'en to escape is all the victory

But, forasmuch as few men are free, so discreet lovers, or that can contain themselves and moderate their passions, to curb their senses, as not to see them, not to look lasciviously, not to confer with them, such is the fury of this headstrong passion of raging lust, and their weakness, *ferox ille ardor a natura insitus*, as he⁷ terms it, such a furious desire nature hath inscribed, such unspeakable delight,

*Sic divæ Veneris furor,
Insanis adeo mentibus incubat,*

[Love-madness so assaulteth minds diseased,]

which neither reason, counsel, poverty, pain, misery, drudgery, *partus dolor* [pangs of childbirth], etc., can deter them from; we must use some speedy means to correct and prevent that, and all other inconveniences which come by conference and the like. The best, readiest, surest way, and which all approve, is *loci mutatio* [change of place], to send them several ways, that they may neither hear of, see, nor have an opportunity to send to one another again, or live together, *soli cum sola*

[entirely by themselves], as so many Gilbertines. *Elongatio a patria* [going abroad], 'tis Savonarola's fourth rule, and Gordonius' precept, *distrahatur ad longinquas regiones*, send him to travel. 'Tis that which most run upon, as so many hounds with full cry, poets, divines, philosophers, physicians, all, *mutet patriam* [let him change his country] (Valesius); as a sick man, he must be cured with change of air (Tully, 4 *Tuscul.*).¹ The best remedy is to get thee gone (Jason Pratensis); change air and soil (Laurentius); *Fuge littus amatum* [shun the well-loved shore] (Virgil); *Utile finitimis abstinuisse locis* [it will be well to keep away from the neighbourhood] (Ovid²); *I procul, et longas carpere perge vias* [away, away! go far from hence]; *sed fuge, tutus eris* [in flight thou shalt find safety]. Travelling is an antidote of love:

*Magnum iter ad doctas proficisci cogor Athenas,
Ut me longa gravi solvat amore via.*³

For this purpose, saith Propertius,⁴ my parents sent me to Athens; time and patience wear away pain and grief, as fire goes out for want of fuel. *Quantum oculis, animo tam procul ibit amor* [love banished from the eyes will leave the heart]. But so as they tarry out long enough: a whole year Xenophon prescribes Critobulus,⁵ *vix enim intra hoc tempus ab amore sanari poteris* [for you can scarce be cured of love in this space]: some will hardly be weaned under. All this Heinsius merrily inculcates in an epistle to his friend Primerius: First fast, then tarry, thirdly, change thy place, fourthly, think of an halter.⁶ If change of place, continuance of time, absence, will not wear it out with those precedent remedies, it will hardly be removed: but these commonly are of force. Felix Plater, *Observ. lib. 1*, had a baker to his patient, almost mad for the love of his maid, and desperate; by removing her from him, he was in a short space cured. Isæus, a philosopher of Assyria, was a most dissolute liver in his youth, *palam lasciviens*, in love with all he met; but after he betook himself by his friends' advice to his study, and left women's company, he was so changed that he cared no more for plays, nor feasts, nor masks, nor songs, nor verses, fine clothes, nor no such love-toys: he became a new man upon a sudden, *tanquam si priores oculos amisisset*, (saith mine author⁷) as if he had lost his former eyes. Peter Godefridus, in the last chapter of his third book, hath a story out of St. Ambrose, of a young man, that meeting his old love after long absence, on whom he had extremely doted, would scarce take notice of her;

she wondered at it, that he should so lightly esteem her, called him again, *lenibat dictis animum* [began to wheedle him], and told him who she was, *Ego sum, inquit* [I am so-and-so, said she]; *At ego non sum ego*: but he replied, he was not the same man; *proripuit sese tandem* [he at length tore himself from her], as Æneas fled from Dido,¹ not vouchsafing her any farther parley, loathing his folly, and ashamed of that which formerly he had done. *Non sum stultus ut ante jam Neæra*:² O Neæra, put your tricks, and practise hereafter, upon somebody else, you shall befool me no longer. Petrarch hath such another tale of a young gallant, that loved a wench with one eye, and for that cause by his parents was sent to travel into far countries; "after some years he returned, and meeting the maid for whose sake he was sent abroad, asked her how and by what chance she lost her eye? No, said she, I have lost none, but you have found yours"; signifying thereby that all lovers were blind, as Fabius saith, *Amantes de forma judicare non possunt*, lovers cannot judge of beauty, nor scarce of anything else, as they will easily confess, after they return unto themselves by some discontinuance or better advice, wonder at their own folly, madness, stupidity, blindness, be much abashed, "And laugh at love, and call 't an idle thing," condemn themselves that ever they should be so besotted or misled, and be heartily glad they have so happily escaped.

If so be (which is seldom) that change of place will not effect this alteration, then other remedies are to be annexed, fair and foul means, as to persuade, promise, threaten, terrify, or to divert by some contrary passion, rumour, tales, news, or some witty invention to alter his affection, "by some greater sorrow to drive out the less,"³ saith Gordonius, as that his house is on fire, his best friends dead, his money stolen, "that he is made some great governor, or hath some honour, office, some inheritance is befallen him,"⁴ he shall be a knight, a baron; or by some false accusation, as they do to such as have the hiccup, to make them forget it. St. Hierome, *lib. 2, epist. 16*, to Rusticus the monk, hath an instance of a young man of Greece, that lived in a monastery in Egypt, "that by no labour, no continence, no persuasion could be diverted, but at last by this trick he was delivered. The abbot sets one of his convent to quarrel with him, and with some scandalous reproach or other to defame him before company, and then to come and complain first; the witnesses were likewise suborned for the plaintiff. The young man wept, and when all were against him,

the abbot cunningly took his part, lest he should be overcome with immoderate grief: but what need many words? By this invention he was cured, and alienated from his pristine love-thoughts.”¹ Injuries, slanders, contempts, disgraces, *spretæque injuria formæ* [the affront of slighted beauty], are very forcible means to withdraw men’s affections, *contumelia affecti amatores amare desinunt*, as Lucian saith,² lovers reviled or neglected, contemned or misused, turn love to hate. *Redeam? Non si me obsecrat*³ [Return? Not if she asks me on her knees], “I’ll never love thee more.” *Egone illum, quæ illum, quæ me, quæ non?* [I love her, who has trifled with him, with me, with whom not?] So Zephyrus hated Hyacinthus because he scorned him, and preferred his corival Apollo (Palæphatus, *fab. Nar.*). He will not come again though he be invited. Tell him but how he was scoffed at behind his back (’tis the counsel of Avicenna), that his love is false, and entertains another, rejects him, cares not for him, or that she is a fool, a nasty quean, a slut, a vixen, a scold, a devil, or, which Italians commonly do, that he or she hath some loathsome filthy disease, gout, stone, strangury, falling sickness, and that they are hereditary, not to be avoided, he is subject to a consumption, hath the pox, that he hath three or four incurable tetters, issues; that she is bald, her breath stinks, she is mad by inheritance, and so are all the kindred, an hare-brain, with many other secret infirmities, which I will not so much as name, belonging to women. That he is an hermaphrodite, an eunuch, imperfect, impotent, a spendthrift, a gamester, a fool, a gull, a beggar, a whoremaster, far in debt, and not able to maintain her, a common drunkard, his mother was a witch, his father hanged, that he hath a wolf in his bosom, a sore leg, he is a leper, hath some incurable disease, that he will surely beat her, he cannot hold his water, that he cries out or walks in the night, will stab his bed-fellow, tell all his secrets in his sleep, and that nobody dare lie with him, his house is haunted with spirits, with such fearful and tragical things, able to avert and terrify any man or woman living. *Gordonius, cap. 20, part. 2, hunc in modum consulit: Paretur aliqua vetula turpissima aspectu, cum turpi et vili habitu; et portet subtus gremium pannum menstrualement, et dicat quod amica sua sit ebriosa, et quod mingat in lecto, et quod est epileptica et impudica; et quod in corpore suo sunt excrescentiæ enormes, cum fœtore anhelitus, et aliæ enormitates, quibus vetulæ sunt edoctæ: si nolit his persuaderi, subito extrahat pannum menstrualement,⁴ coram facie portando, exclamando, Talis est amica tua; et si ex his non*

*demiserit, non est homo, sed diabolus incarnatus. Idem fere Avicenna, cap. 24, de cura Ilishi, lib. 3, fen. 1, tract. 4. Narrent res immundas vetulæ, ex quibus abominationem incurrat, et res sordidas, et hoc assiduent.*¹ *Idem Arculanus, cap. 16, in 9 Rhasis, etc.*

Withal, as they do discommend the old, for the better effecting a more speedy alteration they must commend another paramour, *alteram inducere*, set him or her to be wooed, or woo some other that shall be fairer, of better note, better fortune, birth, parentage, much to be preferred: *Invenies alium, si te hic fastidit Alexis*² [you will soon find another lover if Alexis here disdains you]; by this means, which Jason Pratensis wisheth, to turn the stream of affection another way: *Successore novo truditur omnis amor* [the old love is ever thrust out by the new]; or, as Valesius adviseth, by subdividing to diminish it,³ as a great river cut into many channels runs low at last. *Hortor et ut pariter binas habeatis amicas* [I recommend you to divide your favour between two mistresses], etc.⁴ If you suspect to be taken, be sure, saith the poet, to have two mistresses at once, or go from one to another: as he that goes from a good fire in cold weather is loath to depart from it, though in the next room there be a better which will refresh him as much; there 's as much difference of *hæc* as *hic ignis*; or bring him to some public shows, plays, meetings, where he may see variety, and he shall likely loathe his first choice: carry him but to the next town, yea peradventure to the next house, and as Paris lost Cænone's love by seeing Helena, and Cressida forsook Troilus by conversing with Diomedes, he will dislike his former mistress, and leave her quite behind him, as Theseus left Ariadne fast asleep in the island of Dia, to seek her fortune, that was erst his loving mistress.⁵ *Nunc primum Dorida vetus amator contempsit*, as he said,⁶ Doris is but a dowdy to this. As he that looks himself in a glass forgets his physiognomy forthwith, this flattering glass of love will be diminished by remove; after a little absence it will be remitted, the next fair object will likely alter it. A young man in Lucian⁷ was pitifully in love, he came to the theatre by chance, and by seeing other fair objects there, *mentis sanitatem recepit*, was fully recovered, "and went merrily home, as if he had taken a dram of oblivion."⁸ A mouse (saith an apologer) was brought up in a chest,⁹ there fed with fragments of bread and cheese, thought there could be no better meat, till coming forth at last, and feeding liberally of other variety of viands, loathed his former life: moralize this fable by thyself. Plato,

in his seventh book *de legibus*, hath a pretty fiction of a city underground, to which by little holes some small store of light came;¹ the inhabitants thought there could not be a better place, and at their first coming abroad they might not endure the light, *agerime solem intueri*, but after they were accustomed a little to it, "they deplored their fellows' misery that lived underground."² A silly lover is in like state; none so fair as his mistress at first, he cares for none but her; yet after a while, when he hath compared her with others, he abhors her name, sight, and memory. 'Tis generally true; for as he observes, *Priorem flammam novus ignis extrudit; et ea mulierum natura, ut præsentes maxime ament*:³ one fire drives out another; and such is women's weakness, that they love commonly him that is present. And so do many men; as he confessed, he loved Amy, till he saw Floriat, and when he saw Cynthia, forgot them both; but fair Phyllis was incomparably beyond them all, Chloris surpassed her, and yet when he espied Amaryllis, she was his sole mistress; O divine Amaryllis! *quam procera, cupressi ad instar, quam elegans, quam decens!* etc., how lovely, how tall, how comely she was (saith Polemius) till he saw another, and then she was the sole subject of his thoughts. In conclusion, her he loves best he saw last. Triton,⁴ the sea-god, first loved Leucothoe, till he came in presence of Milæne; she was the commandress of his heart, till he saw Galatea; but (as she complains⁵) he loved another eftsoons, another, and another. 'Tis a thing which, by Hierome's report, hath been usually practised. "Heathen philosophers drive out one love with another, as they do a peg, or pin with a pin; which those seven Persian princes did to Ahasuerus, that they might requite the desire of Queen Vashti with the love of others."⁶ Pausanias, in *Eliacus*, saith that therefore one Cupid was painted to contend with another, and to take the garland from him, because one love drives out another, *Alterius vires subtrahit alter amor*⁷ and Tully, 3 *Nat. Deor.*, disputing with C. Cotta, makes mention of three several Cupids, all differing in office. Felix Plater, in the first book of his *Observations*, boasts how he cured a widower in Basil, a patient of his, by this stratagem alone, that doted upon a poor servant his maid, when friends, children, no persuasion could serve to alienate his mind: they motioned him to another honest man's daughter in the town, whom he loved and lived with long after, abhorring the very name and sight of the first. After the death of Lucretia, Euryalus "would admit of no comfort, till the

Emperor Sigismund married him to a noble lady of his court, and so in short space he was freed."¹

SUBJECT. III.—*By counsel and persuasion, foulness of the fact, men's, women's faults, miseries of marriage, events of lust, etc.*

As there be divers causes of this burning lust, or heroical love, so there be many good remedies to ease and help; amongst which, good counsel and persuasion, which I should have handled in the first place, are of great moment, and not to be omitted. Many are of opinion that in this blind headstrong passion counsel can do no good.

*Quæ enim res in se neque consilium neque modum
Habet, ullo eam consilio regere non potes.*²

Which thing hath neither judgment, or an end,
How should advice or counsel it amend?

*Quis enim modus adsit amor?*³ [How can bounds be set to love?] But, without question, good counsel and advice must needs be of great force, especially if it shall proceed from a wise, fatherly, reverend, discreet person, a man of authority, whom the parties do respect, stand in awe of, or from a judicious friend, of itself alone it is able to divert and suffice. Gordonius the physician attributes so much to it, that he would have it by all means used in the first place. *Amoveatur ab illa, consilio viri quem timet, ostendendo pericula sæculi, judicium inferni, gaudia Paradisi* [let him be kept away from his beloved, and admonished by some man of whom he stands in awe of the dangers of the world, the punishments of hell, the joys of Paradise]. He would have some discreet men to dissuade them, after the fury of passion is a little spent, or by absence allayed; for it is as intempestive at first to give counsel, as to comfort parents when their children are in that instant departed; to no purpose to prescribe narcotics, cordials, nectarines, potions, Homer's nepenthes, or Helen's bowl, etc. *Non cessabit pectus tundere* [she will not cease to beat her breast], she will lament and howl for a season: let passion have his course awhile, and then he may proceed, by foreshowing the miserable events and dangers which will surely happen, the pains of hell, joys of Paradise, and the like, which by their preposterous courses they shall forfeit or incur; and 'tis a fit method, a very good means; for what Seneca⁴ said of vice, I say of love, *Sine magistro discitur, vix sine magistro deseritur*, 'tis learned of itself, but

hardly left without a tutor.¹ 'Tis not amiss therefore to have some such overseer, to expostulate and show them such absurdities, inconveniences, imperfections, discontents, as usually follow; which their blindness, fury, madness, cannot apply unto themselves, or will not apprehend through weakness; and good for them to disclose themselves, to give ear to friendly admonitions. "Tell me, sweetheart" (saith Tryphæna to a lovesick Charmides in Lucian ²), "what is it that troubles thee? per-adventure I can ease thy mind, and further thee in thy suit"; and so, without question, she might, and so mayst thou, if the patient be capable of good counsel, and will hear at least what may be said.

If he love at all, she is either an honest woman or a whore. If dishonest, let him read or inculcate to him that fifth of Solomon's Proverbs, Ecclus. xxvi, Ambrose, *lib. 1, cap. 4*, in his book of Abel and Cain, Philo Judæus, *de mercede mer.*, Platina's *dial. in Amores*, Espencæus, and those three books of Pet. Hædus *de contem. amoribus*, Æneas Sylvius' tart epistle, which he wrote to his friend Nicholas of Wartburg, which he calls *medelam illiciti amoris* [a cure for illicit love], etc. "For what's a whore," as he saith,³ "but a poller of youth, ruin of men,⁴ a destruction, a devourer of patrimonies, a downfall of honour, fodder for the devil, the gate of death, and supplement of hell?" *Talis amor est laqueus animæ* [such a love is a snare for the soul], etc., a bitter honey, sweet poison, delicate destruction, a voluntary mischief, *commixtum cœnum, sterquilinum*⁵ [mere filth]. And as Pet. Aretine's Lucretia, a notable quean, confesseth: "Gluttony, anger, envy, pride, sacrilege, theft, slaughter, were all born that day that a whore began her profession"; for, as she follows it, "her pride is greater than a rich churl's, she is more envious than the pox, as malicious as melancholy, as covetous as hell."⁶ If from the beginning of the world any were *mala, pejor, pessima*, bad in the [positive, comparative,] superlative degree, 'tis a whore; how many have I undone, caused to be wounded, slain! O Antonia, thou seest what I am without, but within, God knows, a puddle of iniquity, a sink of sin, a pocky quean."⁷ Let him now that so dotes meditate on this; let him see the event and success of others, Samson, Hercules, Holofernes, etc. Those infinite mischiefs attend it: if she be another man's wife he loves, 'tis abominable in the sight of God and men; adultery is expressly forbidden in God's commandment, a mortal sin, able to endanger his soul: if he be such a one that fears God, or have any religion, he

will eschew it, and abhor the loathsomeness of his own fact. If he love an honest maid, 'tis to abuse or marry her: if to abuse, 'tis fornication, a foul fact (though some make light of it), and almost equal to adultery itself. If to marry, let him seriously consider what he takes in hand, look before he leap, [as the proverb is, or settle his affections, and examine first the party, and condition of his estate and hers, whether it be a fit match, for fortunes, years, parentage, and such other circumstances, *an sit suæ Veneris*, whether it be likely to proceed; if not, let him wisely stave himself off at the first, curb in his inordinate passion and moderate his desire, by thinking of some other subject, divert his cogitations. Or if it be not for his good, as Æneas, forewarned by Mercury in a dream, left Dido's love, and in all haste got him to sea:

*Mnesthea Surgestumque vocal fortemque Cloanthum,
Classem aptent taciti jubet;*¹

[He calls Mnestheus, Sergestus, and brave Cloanthus, and bids them quietly prepare to sail:]

and although she did oppose with vows, tears, prayers, and imprecation,

*Nullis ille movetur
Fletibus, aut illas voces tractabilis audit*

[All her tears move him not, her words fall on deaf ears.]

Let thy Mercury-reason rule thee against all allurements, seeming delights, pleasing inward or outward provocations. Thou mayst do this if thou wilt, *pater non deperit filiam, nec frater sororem*, a father dotes not on his own daughter, a brother on a sister; and why? because it is unnatural, unlawful, unfit. If he be sickly, soft, deformed, let him think of his deformities, vices, infirmities; if in debt, let him ruminate how to pay his debts: if he be in any danger, let him seek to avoid it: if he have any lawsuit or other business, he may do well to let his love-matters alone and follow it, labour in his vocation, whatever it is. But if he cannot so ease himself, yet let him wisely premeditate of both their estates; if they be unequal in years, she young and he old, what an unfit match must it needs be, an uneven yoke, how absurd and undecent a thing is it, as Lycinus in Lucian² told Timolaus, for an old bald crook-nosed knave to marry a young wench? how odious a thing it is to see an old lecher! What should a bald fellow do with a comb, a dumb doter with a pipe, a blind man with a looking-glass, and thou with such a

wife? How absurd it is for a young man to marry an old wife for a piece of good! But put case she be equal in years, birth, fortunes, and other qualities correspondent, he doth desire to be coupled in marriage, which is an honourable estate, but for what respects? Her beauty belike, and comeliness of person, that is commonly the main object, she is a most absolute form, in his eye at least, *Cui formam Paphia, et Charites tribuere decorem* [to whom Venus has given beauty and the Graces charm]; but do other men affirm as much? or is it an error in his judgment?

*Fallunt nos oculi vagique sensus,
Oppressa ratione mentiuntur.*¹

our eyes and other senses will commonly deceive us; it may be, to thee thyself upon a more serious examination, or after a little absence, she is not so fair as she seems. *Quædam videntur et non sunt* [some things do not come up to their appearance]; compare her to another standing by, 'tis a touchstone to try, confer hand to hand, body to body, face to face, eye to eye, nose to nose, neck to neck, etc., examine every part by itself, then altogether, in all postures, several sites, and tell me how thou likest her. It may be not she that is so fair, but her coats, or put another in her clothes, and she will seem all out as fair; as the poet² then prescribes, separate her from her clothes: suppose thou saw her in a base beggar's weed, or else dressed in some old hirsute attires out of fashion, foul linen, coarse raiment, besmeared with soot, colly, perfumed with opoponax, sagapenum, asafoetida, or some such filthy gums, dirty, about some undecent action or other; or in such a case as Brassavola the physician³ found Malatesta, his patient, after a potion of hellebore which he had prescribed: *Manibus in terram depositis, et ano versus cælum elevato (ac si videretur Socraticus ille Aristophanes, qui geometricas figuras in terram scribens, tubera colligere videbatur), atram bilem in album parietem injiciebat, adeoque totam cameram, et se deturpabat, ut,* etc., all-to bewrayed, or worse; if thou saw'st her (I say), wouldst thou affect her as thou dost? Suppose thou beheldest her in a frosty morning, in cold weather, in some passion or perturbation of mind, weeping, chafing, etc., ravelled and ill-favoured to behold.⁴ She many times that in a composed look seems so amiable and delicious, *tam scitula forma* [of so elegant an appearance], if she do but laugh or smile, makes an ugly sparrow-mouthed face, and shows a pair of uneven, loathsome, rotten,

foul teeth: she hath a black skin, gouty legs, a deformed crooked carcass under a fine coat. It may be for all her costly tires she is bald, and though she seem so fair by dark, by candle-light, or afar off at such a distance, as Callicratides observed in Lucian,¹ "if thou should see her near, or in a morning, she would appear more ugly than a beast"; *si diligenter consideres, quid per os et nares et cæteros corporis meatus egreditur, vilius sterquilinum nunquam vidisti*² [if you reflect what issues from her mouth and nostrils and the other orifices of her body you will say that you have never seen worse filth]. Follow my counsel, see her undressed, see her, if it be possible, out of her attires, *furtivis nudatam coloribus* [stripped of her stolen colours], it may be she is like Æsop's jay, or Pliny's cantharides,³ she will be loathsome, ridiculous, thou wilt not endure her sight: or suppose thou saw'st her sick, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or now dead, *cujus erat gratissimus amplexus* [she whose embrace was so agreeable], as Bernard saith, *erit horribilis aspectus* [her aspect will be horrible]:

Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

As a posy she smells sweet, is most fresh and fair one day, but dried up, withered, and stinks another. Beautiful Nireus, by that Homer so much admired, once dead, is more deformed than Thersites, and Solomon deceased as ugly as Marcolphus: thy lovely mistress that was erst *caris carior ocellis*,⁴ dearer to thee than thine eyes, once sick or departed, is *vili vilior æstimata cæno*, worse than any dirt or dunghill. Her embraces were not so acceptable as now her looks be terrible: thou hadst better behold a Gorgon's head than Helena's carcass.

Some are of opinion that to see a woman naked is able of itself to alter his affection; and it is worthy of consideration, saith Montaigne the Frenchman in his Essays,⁵ that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliance appoint for a remedy of venerous passions a full survey of the body; which the poet insinuates:

*Ille quod obscænas in aperto corpore partes
Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hæsit amor.*⁶

The love stood still, that ran in full career,
When once it saw those parts should not appear.

It is reported of Seleucus, King of Syria, that seeing his wife Stratonice's bald pate, as she was undressing her by chance, he could never affect her after. Remundus Lullius, the physician, spying an ulcer or canker in his mistress' breast, whom he so

dearly loved, from that day following abhorred the looks of her. Philip the French king, as Nubrigensis, *lib. 4, cap. 24*, relates it, married the King of Denmark's daughter, "and after he had used her as a wife one night, because her breath stunk, they say, or for some other secret fault, sent her back again to her father." ¹ Peter Matthæus, in the life of Louis the Eleventh, finds fault with our English chronicles, ² for writing how Margaret, the King of Scots' daughter, and wife to Louis the eleventh French king, was *ob graveolentiam oris* [because her breath stunk] rejected by her husband. Many such matches are made for by-respects, or some seemly comeliness, which after honeymoon's past turn to bitterness; for burning lust is but a flash, a gunpowder passion, and hatred oft follows in the highest degree, dislike and contempt.

*Cum se cutis arida laxat,
Fiunt obscuri dentes,*³

[When the skin shrivels and hangs loose, and the teeth
blacken,]

when they wax old and ill-favoured, they may commonly no longer abide them: *Jam gravis es nobis* [thou art distasteful to me], begone; they grow stale, fulsome, loathsome, odious; thou art a beastly filthy quean, *faciem, Phæbe, cacantis habes*,⁴ thou art *Saturni podex*, withered and dry, *insipida et vetula* [savourless and old]; *Te quia rugæ Turpant, et capitis nives*⁵ [because you are wrinkled, ugly, and grey], (I say) begone, *portæ patent, proficiscere*⁶ [there is the door, go!].

Yea, but you will infer, your mistress is complete, of a most absolute form in all men's opinions, no exceptions can be taken at her, nothing may be added to her person, nothing detracted, she is the mirror of women for her beauty, comeliness, and pleasant grace, unimitable, *meræ deliciæ, meri lepores*, she is *Myrothecium Veneris, Gratiarum pyxis*, a mere magazine of natural perfections, she hath all the Veneres and Graces, *mille faces et mille figuras* [a thousand torches and a thousand figures], in each part absolute and complete, *Læta genas, læta os roseum, vaga lumina læta* ⁷ [with beautiful cheeks, rosy lips, and sparkling eyes]; to be admired for her person, a most incomparable, unmatched piece, *aurea proles, ad simulacrum alicujus numinis composita* [a golden progeny, formed after the image of a god], a phoenix, *vernantis ætatulæ Venerilla*, a nymph, a fairy, like Venus herself when she was a maid,⁸ *nulli secunda*, a mere quintessence, *flores spirans et amaracum, femina prodigium* [with

breath sweet as flowers, an incomparable woman]: put case she be, how long will she continue? *Florem decoris singuli carpunt dies*:¹ every day detracts from her person, and this beauty is *bonum fragile*, a mere flash, a Venice glass, quickly broken:

*Anceps forma bonum mortalibus,
... exigui donum breve temporis,*²

[Beauty to mortals is a gift of doubtful worth—a
short-lived boon,]

it will not last. As that fair flower Adonis,³ which we call an anemone, flourisheth but one month, this gracious all-commanding beauty fades in an instant. It is a jewel soon lost, the painter's goddess, *falsa veritas*, a mere picture. "Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity" (Prov. xxxi, 30).

*Vitreæ gemmula, fluxaque bullula, candida forma est,
Nix, rosa, ros, fumus, ventus et aura nihil.*⁴

A brittle gem, bubble, is beauty pale,
A rose, dew, snow, smoke, wind, air, naught at all.

If she be fair, as the saying is, she is commonly a fool; if proud, scornful (*sequiturque superbia formam*), or dishonest, *rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitiae*, "can she be fair and honest too?" Aristo, the son of Agasicles, married a Spartan lass, the fairest lady in all Greece next to Helen, but for her conditions the most abominable and beastly creature of the world.⁵ So that I would wish thee to respect, with Seneca,⁶ not her person but qualities. "Will you say that 's a good blade which hath a gilded scabbard, embroidered with gold and jewels? No, but that which hath a good edge and point, well-tempered mettle, able to resist." This beauty is of the body alone, and what is that but, as Gregory Nazianzen telleth us, "a mock of time and sickness"?⁷ or as Boethius, "as mutable as a flower, and 'tis not nature so makes us, but most part the infirmity of the beholder"?⁸ For ask another, he sees no such matter: *Dic mihi per gratias qualis tibi videtur*, "I pray thee tell me how thou likest my sweetheart," as she asked her sister in Aristænetus, "whom I so much admire; methinks he is the sweetest gentleman, the properest man that ever I saw: but I am in love, I confess (*nec pudet fateri* [nor am I ashamed to confess it]), and cannot therefore well judge."⁹ But be she fair indeed, golden-haired, as Anacreon his Bathyllus (to examine particulars), she have *Flammeolos oculos, collaque lacteola*¹⁰ [sparkling eyes, a milk-white neck], a pure sanguine complexion, little

mouth, coral lips, white teeth, soft and plump neck, body, hands, feet, all fair and lovely to behold, composed of all graces, elegancies, an absolute piece:

*Lumina sint Melitæ Junonia, dextra Minervæ,
Mamillæ Veneris, sura maris dominæ, etc.;*¹

[Let Melita have eyes like Juno, hands like Minerva,
breasts like Venus, a leg like Amphitrite;]

let her head be from Prague, paps out of Austria, belly from France, back from Brabant, hands out of England, feet from Rhine, buttocks from Switzerland, let her have the Spanish gait, the Venetian tire, Italian complement and endowments:²

*Candida sideris ardescant lunina flammis,
Sudent colla rosas, et cedat crinibus aurum,
Mellea purpureum depromant ora ruborem;
Fulgeat, ac Venerem cælesti corpore vincat,
Forma dearum omnis, etc.;*³

[Let her eyes flash like the stars, her neck bloom like the rose, her hair be brighter than gold, her lips be ruddy with the sweetest hue; let her radiate beauty more than heavenly Venus, etc.;]

let her be such a one throughout, as Lucian deciphers in his *Imagines*, as Euphranor of old painted Venus, Aristænetus describes Lais, another Helena, Chariclea, Leucippe, Lucretia, Pandora; let her have a box of beauty to repair herself still, such a one as Venus gave Phaon, when he carried her over the ford; let her use all helps art and nature can yield; be like her, and her, and whom thou wilt, or all these in one: a little sickness, a fever, small-pox, wound, scar, loss of an eye or limb, a violent passion, a distemperature of heat or cold, mars all in an instant, disfigures all; child-bearing, old age, that tyrant time, will turn Venus to Erinnyes; raging time, care, rivels her upon a sudden; after she hath been married a small while, and the black ox hath trodden on her toe,⁴ she will be so much altered, and wax out of favour, thou wilt not know her. One grows too fat, another too lean, etc.; modest Matilda, pretty pleasing Peg, sweet-singing Susan, mincing merry Moll, dainty dancing Doll, neat Nancy, jolly Joan, nimble Nell, kissing Kate, bouncing Bess with black eyes, fair Phyllis with fine white hands, fiddling Frank, tall Tib, slender Sib, etc., will quickly lose their grace, grow fulsome, stale, sad, heavy, dull, sour, and all at last out of fashion. *Ubi jam vultus argutia, suavis suavitatio, blandus, risus* [Where now are the lively looks, the fondling ways, the

winning laugh], etc.? Those fair sparkling eyes will look dull, her soft coral lips will be pale, dry, cold, rough, and blue, her skin rugged, that soft and tender superficies will be hard and harsh, her whole complexion change in a moment, and as Matilda writ to King John: ¹

I am not now as when thou saw'st me last,
That favour soon is vanished and past;
That rosy blush lapt in a lily vale,
Now is with morpew overgrown and pale,

'tis so in the rest, their beauty fades as a tree in winter, which Deianira hath elegantly expressed in the poet:

*Deforme solis aspicias truncis nemus?
Sic nostra longum forma percurrrens iter,
Deperdit aliquid semper, et fulget minus,
Malisque minus est quicquid in nobis fuit,
Olim petitum cecidit, et partu labat,
Materque multum rapuit ex illa mihi,
Ætas citato senior eripuit gradu.*²

And as a tree that in the greenwood grows,
With fruit and leaves, and in the summer blows,
In winter like a stock deformed shows:
Our beauty takes his race and journey goes,
And doth decrease, and lose, and come to naught,
Admir'd of old, to this by child-birth brought:
And mother hath bereft me of my grace,
And crooked old age coming on apace.

To conclude with Chrysostom: "When thou seest a fair and beautiful person, a brave bona-roba, a *bella donna*, *quæ salivam moveat, lepidam puellam et quam tu facile ames* [who makes your mouth water, a dainty maid whom you can easily fall in love with], a comely woman, having bright eyes, a merry countenance, a shining lustre in her look, a pleasant grace, wringing thy soul and increasing thy concupiscence; bethink with thyself that it is but earth thou lovest, a mere excrement which so vexeth thee, which thou so admirest, and thy raging soul will be at rest. Take her skin from her face, and thou shalt see all loathsomeness under it, that beauty is a superficial skin and bones, nerves, sinews; suppose her sick, now rivelled, hoary-headed, hollow-cheeked, old; within she is full of filthy phlegm, stinking, putrid, excremental stuff: snot and snivel in her nostrils, spittle in her mouth, water in her eyes, what filth in her brains," etc.³ Or take her at best, and look narrowly upon her in the light, stand near her, nearer yet, thou shalt perceive

almost as much, and love less, as Cardan well writes,¹ *Minus amant qui acute vident* [those with a sharp eye love less], though Scaliger deride him for it: if he see her near, or look exactly at such a posture, whosoever he is, according to the true rules of symmetry and proportion, those I mean of Albertus Durer, Lomatius and Taisnier, examine him of her. If he be *elegans formarum spectator* [a good judge of beauty], he shall find many faults in physiognomy, and ill colour: if form, one side of the face likely bigger than the other, or crooked nose, bad eyes, prominent veins, concavities about the eyes, wrinkles, pimples, red streaks, freckons, hairs, warts, næves, inequalities, roughness, scabridity, paleness, yellowness, and as many colours as are in a turkey-cock's neck, many indecorums in their other parts; *est quod desideres, est quod amputes* [you find some things lacking, others superfluous], one leers, another frowns, a third gapes, squints, etc. And 'tis true that he saith,² *Diligenter consideranti raro facies absoluta, et quæ vitio caret*, seldom shall you find an absolute face without fault, as I have often observed; not in the face alone is this defect or disproportion to be found, but in all the other parts, of body and mind; she is fair, indeed, but foolish; pretty, comely, and decent, of a majestical presence, but peradventure imperious, dishonest, *acerba, iniqua*, self-willed; she is rich, but deformed; hath a sweet face, but bad carriage, no bringing up, a rude and wanton flirt; a neat body she hath, but it is a nasty quean otherwise, a very slut, of a bad kind. As flowers in a garden have colour some, but no smell, others have a fragrant smell, but are unseemly to the eye; one is unsavoury to the taste as rue, as bitter as wormwood, and yet a most medicinal cordial flower, most acceptable to the stomach; so are men and women; one is well qualified, but of ill proportion, poor and base: a good eye she hath, but a bad hand and foot, *fæda pedes et fæda manus*, a fine leg, bad teeth, a vast body, etc. Examine all parts of body and mind, I advise thee to inquire of all. See her angry, merry, laugh, weep, hot, cold, sick, sullen, dressed, undressed, in all attires, sites, gestures, passions, eat her meals, etc., and in some of these you will surely dislike. Yea, not her only let him observe, but her parents, how they carry themselves: for what deformities, defects, encumbrances of body or mind be in them at such an age, they will likely be subject to, be molested in like manner, they will *patrizare* or *matrizare* [take after the father or the mother]. And withal let him take notice of her companions, *in convictu* (as Guevara prescribes), *et quibuscum*

conversetur, whom she converseth with. *Noscitur ex comite, qui non cognoscitur ex se* [he is known from his company who is not known from himself]. According to Thucydides, she is commonly the best, *de quo minimus foras habetur sermo*, that is least talked of abroad. For if she be a noted reveller, a gadder, a singer, a pranker or dancer, then take heed of her. For what saith Theocritus?

*At vos festivæ ne ne saltate puellæ,
En malus hircus adest in vos saltare paratus.*

[Ye festal maidens, haste not to your dance;
A he-goat lies in wait on you to prance.]

"Young men will do it when they come to it," fauns and satyrs will certainly play wrecks, when they come in such wanton Bacchis' or Elenora's presence. Now when they shall perceive any such obliquity, indecency, disproportion, deformity, bad conditions, etc., let them still ruminate on that, and as Hædus adviseth out of Ovid,¹ *earum mendas nolent*, note their faults, vices, errors, and think of their imperfections; 'tis the next way to divert and mitigate love's furious headstrong passions, as a peacock's feet and filthy comb, they say, make him forget his fine feathers and pride of his tail; she is lovely, fair, well-favoured, well qualified, courteous and kind, "But if she be not so to me, what care I how kind she be?" I say with Philostratus,² *formosa alius, mihi superba* [beautiful to others, proud to me], she is a tyrant to me, and so let her go. Besides these outward næves or open faults, errors, there be many inward infirmities, secret, some private (which I will omit), and some more common to the sex, sullen fits, evil qualities, filthy diseases, in this case fit to be considered; *consideratio fæditatis mulierum, menstruæ imprimis, quam immundæ sunt, quam Savonarola proponit regula septima penitus observandam; et Platina, Dial. amoris, fuse perstringit, Lodovicus Bonacialis, Mulieb. lib. 2, cap. 2, Pet. Hædus, Albertus, et infiniti fere medici*. A lover, in Calcagninus' Apologues, wished with all his heart he were his mistress' ring, to hear, embrace, see, and do I know not what; "O thou fool," quoth the ring, "if thou wer'st in my room, thou shouldst hear, observe, and see *pudenda et pænitenda*, that which would make thee loathe and hate her, yea, per-adventure, all women for her sake."³

I will say nothing of the vices of their minds, their pride, envy, inconstancy, weakness, malice, self-will, lightness, insatiable lust, jealousy; "No malice to a woman's" (Ecclus

xxv, 13), "no bitterness like to hers" (Eccles. vii, 26), and as the same author urgeth (Prov. xxxi, 10), "Who shall find a virtuous woman?" He makes a question of it. *Neque jus neque bonum, neque æquum sciunt, melius, pejus, prosit, obsit, nihil vident, nisi quod libido suggerit.* "They know neither good nor bad, be it better or worse" (as the comical poet hath it), "beneficial or hurtful, they will do what they list."

*Insidiæ humani generis, querimonia vitæ,
Exuvie noctis, durissima cura diei,
Pœna virum, nex et juvenum, etc.*¹

[A snare to humanity, the affliction of life, the spoliation of the night, the greatest trouble by day, the plague of husbands, the ruin of young men.]

And to that purpose were they first made, as Jupiter insinuates in the poet:²

The fire that bold Prometheus stole from me,
With plagues call'd women shall revenged be,
On whose alluring and enticing face,
Poor mortals doting shall their death embrace.

In fine, as Diogenes concludes in Nevisanus, *Nulla est femina quæ non habeat quid*: they have all their faults.

Every each of them hath some vice,
If one be full of villainy,
Another hath a liquorish eye.
If one be full of wantonness,
Another is a chideress.³

When Leander was drowned, the inhabitants of Sestos consecrated Hero's lantern to Anteros, *Anteroti sacrum*, and he that had good success in his love should light the candle:⁴ but never any man was found to light it; which I can refer to naught but the inconstancy and lightness of women.

For in a thousand, good there is not one;
All be so proud, unthankful, and unkind,
With flinty hearts, careless of others' moan,
In their own lusts carried most headlong blind,
But more herein to speak I am forbidden:
Sometimes for speaking truth one may be chidden.⁵

I am not willing, you see, to prosecute the cause against them, and therefore take heed you mistake me not, *matronam nullam ego lango*,⁶ I honour the sex, with all good men, and as I ought to do, rather than displease them, I will voluntarily take the oath which Mercurius Britannicus took, *Viragin. descript.*⁷ lib. 2, fol. 95: *Me nihil unquam mali nobilissimo sexui, vel verbo, vel*

facto machinaturum [I will never plot evil against the most noble sex, either by word or deed], etc. Let Simonides, Mantuan, Platina, Peter Aretine, and such women-haters bear the blame, if aught be said amiss; I have not writ a tenth of that which might be urged out of them and others; *non possunt invectivæ omnes, et satiræ in feminas scriptæ, uno volumine comprehendî*¹ [all the invectives and satires written against women could not be contained in one volume]. And that which I have said (to speak truth) no more concerns them than men, though women be more frequently named in this tract; to apologize once for all, I am neither partial against them, or therefore bitter; what is said of the one, *mutato nomine* [changing the name], may most part be understood of the other. My words are like Pauso's picture in Lucian,² of whom, when a good fellow had bespoke an horse to be painted with his heels upwards, tumbling on his back, he made him passant; now when the fellow came for his piece, he was very angry, and said it was quite opposite to his mind; but Pauso instantly turned the picture upside down, showed him the horse at that site which he requested, and so gave him satisfaction. If any man take exception at my words, let him alter the name, read him for her, and 'tis all one in effect.

But to my purpose: If women in general be so bad (and men worse than they), what a hazard is it to marry! where shall a man find a good wife, or a woman a good husband? A woman a man may eschew, but not a wife: wedding is undoing (some say), marrying marring, wooing woeing: "a wife is a fever hectic," as Scaliger calls her, "and not to be cured but by death,"³ as out of Menander, Athenæus adds:

*In pelagus te jaciis negotiorum . . .
Non Libycum, non Ægeum, ubi ex triginta non pereunt
Tria navigia : ducens uxorem servatur prorsus nemo.*

Thou wadest into a sea itself of woes;
In Libyc and Ægean each man knows
Of thirty not three ships are cast away,
But on this rock not one escapes, I say.

The worldly cares, miseries, discontents, that accompany marriage, I pray you learn of them that have experience, for I have none; *παῖδας ἐγὼ λόγους ἐγενήσαμην*.⁴ *libri mentis liberi* [my books are my offspring]. For my part I'll dissemble with him:

*Este procul nymphæ, fallax genus este puellæ,
Vita jugata meo non facit ingenio;
Me juvat, etc.;*

[Keep far from me, ye maids, deceitful tribe!
To wedded life me shall ye never bribe;]

many married men exclaim at the miseries of it, and rail at wives downright; I never tried, but as I hear some of them say, *Mare haud mare, vos mare acerrimum*,¹ an Irish Sea is not so turbulent and raging as a litigious wife.

*Scylla et Charybdis Sicula contorquens freta,
Minus est timenda, nulla non melior fera est.*²

Scylla and Charybdis are less dangerous,
There is no beast that is so noxious.

Which made the devil belike, as most interpreters hold, when he had taken away Job's goods, *corporis et fortunæ bona*, health, children, friends, to persecute him the more, leave his wicked wife, as Pineda proves out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Austin, Chrysostom, Prosper, Gaudentius, etc., *ut novum calamitatis inde genus viro existeret*, to vex and gall him worse *quam totus infernus*, than all the fiends in hell, as knowing the conditions of a bad woman. *Jupiter non tribuit homini pestilentius malum* [Jupiter inflicted on man no worse evil], saith Simonides; "Better dwell with a dragon or a lion, than keep house with a wicked wife" (Ecclus. xxv, 16); "Better dwell in a wilderness" (Prov. xxi, 19); "No wickedness like to her" (Ecclus. xxv, 19); "She makes a sorry heart, an heavy countenance, a wounded mind, weak hands, and feeble knees" (verse 25); "A woman and death are two the bitterest things in the world"; *Uxor mihi ducenda est hodie, id mihi visus est dicere, Abi domum et suspende te* [I am to be married to-day, which sounds to me like saying, "Go home and hang yourself"] (*Ter. And.* 1, 5). And yet for all this we bachelors desire to be married; with that vestal virgin, we long for it:

*Felices nuptæ! moriar, nisi nubere dulce est.*³

[Happy are ye, brides! Upon my soul, 'tis sweet to marry.]

'Tis the sweetest thing in the world, I would I had a wife, saith he,

For fain would I leave a single life,
If I could get me a good wife.

Heigh-ho for a husband! cries she; a bad husband, nay, the worst that ever was, is better than none: O blissful marriage! O most welcome marriage! and happy are they that are so coupled: we do earnestly seek it, and are never well till we have effected it. But with what fate? Like those birds in the emblem,⁴ that fed about a cage, so long as they could fly away at their pleasure, liked well of it; but when they were taken and

might not get loose, though they had the same meat, pined away for sullenness, and would not eat: so we commend marriage:

*donec miselli liberi
Aspicimus dominam; sed postquam heu janua clausa est,
Fel intus est quod mel fuit.*

So long as we are wooers, may kiss and coll at our pleasure, nothing is so sweet, we are in heaven as we think; but when we are once tied, and have lost our liberty, marriage is an hell; "Give me my yellow hose again";¹ a mouse in a trap lives as merrily, we are in a purgatory some of us, if not hell itself. *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, as the proverb is, 'tis fine talking of war, and marriage sweet in contemplation, till it be tried: and then as wars are most dangerous, irksome, every minute at death's door, so is, etc. When those wild Irish peers, saith Stanihurst,² were feasted by King Henry the Second (at what time he kept his Christmas at Dublin), and had tasted of his prince-like cheer, generous wines, dainty fare, had seen his massy plate of silver, gold, enamelled, beset with jewels, golden candlesticks, goodly rich hangings, brave furniture, heard his trumpets sound, fifes, drums, and his exquisite music in all kinds; when they had observed his majestical presence as he sat in purple robes, crowned, with his sceptre, etc., in his royal seat,³ the poor men were so amazed, enamoured, and taken with the object, that they were *perlæsi domestici et pristini tyrolarichi*, as weary and ashamed of their own sordidity and manner of life. They would all be English forthwith, who but English! but when they had now submitted themselves, and lost their former liberty, they began to rebel some of them, others repent of what they had done, when it was too late. 'Tis so with us bachelors; when we see and behold those sweet faces, those gaudy shows that women make, observe their pleasant gestures and graces, give ear to their siren tunes, see them dance, etc., we think their conditions are as fine as their faces, we are taken with dumb signs, *in amplexum ruinus* [we rush into their embraces], we rave, we burn, and would fain be married. But when we feel the miseries, cares, woes, that accompany it, we make our moan many of us, cry out at length and cannot be released. If this be true now, as some out of experience will inform us, farewell wiving for my part, and, as the comical poet merrily saith:

*Perdatur ille pessime qui feminam
Duxit secundus, nam nihil primo improcori
Ignarus ut puto mali primus fuit.*⁴

Foul fall him that brought the second match to pass,
The first I wish no harm, poor man, alas!
He knew not what he did, nor what it was.¹

What shall I say to him that marries again and again, *Stulta maritali qui porrigit ora capistro*² [who thrusts his foolish head into the marriage halter]? I pity him not, for the first time he must do as he may, bear it out sometimes by the head and shoulders, and let his next neighbour ride, or else run away, or as that Syracusan in a tempest, when all ponderous things were to be exonerated out of the ship, *quia maximum pondus erat* [because she was the greatest burden], fling his wife into the sea. But this I confess is comically spoken, and so I pray you take it.³ In sober sadness, marriage is a bondage, a thralldom, a yoke, an hindrance to all good enterprises ("He hath married a wife and cannot come"), a stop to all preferments, a rock on which many are saved, many impinge and are cast away:⁴ not that the thing is evil in itself or troublesome, but full of all contentment and happiness, one of the three things which please God, "when a man and his wife agree together,"⁵ an honourable and happy estate, who knows it not? If they be sober, wise, honest, as the poet infers,

*Si commodos nanciscantur amores,
Nullum iis abest voluptatis genus.*⁶

If fitly match'd be man and wife,
No pleasure 's wanting to their life.

But to undiscreeet sensual persons, that as brutes are wholly led by sense, it is a feral plague, many times a hell itself, and can give little or no content, being that they are often so irregular and prodigious in their lusts, so diverse in their affections. *Uxor nomen dignitatis, non voluptatis*, as he said,⁷ a wife is a name of honour, not of pleasure: she is fit to bear the office, govern a family, to bring up children, sit at board's end and carve, as some carnal men think and say; they had rather go to the stews, or have now and then a snatch as they can come by it, borrow of their neighbours, than have wives of their own; except they may, as some princes and great men do, keep as many courtesans as they will themselves, fly out *impune* [with impunity], *permolere uxores alienas*⁸ [violate the wives of other men], [or except] that polygamy of Turks, *Lex Julia*, which Cæsar once enforced in Rome (though Levinus Torrentius and others suspect it), *uti uxores quot et quas vellent liceret*, that every great man might marry and keep as many wives as

he would, or Irish divorcement, were in use: but as it is, 'tis hard and gives not that satisfaction to these carnal men, beastly men as too many are.¹ What, still the same? to be tied to one,² be she never so fair, never so virtuous, is a thing they may not endure, to love one long. Say thy pleasure, and counterfeit as thou wilt, as Parmeno told Thais,³ *Neque tu uno eris contenta*, one man will never please thee; nor one woman many men. But as Pan replied to his father Mercury, when he asked whether he was married, *Nequaquam pater, amator enim sum*, etc.,⁴ "No, father, no, I am a lover still, and cannot be contented with one woman." Pitys, Echo, [the] Mænades, and I know not how many besides, were his mistresses, he might not abide marriage. *Varietas delectat* [variety pleases], 'tis loathsome and tedious; what, one still? [that] which the satirist said of Iberina is verified in most:

*Unus Iberinæ vir sufficit? ocius illud
Extorquebis ut hæc oculo contenta sit uno.*⁵

'Tis not one man will serve her by her will,
As soon she 'll have one eye as one man still.

As capable of any impression as *materia prima* itself, that still desires new forms, like the sea their affections ebb and flow. Husband is a cloak for some to hide their villainy; once married she may fly out at her pleasure, the name of husband is a sanctuary to make all good. *Eo ventum* (saith Seneca) *ut nulla virum habeat, nisi ut irritet adulterum* [things have come to such a pass that no woman takes a husband except to spite an adulterer]. They are right and straight, as true Trojans as mine host's daughter, that Spanish wench in Ariosto,⁶ as good wives as Messalina. Many men are as constant in their choice, and as good husbands, as Nero himself; they must have their pleasure of all they see, and are in a word far more fickle than any woman.

For either they be full of jealousy,
Or masterful, or loven novelty, etc.

Good men have often ill wives, as bad as Xantippe was to Socrates, Elenora to St. Louis, Isabella to our Edward the Second; and good wives are as often matched to ill husbands, as Mariamne to Herod, Serena to Diocletian, Theodora to Theophilus, and Thyra to Gurmunde. But I will say nothing of dissolute and bad husbands, of bachelors and their vices; their good qualities are a fitter subject for a just volume, too

well known already in every village, town and city, they need no blazon; and lest I should mar any matches, or dishearten loving maids, for this present I will let them pass.

Being that men and women are so irreligious, depraved by nature, so wandering in their affections, so brutish, so subject to disagreement, so unobservant of marriage rites, what shall I say? If thou beest such a one, or thou light on such a wife, what concord can there be, what hope of agreement? 'tis not *conjugium* [marriage] but *conjurgium* [quarrelling], as the reed and fern in the emblem,¹ averse and opposite in nature; 'tis twenty to one thou wilt not marry to thy contentment: but as in a lottery forty blanks were drawn commonly for one prize, out of a multitude you shall hardly choose a good one: a small ease hence, then, little comfort.

*Nec integrum unquam transiges lætus diem.*²

[Never shalt thou be one whole day happy.]

If he or she be such a one,
Thou hadst much better be alone

If she be barren, she is not—etc. If she have children, and thy state be not good, though thou be wary and circumspect, thy charge will undo thee;³ *secunda domum tibi prole gravabit* [a too fruitful wife will impoverish you with her offspring], thou wilt not be able to bring them up, “and what greater misery can there be than to beget children, to whom thou canst leave no other inheritance but hunger and thirst?”⁴ *cum fames dominatur, strident voces rogantium panem, penetrantes patris cor*⁵ [when hunger overcomes them, they break their father's heart with their piteous cries for bread]; what so grievous as to turn them up to the wide world, to shift for themselves? No plague like to want; and when thou hast good means, and art very careful of their education, they will not be ruled. Think but of that old proverb, *ἡρώων τέκνα πῆματα*, *heroum filii noxæ*, great men's sons seldom do well; *O utinam aut cælebs mansissem, aut prole carerem*! [would that I had either remained single, or not had children!], Augustus exclaims in Suetonius.⁶ Jacob had his Reuben, Simeon and Levi; David an Amnon, an Absalom, Adonijah; wise men's sons are commonly fools, insomuch that Spartian concludes, *neminem prope magnorum virorum optimum et utilem reliquisse filium* [scarce any great man has left a virtuous and active son]: they had been much better to have been childless.⁷ 'Tis too common in the middle sort; thy son's a drunkard, a gamester, a spendthrift; thy

daughter a fool, a whore; thy servants lazy drones and thieves; thy neighbours devils, they will make thee weary of thy life. "If thy wife be froward when she may not have her will, thou hadst better be buried alive; she will be so impatient, raving still, and roaring like Juno in the tragedy, there 's nothing but tempests, all is in an uproar."¹ If she be soft and foolish, thou werst better have a block, she will shame thee and reveal thy secrets; if wise and learned, well qualified, there is as much danger on the other side, *Mulierem doctam ducere periculosissimum* [it is very dangerous to marry a highly educated woman], saith Nevisanus,² she will be too insolent and peevish:

*Malo Venusinam quam te, Cornelia mater.*³

[I had rather for wife a Venusian wench than thee,
Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.]

Take heed; if she be a slut, thou wilt loathe her; if proud, she 'll beggar thee, "she 'll spend thy patrimony in baubles, all Arabia will not serve to perfume her hair," saith Lucian;⁴ if fair and wanton, she 'll make thee a cornuto; if deformed, she will paint. "If her face be filthy by nature, she will mend it by art,"⁵ *alienis et adscititiis imposturis* [by artificial and factitious adornments], "which who can endure?" If she do not paint, she will look so filthy, thou canst not love her, and that peradventure will make thee dishonest. Cromerus, *lib. 12 Hist.*, relates of Casimirus that he was unchaste because his wife Aleida, the daughter of Henry, Landgrave of Hesse, was so deformed.⁶ If she be poor, she brings beggary with her (saith Nevisanus), misery and discontent. If you marry a maid, it is uncertain how she proves: *Hæc forsan veniet non satis apta tibi* [this one perhaps will prove not suitable for you]. If young, she is likely wanton and untaught; if lusty, too lascivious; and if she be not satisfied, you know where and when, *nil nisi iurgia*, all is in an uproar, and there is little quietness to be had; if an old maid, 'tis a hazard she dies in childbed; if a rich widow, *induces te in laqueum*,⁷ thou dost halter thyself, she will make all away beforehand, to her other children, etc.: *Dominam quis possit ferre tonantem?*⁸ [Who can endure a virago for a wife?], she will hit thee still in the teeth with her first husband; if a young widow, she is often unsatiable and immodest. If she be rich, well descended, bring a great dowry, or be nobly allied, thy wife's friends will eat thee out of house and home, *dives ruinam ædibus inducit*, she will be so proud, so high-minded, so imperious. For *nil est magis intolerabile*

dite, there's nothing so intolerable [as a rich wife]; thou shalt be as the tassel of a goshawk,¹ "she will ride upon thee, domineer as she list," wear the breeches in her oligarchical government, and beggar thee besides.² *Uxores divites servitutem exigunt* [rich wives demand submission] (as Seneca hits them, *Declam. lib. 2, declam. 6*). *Dotem accepi, imperium peridi* [I have gotten a dowry and lost my authority]. They will have sovereignty, *pro conjuge dominam arcessis* [you bring home a tyrant for a wife], they will have attendance, they will do what they list. In taking a dowry thou losest thy liberty, *dos intrat, libertas exit*,³ hazardest thine estate,

*Hæ sunt atque aliæ nullæ in magnis dotibus
Incommoditates, sumptusque intolerabiles, etc.,*

[These and many other inconveniences accompany large dowries, not to mention the intolerable expense, etc.,]

with many such inconveniences: say the best, she is a commanding servant; thou hadst better have taken a good huswife maid in her smock. Since then there is such hazard, if thou be wise keep thyself as thou art, 'tis good to match, much better to be free.

*Procreare liberos lepidissimum,
Hercle vero liberum esse, id multo est lepidius.*⁴

['Tis most pleasant to beget children, but to be free is much more pleasant.]

"Art thou young? then match not yet; if old, match not at all."⁵

*Vis juvenis nubere? nondum venit tempus.
Ingravescente ætate jam tempus præterit.*

And therefore, with that philosopher,⁶ still make answer to thy friends that importune thee to marry, *adhuc intempestivum*, 'tis yet unseasonable, and ever will be.

Consider withal how free, how happy, how secure, how heavenly,⁷ in respect, a single man is, as he said in the comedy, *Et isti quod fortunatum esse autumant, uxorem nunquam habui*, "and that which all my neighbours admire and applaud me for, account so great a happiness, I never had a wife"; consider how contentedly, quietly, neatly, plentifully, sweetly, and how merrily he lives! he hath no man to care for but himself, none to please, no charge, none to control him, is tied to no residence, no cure to serve, may go and come, when, whither, live where he will, his own master, and do what he list himself.

Consider the excellency of virgins; *Virgo cælum meruit* [a virgin merits heaven], marriage replenisheth the earth, but virginity Paradise; ¹ Elias, Eliseus, John Baptist, were bachelors: virginity is a precious jewel, a fair garland, a never-fading flower; for why was Daphne turned to a green bay-tree, but to show that virginity is immortal? ²

*Ut flos in septs secretus nascitur hortis,
Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
Quam mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber, etc.
Sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum cara suis, sed
Cum castum amisit, etc.*³

[Look, how a flower that close in closes grows,
Hid from rude cattle, bruised with no ploughs,
Which th' air doth stroke, sun strengthen, showers shoot
higher, . . .
So a virgin, while untouched she doth remain,
Is dear to hers; but when with body's stain
Her chaster flower is lost, etc.] ⁴

Virginity is a fine picture, as Bonaventure calls it, ⁵ a blessed thing in itself, and if you will believe a Papist, meritorious. And although there be some inconveniences, irksomeness, solitariness, etc., incident to such persons, want of those comforts, *quæ ægro assideat et curet ægrotum, fomentum paret, roget medicum*, [one to sit with him when he is in low spirits, attend to him when he is ill, prepare the poultice, ask the doctor], etc., embracing, dalliance, kissing, colling, etc., those furious motives and wanton pleasures a new-married wife most part enjoys; yet they are but toys in respect, easily to be endured, if conferred to those frequent encumbrances of marriage. Solitariness may be otherwise avoided with mirth, music, good company, business, employment; in a word, *Gaudebit minus, et minus dolebit* ⁶ [he shall have less joy and less sorrow]; for their good nights, he shall have good days. And methinks some time or other, amongst so many rich bachelors, a benefactor should be found to build a monastical college for old, decayed, deformed, or discontented maids to live together in, that have lost their first loves, or otherwise miscarried, or else are willing howsoever to lead a single life. The rest, I say, are toys in respect, and sufficiently recompensed by those innumerable contents and incomparable privileges of virginity. Think of these things, confer both lives, and consider last of all these commodious prerogatives a bachelor hath, how well he is esteemed, how heartily welcome to all his friends, *quam mentitis obsequiis*, as Tertullian observes, with what counterfeit courtesies they will

adore him, follow him, present him with gifts, *hamatis donis* [baited gifts]; "it cannot be believed" (saith Ammianus¹) "with what humble service he shall be worshipped," how loved and respected. "If he want children" (and have means) "he shall be often invited, attended on by princes, and have advocates to plead his cause for nothing," as Plutarch adds.² Wilt thou then be revered, and had in estimation?

*Dominus tamen et domini rex
Si tu vis fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
Luserit Æneas, nec filia dulcior illo;
Jucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.*

[If you wish to be a lord, let no little boy or darling girl play in your halls, a barren wife will make you a friend to be sought after.]

Live a single man, marry not, and thou shalt soon perceive how these *heredipetæ* [legacy-hunters] (for so they were called of old) will seek after thee, bribe and flatter thee for thy favour, to be thine heir or executor: Arruntius and Haterius, those famous parasites in this kind, as Tacitus³ and Seneca⁴ have recorded, shall not go beyond them. Periplectomenes, that good personate old man, *delicium senis*, well understood this in Plautus: for when Pleusides exhorted him to marry that he might have children of his own, he readily replied in this sort:

*Quando habeo multos cognatos, quid opus mihi sit liberis?
Nunc bene vivo et fortunate, atque animo ut lubet.
Mea bona mea morte cognatis dicam interpartiant.
Illi apud me edunt, me curant, visunt quid agam, ecquid velim,
Qui mihi mittunt munera, ad prandium, ad cœnam vocant.*

Whilst I have kin, what need I brats to have?
Now I live well, and as I will, most brave.
And when I die, my goods I 'll give away
To them that do invite me every day,
That visit me, and send me pretty toys,
And strive who shall do me most courtesies.

This respect thou shalt have in like manner, living as he did, a single man. But if thou marry once, *cogitato in omni vita te servum fore*,⁵ bethink thyself what a slavery it is, what a heavy burden thou shalt undertake, how hard a task thou art tied to (for, as Hierome hath it, *qui uxorem habet, debitor est, et uxoris servus alligatus* [he that hath a wife is a debtor, and the bondman of his wife]), and how continue, what squalor attends it, what irksomeness, what charges, for wife and children are a perpetual bill of charges; besides a myriad of cares, miseries,

and troubles; for as that comical Plautus merrily and truly said, he that wants trouble must get to be master of a ship, or marry a wife; and, as another seconds him, "Wife and children have undone me"; so many and such infinite encumbrances accompany this kind of life. Furthermore, *uxor intumuit*, etc., or as he said in the comedy, *Duxi uxorem, quam ibi miseriam vidi, nati filii, alia cura* ¹ [I married, that was one misery; children were born, more trouble]. All gifts and invitations cease, no friend will esteem thee, and thou shalt be compelled to lament thy misery, and make thy moan with Bartholomæus Scheræus,² that famous poet laureate, and professor of Hebrew in Wittenberg: "I had finished this work long since, but that *inter alia dura et tristia quæ misero mihi pene tergum fregerunt*" (I use his own words), "amongst many miseries which almost broke my back, *οὐδὲν γὰρ ὀβ Χαντιππισμὺν*, a shrew to my wife, tormented my mind above measure, and beyond the rest." So shalt thou be compelled to complain, and to cry out at last, with Phoroneus the lawyer, "How happy had I been, if I had wanted a wife!" ³ If this which I have said will not suffice, see more in Lemnius, *lib. 4, cap. 13, de occult. nat. mir.*; Espen-cæus, *de continentia, lib. 6, cap. 8*; Kornmannus *de virginitate*; Platina *in Amor. dial.*; *Practica artis amandi*; Barbarus *de re uxoria*; Arnisæus *in Polit. cap. 3*, and him that is *instar omnium* [the best of all], Nevisanus the lawyer, *Sylvæ nuptial.* almost in every page.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Philters, Magical and Poetical Cures*

Where persuasions and other remedies will not take place, many fly to unlawful means, philters, amulets, magic spells, ligatures, characters, charms, which, as a wound with the spear of Achilles, if so made and caused, must so be cured. If forced by spells and philters, saith Paracelsus, it must be eased by characters, *Mag. lib. 2, cap. 28*, and by incantations. Fernelius, *Path. lib. 6, cap. 13*, Sckenkius, *lib. 4, Observ. med.*,⁴ hath some examples of such as have been so magically caused, and magically cured, and by witchcraft: so saith Baptista Codronchus, *lib. 3, cap. 9, de mor. ven.*; *Malleus malef. cap. 6*. 'Tis not permitted to be done, I confess; yet often attempted: see more in Wierus, *lib. 3, cap. 18, de præstig., de remediis per philtera*; *Delrio, tom. 2, lib. 2, quæst. 3, sect. 3 Disquisit. magic.* Cardan, *lib. 16, cap. 90*, reckons up many magnetical medicines, as to piss through a ring, etc. Mizaldus, *cent. 3, 30*, Baptista Porta, Jason Pratensis,

Lobelius, pag. 87, Matthiolus, etc., prescribe many absurd remedies. *Radix mandragora ebibitæ, annuli ex ungulis asini, stercus amata sub cervical positum, illa nesciente, etc., quum odorem fæditatis sentit, amor solvitur. Noctuæ ovum abstemios facit comestum, ex consilio Iarchæ Indorum gymnosophistæ apud Philostratum, lib. 3. Sanguis amasiæ ebibitus omnem amoris sensum tollit: Faustinam Marci Aurelii uxorem, gladiatoris amore captam, ita penitus consilio Chaldæorum liberatam, refert Julius Capitolinus.* Some of our astrologers will effect as much by characteristic images, *ex sigillis Hermetis, Salomonis, Chælis, etc., mulieris imago habentis crines sparsos, etc.* Our old poets and phantastic writers have many fabulous remedies for such as are lovesick, as that of Protesilaus' tomb in Philostratus, in his dialogue between Phœnix and Vinitor: Vinitor, upon occasion discoursing of the rare virtues of that shrine, telleth him that Protesilaus' altar and tomb "cures almost all manner of diseases, consumptions, dropsies, quartan-agues, sore eyes; and amongst the rest, such as are lovesick shall there be helped."¹ But the most famous is Leucata Petra,² that renowned rock in Greece, of which Strabo writes, *Geog. lib. 10*, not far from St. Maure's, saith Sandys, *lib. 1*, from which rock if any lover flung himself down headlong, he was instantly cured.³ Venus after the death of Adonis, when she could take no rest for love, *Cum vesana suas torreret flamma medullas* ⁴ [when a raging fire burnt in her heart], came to the temple of Apollo to know what she should do to be eased of her pain; Apollo sent her to Leucata Petra, where she precipitated herself, and was forthwith freed; and when she would needs know of him a reason of it, he told her again, that he had often observed Jupiter, when he was enamoured on Juno, thither go to ease and wash himself,⁵ and after him divers others. Cephalus for the love of Pelater, Desoneius' daughter, leaped down here; that Lesbian Sappho for Phaon, on whom she miserably doted, *Cupidinis æstro percita e summo præceps ruit* ⁶ [stung with love-frenzy, flung herself from the height], hoping thus to ease herself, and to be freed of her love-pangs.

*Hic se Deucalion Pyrrhæ succensus amore
Mersit, et illæso corpore pressit aquas.
Nec mora, fugit amor, etc.*⁷

Hither Deucalion came, when Pyrrha's love
Tormented him, and leapt down to the sea,
And had no harm at all, but by and by
His love was gone and chased quite away.

This medicine Jos. Scaliger speaks of, *Ausoniarum lectionum lib. 18*, Salmuth in *Pancirol. de 7 mundi mirac.*, and other writers. Pliny reports, that amongst the Cyziceni, there is a well consecrated to Cupid, of which if any lover taste, his passion is mitigated: and Anthony Verdurius, *Imag. deorum, de Cupid.*, saith that amongst the ancients there was *Amor Lethes* [a love-god presiding over Lethe]; "he took burning torches, and extinguished them in the river; his statua was to be seen in the temple of Venus Erycina," of which Ovid makes mention, and saith "that all lovers of old went thither on pilgrimage, that would be rid of their love-pangs." ¹ Pausanias, in *Phocicis*, ² writes of a temple dedicated *Veneri in spelunca*, to Venus in the vault, at Naupactus in Achaia (now Lepanto), in which your widows that would have second husbands made their supplications to the goddess; all manner of suits concerning lovers were commenced, and their grievances helped. The same author, in *Achaicis*, tells as much of the river Selemnus ³ in Greece; if any lover washed himself in it, by a secret virtue of that water (by reason of the extreme coldness belike) he was healed of love's torments:

Amoris vulnus sanat idem qui facit; 4

[He that causes love's wound also heals it;]

which if it be so, that water, as he holds, is *omni auro pretiosior*, better than any gold. Where none of all these remedies will take place, I know no other but that all lovers must make an head and rebel, as they did in Ausonius, ⁵ and crucify Cupid till he grant their request, or satisfy their desires.

SUBJECT. V.—*The last and best Cure of Love-Melancholy is, to let them have their Desire*

The last refuge and surest remedy, to be put in practice in the utmost place, when no other means will take effect, is to let them go together, and enjoy one another: *Potissima cura est ut heros amasia sua potiatur* [the most effective cure is to let the lover enjoy his sweetheart], saith Guianerius, *cap. 15, tract. 15*. Æsculapius himself, to this malady, cannot invent a better remedy, *quam ut amanti cedat amatum* (Jason Pratensis ⁶), than that a lover have his desire.

*Et pariter torulo bini jungantur in uno,
Et pulchro detur Æneæ Lavinia conjux.*

And let them both be joined in a bed,
And let Æneas fair Lavinia wed.

'Tis the special cure, to let them bleed in *vena hymenæia*, for love is a pleurisy, and if it be possible, so let it be, *optataque gaudia carpant* [and let them enjoy their longed-for bliss]. Arculanus holds it the speediest and the best cure,¹ 'tis Savonarola's last precept,² a principal infallible remedy, the last, sole, and safest refuge.

*Julia, sola potes nostras extinguere flammæ,
Non nive, non glacie, sed potes igne pari.*³

Julia alone can quench my desire,
With neither ice nor snow, but with like fire.

When you have all done, saith Avicenna,⁴ "there is no speedier or safer course than to join the parties together according to their desires and wishes, the custom and form of law; and so we have seen him quickly restored to his former health, that was languished away to skin and bones; after his desire was satisfied, his discontent ceased, and we thought it strange; our opinion is therefore that in such cases nature is to be obeyed." Aretæus, an old author, *lib. 3, cap. 3*, hath an instance of a young man, when no other means could prevail, was so speedily relieved.⁵ What remains then but to join them in marriage?

*Tunc et basia morsiunculasque
Surreptim dare, mutuos fovere
Amplexus licet, et licet joculari;*⁶

[Then to snatch kisses and bite playfully, to cuddle and play;]

they may then kiss and coll, lie and look babies in one another's eyes, as their sires before them did; they may then satiate themselves with love's pleasures, which they have so long wished and expected;

*Atque uno simul in toro quiescant,
Conjuncto simul ore suavientur,
Et somnos agilent quiele in una.*

[And they may rest together on one couch, their lips joined in a kiss, and so sleep peacefully together.]

Yea, but *hic labor, hoc opus* [there's the rub], this cannot conveniently be done, by reason of many and several impediments. Sometimes both parties themselves are not agreed; parents, tutors, masters, guardians, will not give consent; laws,

customs, statutes hinder; poverty, superstition, fear and suspicion; many men dote on one woman, *semel et simul* [all together]; she dotes as much on him, or them, and in modesty must not, cannot woo, as unwilling to confess as willing to love; she dare not make it known, show her affection, or speak her mind. And "hard is the choice" (as it is in Euphues) "when one is compelled either by silence to die with grief, or by speaking to live with shame." In this case almost was the fair Lady Elizabeth, Edward the Fourth his daughter, when she was enamoured on Henry the Seventh, that noble young prince, and new saluted king, when she brake forth into that passionate speech: "O that I were worthy of that comely prince! but my father being dead, I want friends to motion such a matter. What shall I say? I am all alone, and dare not open my mind to any. What if I acquaint my mother with it? bashfulness forbids. What if some of the lords? audacity wants. O that I might but confer with him, perhaps in discourse I might let slip such a word that might discover mine intention!"¹ How many modest maids may this concern! I am a poor servant, what shall I do? I am a fatherless child, and want means, I am blithe and buxom, young and lusty, but I have never a suitor, *Expectant stolidi ut ego illos rogatum veniam*, as she said,² a company of silly fellows look belike that I should woo them and speak first: fain they would and cannot woo, *quæ primum exordia sumam*?³ [how shall I make a beginning?] being merely passive they may not make suit, with many such lets and inconveniences, which I know not; what shall we do in such a case? sing "Fortune my foe"?

Some are so curious in this behalf, as those old Romans, our modern Venetians, Dutch and French, that if two parties dearly love, the one noble, the other ignoble, they may not by their laws match, though equal otherwise in years, fortunes, education, and all good affection. In Germany, except they can prove their gentility by three descents, they scorn to match with them. A nobleman must marry a noblewoman: a baron, a baron's daughter; a knight, a knight's; a gentleman, a gentleman's: as slaters sort their slates,⁴ do they degrees and families. If she be never so rich, fair, well qualified otherwise, they will make him forsake her. The Spaniards abhor all widows; the Turks repute them old women if past five-and-twenty. But these are too severe laws, and strict customs, *dandum aliquid amori* [something must be allowed to love], we are all the sons of Adam, 'tis opposite to nature, it ought not to be so. Again,

he loves her most impotently, she loves not him, and so *e contra*.
Pan loved Echo, Echo Satyrus, Satyrus Lyda.

*Quantum ipsorum aliquis amantem oderat,
Tantum ipsius amans odiosus erat.*¹

They love and loathe of all sorts, he loves her, she hates him, and is loathed of him on whom she dotes. Cupid hath two darts, one to force love, all of gold, and that sharp: *Quod facit auratum est*; another blunt, of lead, and that to hinder: *fugat hoc, facit illud amorem*.² This we see too often verified in our common experience. Coresus dearly loved that virgin Callirrhoe, but the more he loved her, the more she hated him.³ Enone loved Paris, but he rejected her; they are stiff of all sides, as if beauty were therefore created to undo or be undone. I give her all attendance, all observance, I pray and entreat, *Alma, precor, miserere mei*,⁴ fair mistress, pity me, I spend myself, my time, friends, and fortunes to win her favour (as he complains in the eclogue⁵), I lament, sigh, weep, and make my moan to her, but she is hard as flint, *cautibus Ismariis immotior* [more immovable than the rocks of Ismarus], as fair and hard as a diamond, she will not respect, *Despectus tibi sum* [I am contemned of you], or hear me:

*Fugit illa vocantem
Nil lacrimas miserata meas, nil flexa querelis.*

[I call her, but she flees, unmoved by my tears, deaf to my laments.]

What shall I do?

I wooed her as a young man should do,
But Sir, she said, I love not you.

*Durior at scopulis mea Cælia, marmore, ferro,
Robore, rupe, antro, cornu, adamante, gelu.*⁶

Rock, marble, heart of oak with iron barr'd,
Frost, flint or adamants, are not so hard.

I give, I bribe, I send presents, but they are refused,

*Rusticus es Corydon, nec munera curat Alexis.*⁷

[Corydon is but a lout; Alexis heeds not his gifts.]

I protest, I swear, I weep,

*Odioque rependit amores,
Irrisu lacrimas;*⁸

[And she repays my love with hate, my tears with
mocking laughter;]

she neglects me for all this, she derides me, contemns me, she hates me, "Phyllida flouts me": *Caute, feris, quercu durior Eurydice* [Eurydice is harder than rocks, than trees, than wild beasts], stiff, churlish, rocky still.

And 'tis most true, many gentlewomen are so nice, they scorn all suitors, crucify their poor paramours, and think nobody good enough for them, as dainty to please as Daphne herself:

*Multi illam petere, illa aspernata petentes,
Nec quid Hymen, quid amor, quid sint connubia curat.*¹

Many did woo her, but she scorn'd them still,
And said she would not marry by her will.

One while they will not marry, as they say at least (whenas they intend nothing less), another while not yet, when 'tis their only desire, they rave upon it. She will marry at last, but not him: he is a proper man indeed, and well qualified, but he wants means; another of her suitors hath good means, but he wants wit; one is too old, another too young, too deformed, she likes not his carriage; a third too loosely given, he is rich, but base-born: she will be a gentlewoman, a lady, as her sister is, as her mother is; she is all out as fair, as well brought up, hath as good a portion, and she looks for as good a match, as Matilda or Dorinda: if not, she is resolved as yet to tarry, so apt are young maids to boggle at every object, so soon won or lost with every toy, so quickly diverted, so hard to be pleased. In the meantime, *quot torsit amantes!* [how many lovers has she tortured!]; one suitor pines away, languisheth in love, *mori quot denique cogit!* [how many has she forced to kill themselves!]; another sighs and grieves, she cares not; and which Stroza² objected to Ariadne,

*Nec magis Euryali gemitu, lacrimisque moveris,
Quam prece turbati flectitur ora sali
Tu juvenem, quo non formosior aller in urbe,
Spernis, et insano cogis amore mori,*

Is no more mov'd with those sad sighs and tears,
Of her sweetheart, then raging sea with prayers:
Thou scorn'st the fairest youth in all our city,
And mak'st him almost mad for love to die.

They take a pride to prank up themselves, to make young men enamoured, *captare viros et spernere captos*³ [to bring men to their feet and then spurn them], to dote on them, and to run mad for their sakes,

*Sed nullis illa movetur
Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit.*¹

Whilst niggardly their favours they discover.
They love to be belov'd, yet scorn the lover.

All suit and service is too little for them, presents too base:

*Tormentis gaudet amantis
Et spoliis.*

[She gloats over the torments of her lover—and his spoils.]

As Atalanta, they must be overrun, or not won. Many young men are as obstinate, and as curious in their choice, as tyrannically proud, insulting, deceitful, false-hearted, as irrefragable and peevish on the other side; Narcissus-like:

*Multi illum juvenes, multæ petiere puellæ,
Sed fuit in tenera tam dira superbia forma,
Nulli illum juvenes, nullæ petiere puellæ.*²

Young men and maids did to him sue,
But in his youth, so proud, so coy was he,
Young men and maids bade him adieu.

Echo wept and wooed him by all means above the rest, "Love me for pity, or pity me for love," but he was obstinate: *Ante, ait, emoriar quam sit tibi copia nostri*, he would rather die than give consent. Psyche ran whining after Cupid:

*Formosum tua te Psyche formosa requirit,
Et poscit te dia deum, puerumque puella;*³

Fair Cupid, thy fair Psyche to thee sues,
A lovely lass a fine young gallant woos;

but he rejected her nevertheless. Thus many lovers do hold out so long, doting on themselves, stand in their own light, till in the end they come to be scorned and rejected, as Stroza's Gargiliana was,

*Te juvenes, te odere senes desertaque langues,
Quæ fueras procerum publica cura prius,*

Both young and old do hate thee scorned now,
That once was all their joy and comfort too,

as Narcissus was himself,

Who, despising many,
Died ere he could enjoy the love of any.

They begin to be contemned themselves of others, as he was of his shadow, and take up with a poor curate, or an old serving-

man at last, that might have had their choice of right good matches in their youth; like that generous mare in Plutarch,¹ which would admit of none but great horses, but when her tail was cut off and mane shorn close, and she now saw herself so deformed in the water when she came to drink, *ab asino, con-scendi se passa*, she was contented at last to be covered by an ass. Yet this is a common humour, will not be left,¹ and cannot be helped.

*Hanc volo quæ non vult, illam quæ vult ego nolo :
Vincere vult animos, non satiare Venus.²*

I love a maid, she loves me not: full fain
She would have me, but I not her again;
So love to crucify men's souls is bent:
But seldom doth it please or give content.

Their love danceth in a ring, and Cupid hunts them round about; he dotes, is doted on again, *Dumque petit petitur, pariterque accedit et ardet* [he woos and is wooed, he feels and kindles love], their affection cannot be reconciled. Oftentimes they may and will not, 'tis their own foolish proceeding that mars all, they are too distrustful of themselves, too soon dejected: say she be rich, thou poor; she young, thou old; she lovely and fair, thou most ill-favoured and deformed; she noble, thou base; she spruce and fine, but thou an ugly clown: *nil desperandum*, there's hope enough yet: *Mopso Nisa datur, quid non speremus amantes?* [Nisa is affianced to Mopsus: what may not we lovers hope for?] Put thyself forward once more, as unlikely matches have been and are daily made, see what will be the event. Many leave roses and gather thistles, loathe honey and love verjuice: our likings are as various as our palates. But commonly they omit opportunities, *Oscula qui sumpsit* [he who snatched kisses], etc., they neglect the usual means and times.

He that will not when he may,
When he will he shall have nay.

They look to be wooed, sought after, and sued to. Most part they will and cannot, either for the above-named reasons, or for that there is a multitude of suitors equally enamoured, doting all alike; and where one alone must speed, what shall become of the rest? Hero was beloved of many, but one did enjoy her; Penelope had a company of suitors, yet all missed of their aim. In such cases he or they must wisely and warily unwind themselves, unsettle his affections by those rules above prescribed—*Quin . . . stultos excutit ignes?*³ [Why does he not

drive out the foolish passion?—divert his cogitations, or else bravely bear it out (as Turnus did: *Tua sit Lavinia conjux* [let Lavinia be your wife]; when he could not get her, with a kind of heroical scorn he bid Æneas take her), or with a milder farewell, let her go, *Et Phyllida solus habeto* [have Phyllis for yourself], take her to you, God give you joy, sir. The fox in the emblem would eat no grapes, but why? because he could not get them; care not then for that which may not be had.

Many such inconveniences, lets, and hindrances there are, which cross their projects, and crucify poor lovers, which sometimes may, sometimes again cannot, be so easily removed. But put case they be reconciled all, agreed hitherto, suppose this love or good liking be betwixt two alone, both parties well pleased, there is *mutuus amor*, mutual love and great affection, yet their parents, guardians, tutors, cannot agree; thence all is dashed, the match is unequal: one rich, another poor; *durus pater*, an hard-hearted, unnatural, a covetous father will not marry his son, except he have so much money, *ita in aurum omnes insaniunt* [every one is so mad for money], as Chrysostom notes,¹ nor join his daughter in marriage, to save her dowry, or for that he cannot spare her for the service she doth him, and is resolved to part with nothing whilst he lives, not a penny; though he may peradventure well give it, he will not till he dies, and then, as a pot of money broke, it is divided amongst them that gaped after it so earnestly. Or else he wants means to set her out, he hath no money, and though it be to the manifest prejudice of her body and soul's health, he cares not, he will take no notice of it, she must and shall tarry. Many slack and careless parents, *iniqui patres*, measure their children's affections by their own, they are now cold and decrepit themselves, past all such youthful conceits, and they will therefore starve their children's genius, have them *a pueris illico nasci senes*² [be old before they are young], they must not marry, *nec earum affines esse rerum quas secum fert adolescentia: ex sua libidine moderatur quæ est nunc, non quæ olim fuit*, as he said in the comedy: they will stifle nature, their young bloods must not participate of youthful pleasures, but be as they are themselves, old on a sudden. And 'tis a general fault amongst most parents in bestowing of their children; the father wholly respects wealth; when through his folly, riot, indiscretion, he hath embezzled his estate, to recover himself he confines and prostitutes his eldest son's love and affection to some fool, or ancient or deformed piece, for money:

*Phanocratæ ducet filiam, rufam illam virginem,
Cæstiam, sparso ore, adunco naso;*¹

[He shall marry the daughter of Phanocrates, that red-haired, blear-eyed girl with the big mouth and hooked nose;]

and though his son utterly dislike, with Clitipho in the comedy, *Non possum, pater* [Father, I cannot]: if she be rich, *Eia* (he replies), *ut elegans est, credas animum ibi esse* [look how dainty she is; you would think she is a spirit]; he must and shall have her, she is fair enough, young enough; if he look or hope to inherit his lands, he shall marry, not when or whom he loves, *Archonidis hujus filiam* [the daughter of Archonides here], but whom his father commands, when and where he likes, his affection must dance attendance upon him. His daughter is in the same predicament forsooth; as an empty boat she must carry what, where, when, and whom her father will. So that in these businesses the father is still for the best advantage; now the mother respects good kindred, most part the son a proper woman. All which Livy exemplifies, *dec. 1, lib. 4:*² a gentleman and a yeoman wooed a wench in Rome (contrary to that statute that the gentry and commonalty must not match together); the matter was controverted: the gentleman was preferred by the mother's voice, *quæ quam splendissimis nuptiis jungi puellam volebat* [who desired the most brilliant match for her daughter]; the overseers stood for him that was most worth, etc. But parents ought not be so strict in this behalf; beauty is a dowry of itself all-sufficient, *Virgo formosa, etsi oppido pauper, abunde dotata est*³ [a girl with beauty, however poor, has sufficient dowry], Rachel was so married to Jacob,⁴ and Bonaventure, *in 4 sent.*, "denies that he so much as venially sins, that marries a maid for comeliness of person."⁵ The Jews (Deut. xxi, 11), if they saw amongst the captives a beautiful woman, some small circumstances observed, might take her to wife. They should not be too severe in that kind, especially if there be no such urgent occasion, or grievous impediment. 'Tis good for a commonwealth, Plato holds, that in their contracts "young men should never avoid the affinity of poor folks, or seek after rich."⁶ Poverty and base parentage may be sufficiently recompensed by many other good qualities, modesty, virtue, religion, and choice bringing up. "I am poor, I confess, but am I therefore contemptible, and an abject? Love itself is naked, the Graces, the stars, and Hercules clad in a lion's skin."⁷ Give something to virtue, love, wisdom,

favour, beauty, person; be not all for money. Besides, you must consider that *Amor cogi non potest*, love cannot be compelled, they must affect as they may: *Fatum est in partibus illis quas sinus abscondit*¹ [one's fate is in that part of the anatomy which the upper fold of the toga covers]; as the saying is, marriage and hanging goes by destiny, matches are made in heaven.

It lies not in our power to love or hate,
For will in us is overrul'd by fate.

A servant maid in Aristænetus² loved her mistress' minion, which when her dame perceived, *furiosa æmulatione*, in a jealous humour she dragged her about the house by the hair of the head, and vexed her sore. The wench cried out, "O mistress, fortune hath made my body your servant, but not my soul!"³ Affections are free, not to be commanded. Moreover, it may be to restrain their ambition, pride, and covetousness, to correct those hereditary diseases of a family, God in His just judgment assigns and permits such matches to be made. For I am of Plato and Bodine's mind,⁴ that families have their bounds and periods as well as kingdoms, beyond which for extent or continuance they shall not exceed, six or seven hundred years, as they there illustrate by a multitude of examples, and which Peucer and Melancthon⁵ approve, but in a perpetual tenor (as we see by many pedigrees of knights, gentlemen, yeomen) continue as they began, for many descents with little alteration. Howsoever, let them, I say, give something to youth, to love; they must not think they can fancy whom they appoint; *Amor enim non imperatur, affectus liber si quis alius et vices exigens*,⁶ this is a free passion, as Pliny said in a panegyric of his, and may not be forced. Love craves liking, as the saying is, it requires mutual affections, a correspondency: *invito non datur nec aufertur* [it can neither be given nor taken away against one's will], it may not be learned, Ovid himself cannot teach us how to love, Solomon describe, Apelles paint, or Helena express it. They must not therefore compel or intrude; *quis enim* (as Fabius urgeth⁷) *amare alieno animo potest?* [for who can love against the grain?] but consider withal the miseries of enforced marriages, take pity upon youth; and such above the rest as have daughters to bestow, should be very careful and provident to marry them in due time. Siracides, *cap. 7, vers. 25*, calls it "a weighty matter to perform, so to marry a daughter to a man of understanding in due time." *Virgines enim tempestive locandæ*, as Lemnius admonisheth, *lib. 1 cap. 6*, virgins must be provided

for in season, to prevent many diseases, of which¹ Rodericus à Castro, *de morbis mulierum*, lib. 2, cap. 3, and Lod. Mercatus, lib. 2 *de mulier. affect. cap. 4, de melanch. virginum et viduarum*, have both largely discoursed.² And therefore as well to avoid these feral maladies, 'tis good to get them husbands betimes, as to prevent some other gross inconveniences, and for a thing that I know besides; *ubi nuptiarum tempus et ætas advenit* [when marriageable age has been reached], as Chrysostom adviseth, let them not defer it; they perchance will marry themselves else, or do worse. If Nevisanus the lawyer do not impose, they may do it by right; for as he proves out of Curtius and some other civilians, *Sylvæ nup. lib. 2, numer. 30*, "A maid past twenty-five years of age, against her parents' consent may marry such a one as is unworthy of, and inferior to her, and her father by law must be compelled to give her a competent dowry."³ Mistake me not in the meantime, or think that I do apologize here for any headstrong, unruly, wanton flirts. I do approve that of St. Ambrose (*Comment. in Genesis xxiv, 51*), which he hath written touching Rebecca's spousals: "A woman should give unto her parents the choice of her husband, lest she be reputed to be malapert and wanton,⁴ if she take upon her to make her own choice; for she should rather seem to be desired by a man than to desire a man herself."⁵ To those hard parents alone I retort that of Curtius, in the behalf of modester maids, that are too remiss and careless of their due time and riper years. For if they tarry longer, to say truth, they are past date, and nobody will respect them. "A woman with us in Italy" (saith Aretine's Lucretia), "twenty-four years of age, is old already, past the best, of no account."⁶ An old fellow, as Lysistrata confesseth in Aristophanes,⁷ *etsi sit canus, cito puellam virginem ducat uxorem* [in spite of his grey hairs, can soon marry a young girl], and 'tis no news for an old fellow to marry a young wench; but as he follows it, *mulieris brevis occasio est, et si hoc non apprehenderit, nemo vult ducere uxorem, expectans vero sedet* [a woman's chance does not last long; if she does not seize it, no one will have her, she can sit and wait]; who cares for an old maid? she may sit, etc. A virgin, as the poet holds, *lasciva et petulans puella virgo* [a wanton and froward maid], is like a flower, a rose withered on a sudden.

*Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum.*⁸

She that was erst a maid as fresh as May,
Is now an old crone, time so steals away.

Let them take time then while they may, make advantage of youth, and as he prescribes,

*Collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus et nova pubes,
Et memor esto ævum sic properare tuum.*¹

Fair maids, go gather roses in the prime,
And think that as a flower so goes on time.

Let's all love, *dum vires annique sinunt*, while we are in the flower of years, fit for love-matters, and while time serves; for

*Soles occidere et redire possunt,
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetuo una dormienda.*²

Suns that set may rise again,
But if once we lose this light,
'Tis with us perpetual night.³

Volat irrevocabile tempus, time past cannot be recalled. But we need no such exhortation, we are all commonly too forward: yet if there be any escape, and all be not as it should, as Diogenes struck the father when the son swore, because he taught him no better, if a maid or young man miscarry, I think their parents oftentimes, guardians, overseers, governors—*Neque vos* (saith Chrysostom⁴) *a supplicio immunes evadetis, si non statim ad nuptias*, etc.—are in as much fault, and as severely to be punished as their children, in providing for them no sooner.

Now for such as have free liberty to bestow themselves, I could wish that good counsel of the comical old man were put in practice,

*Opulentiores pauperiorum ut filias
Indotatas ducant uxores domum:
Et multo fiat civitas concordior,
Et invidia nos minore utamur quam utimur.*⁵

That rich men would marry poor maidens some,
And that without dowry, and so bring them home,
So would much concord be in our city,
Less envy should we have, much more pity.

If they would care less for wealth, we should have much more content and quietness in a commonwealth. Beauty, good bringing up, methinks, is a sufficient portion of itself, *Dos est sua forma puellis*⁶ [their beauty is the maidens' dower], and he doth well that will accept of such a wife. Eubulides, in Aristænetus,⁷ married a poor man's child, *facie non illætabili*, of a merry countenance and heavenly visage, in pity of her estate, and that quickly. Acontius, coming to Delos to sacrifice

to Diana, fell in love with Cydippe, a noble lass, and wanting means to get her love, flung a golden apple into her lap, with this inscription upon it:

*Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Dianæ,
Me tibi venturum comitem, sponsumque futurum.*

I swear by all the rites of Diana,
I 'll come and be thy husband if I may.

She considered of it, and upon some small inquiry of his person and estate, was married unto him.

Blessed is the wooing,
That is not long a-doing,

as the saying is; when the parties are sufficiently known to each other, what needs such scrupulosity, so many circumstances? dost thou know her conditions, her bringing-up, like her person? let her means be what they will, take her without any more ado. Dido and Æneas were accidentally driven by a storm both into one cave, they made a match upon it;¹ Masi-nissa was married to that fair captive Sophonisba, King Syphax' wife, the same day that he saw her first, to prevent Scipio and Lælius, lest they should determine otherwise of her. If thou lovest the party, do as much: good education and beauty is a competent dowry, stand not upon money. *Erant olim aurei homines* (saith Theocritus) *et adamantes redamabant*, in the golden world men did so (in the reign of Ogyges² belike, before staggering Ninus began to domineer), if all be true that is reported: and some few nowadays will do as much, here and there one; 'tis well done, methinks, and all happiness befall them for so doing. Leontius, a philosopher of Athens, had a fair daughter called Athenais, *multo corporis lepore ac Venere* (saith mine author), of a comely carriage, he gave her no portion but her bringing-up, *occulto formæ præsagio*, out of some secret foreknowledge of her fortune, bestowing that little which he had amongst his other children. But she, thus qualified, was preferred by some friends to Constantinople, to serve Pulcheria, the emperor's sister, of whom she was baptized and called Eudocia. Theodosius, the emperor, in short space took notice of her excellent beauty and good parts, and a little after, upon his sister's sole commendation, made her his wife:³ 'twas nobly done of Theodosius. Rhodope was the fairest lady in her days in all Egypt; she went to wash her, and by chance (her maids meanwhile looking but carelessly to her clothes), an eagle stole

away one of her shoes, and laid it in Psammetichus the King of Egypt's lap at Memphis; he wondered at the excellency of the shoe and pretty foot, but more *aquilæ factum* [at what the eagle had done], at the manner of the bringing of it, and caused forthwith proclamation to be made, that she that owned that shoe should come presently to his court; the virgin came, and was forthwith married to the king.¹ I say this was heroically done, and like a prince; I commend him for it, and all such as have means, that will either do (as he did) themselves, or so for love, etc., marry their children. If he be rich, let him take such a one as wants, if she be virtuously given; for as Siracides, *cap. 7, ver. 19*, adviseth, "Forgo not a wife and good woman; for her grace is above gold." If she have fortunes of her own, let her make a man. Danaus of Lacedæmon had a many daughters to bestow, and means enough for them all; he never stood inquiring after great matches, as others used to do, but sent for a company of brave young gallants home to his house, and bid his daughters choose every one one, whom she liked best, and take him for her husband, without any more ado.² This act of his was much approved in those times. But in this iron age of ours we respect riches alone (for a maid must buy her husband now with a great dowry, if she will have him), covetousness and filthy lucre mars all good matches, or some such by-respects. Cralles, a Servian prince (as Nicephorus Gregoras, *Rom. Hist. lib. 6*, relates it), was an earnest suitor to Eudocia, the emperor's sister; though her brother much desired it, yet she could not abide him,³ for he had three former wives, all basely abused; but the emperor still, *Cralis amicitiam magni faciens* [setting much store by the friendship of Cralles], because he was a great prince and a troublesome neighbour, much desired his affinity, and to that end betrothed his own daughter Simonida to him, a little girl five years of age, he being forty-five, and five years older than the emperor himself:⁴ such disproportionable and unlikely matches can wealth and a fair fortune make. And yet not that alone, it is not only money, but sometimes vainglory, pride, ambition, do as much harm as wretched covetousness itself in another extreme. If a yeoman have one sole daughter, he must over-match her, above her birth and calling, to a gentleman forsooth, because of her great portion, too good for one of her own rank, as he supposeth; a gentleman's daughter and heir must be married to a knight baronet's eldest son at least; and a knight's only daughter to a baron himself, or an earl, and so

upwards, her great dower deserves it. And thus striving for more honour to their wealth, they undo their children, many discontents follow, and oftentimes they ruinate their families. Paulus Jovius¹ gives instance in Galeatius the Second, that heroical Duke of Milan: *externas affinitates, decoras quidem regio fastu, sed sibi et posteris damnosas et fere exitiales quæsit* [he contracted distinguished alliances abroad which conferred on him a royal pomp, but which proved detrimental and almost ruinous to him and his descendants]; he married his eldest son John Galeatius to Isabella the King of France his sister, but she was *socero tam gravis, ut ducentis millibus aureorum constiterit*, her entertainment at Milan was so costly that it almost undid him. His daughter Violanta was married to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the youngest son to Edward the Third, King of England, but, *ad ejus adventum tantæ opes tam admirabili liberalitate profusæ sunt, ut opulentissimorum regum splendorem superasse videretur*, he was welcomed with such incredible magnificence that a king's purse was scarce able to bear it; for besides many rich presents of horses, arms, plate, money, jewels, etc., he made one dinner for him and his company, in which were thirty-two messes, and as much provision left, *ut relatæ a mensa dapes decem millibus hominum sufficerent*, as would serve ten thousand men: but a little after Lionel died, *novæ nuptæ et intempestivis conviviis operam dans* [through riotous living], etc., and to the duke's great loss, the solemnity was ended. So can titles, honours, ambition, make many brave but unfortunate matches of all sides for by-respects (though both crazed in body and mind, most unwilling, averse, and often unfit); so love is banished, and we feel the smart of it in the end. But I am too lavish peradventure in this subject.

Another let or hindrance is strict and severe discipline, laws and rigorous customs that forbid men to marry at set times and in some places; as prentices, servants, collegiates, states of lives in copyholds, or in some base inferior offices, *Velle licet* [they may desire], in such cases, *potiri non licet* [they cannot have], as he said.² They see but as prisoners through a grate, they covet and catch, but *Tantalus a labris, etc.* [Tantalus snatches at the water, etc.]. Their love is lost, and vain it is in such an estate to attempt. *Gravissimum est adamare nec potiri*,³ 'tis a grievous thing to love and not enjoy. They may indeed, I deny not, marry if they will, and have free choice some of them; but in the meantime their case is desperate, *lupum auribus tenent*, they hold a wolf by the ears, they must

either burn or starve. 'Tis *cornutum sophisma* [a sophistical dilemma], hard to resolve: if they marry they forfeit their estates, they are undone, and starve themselves through beggary and want; if they do not marry, in this heroical passion they furiously rage, are tormented, and torn in pieces by their predominate affections. Every man hath not the gift of continence; let him pray for it then,¹ as Beza adviseth in his tract *de divortiis*, because God hath so called him to a single life, in taking away the means of marriage. Paul would have gone from Mysia to Bithynia, but the spirit suffered him not,² and thou wouldst peradventure be a married man with all thy will, but that protecting angel holds it not fit. The devil too sometimes may divert by his ill suggestions, and mar many good matches, as the same Paul was willing to see the Romans, but hindered of Satan he could not.³ There be those that think they are necessitated by fate, their stars have so decreed, and therefore they grumble at their hard fortune; they are well inclined to marry, but one rub or other is ever in the way: I know what astrologers say in this behalf, what Ptolemy, *Quadripartit. tract. 4, cap. 4*, Schoner, *lib. 1, cap. 12*, what Leovitius, *Genitur. exempl. 1*, which Sextus ab Heminga takes to be the horoscope of Hieronymus Wolfius, what Pezelius, Origanus, and Leovitius his illustrator Gærceus, *cap. 12*, what Junctine, Pontarius, Campanella, what the rest (to omit those Arabian conjectures *a parte conjugii, a parte lasciviæ, triplicitates Veneris*, etc., and those resolutions upon a question, *an amica potiatur*, etc.) determine in this behalf, viz. *an sit natus conjugem habiturus, facile an difficulter sit sponsam impetraturus, quot conjuges, quo tempore, quales decernantur nato uxores, de mutuo amore conjugem* [whether from his birth he is destined to marry, whether he will get a wife easily or with difficulty, how many wives he shall marry, what they shall be like, when he shall marry them, whether they shall love one another], both in men's and women's genitures, by the examination of the seventh house, the almutens, lords, and planets there, *a ☽ et ☿*, etc., by particular aphorisms: *Si dominus 7^{ma} in 7^{ma} vel secunda nobilem decernit uxorem, servam aut ignobilem si duodecima. Si Venus in 12^{ma}*, etc.; with many such, too tedious to relate. Yet let no man be troubled, or find himself grieved with such predictions; as Hier. Wolfius well saith in his astrological dialogue,⁴ *non sunt prætoriana decreta* [they are not decrees of the magistrate], they be but conjectures, the stars incline, but not enforce:

*Sidera corporibus præsumt cælestia nostris,
Sunt ea de vili condita namque luto:
Cogere sed nequeunt animum ratione fruentem,
Quippe sub imperio solius ipse dei est.*

[The heavenly stars control our frames which are base clay, but they cannot force the rational mind, which is subject to God alone.]

Wisdom, diligence, discretion, may mitigate if not quite alter such decrees: *Fortuna sua a cujusque fingitur moribus* [a man's fate depends on his own character]; *Qui cauti, prudentes, voti compotes*¹ [those who are cautious and prudent obtain their desires], etc.; let no man then be terrified or molested with such astrological aphorisms, or be much moved, either to vain hope or fear, from such predictions, but let every man follow his own free will in this case, and do as he sees cause. Better it is indeed to marry than burn for their souls' health, but for their present fortunes by some other means to pacify themselves and divert the stream of this fiery torrent, to continue as they are, rest satisfied,² *lugentes virginitatis florem sic aruisse*, deploring their misery with that eunuch in Libanius, since there is no help or remedy, and with Jephtha's daughter to bewail their virginities.

Of like nature is superstition, those rash vows of monks and friars, and such as live in religious orders, but far more tyrannical and much worse. Nature, youth, and his furious passion forcibly inclines, and rageth on the one side; but their order and vow checks them on the other. *Votoque suo sua forma repugnat*³ [their beauty struggles with their vows]. What merits and indulgences they heap unto themselves by it, what commodities, I know not; but I am sure, from such rash vows and inhuman manner of life proceed many inconveniences, many diseases, many vices, masturbation, satyriasis, priapismus,⁴ melancholy, madness, fornication, adultery, buggery, sodomy, theft, murder, and all manner of mischiefs: read but Bale's catalogue of sodomites, at the visitation of abbeys here in England, Henry Stephanus his Apology for Herodotus, that which Ulricus writes in one of his epistles, "that Pope Gregory, when he saw 6,000 skulls and bones of infants taken out of a fish-pond near a nunnery, thereupon retracted that decree of priests' marriages, which was the cause of such a slaughter, was much grieved at it, and purged himself by repentance."⁵ Read many such, and then ask what is to be done, is this vow to be broke or not? No, saith Bellarmine, *cap. 38, lib. de monach., melius*

est scortari et uri quam de voto cælibatus ad nuptias transire, better burn or fly out, than to break thy vow. And Coster, in his *Enchirid. de cælibat. sacerdotum*, saith it is absolutely *gravius peccatum*, "a greater sin for a priest to marry, than to keep a concubine at home."¹ Gregory de Valence, *cap. 6 de cælibat.*, maintains the same, as those Essæi and Montanists of old. Insomuch that many votaries, out of a false persuasion of merit and holiness in this kind, will sooner die than marry, though it be to the saving of their lives. Anno 1419,² Pius II Pope, James Rossa, nephew to the King of Portugal, and then elect Archbishop of Lisbon, being very sick at Florence, "when his physicians told him that his disease was such, he must either lie with a wench, marry, or die, cheerfully chose to die."³ Now they commended him for it; but St. Paul teacheth otherwise, "Better marry than burn," and as St. Hierome gravely delivers it, *Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi, aliud Papianus, aliud Paulus noster præcipit*, there's a difference betwixt God's ordinances and men's laws: and therefore Cyprian, *Epist. 8*, boldly denounceth, *Impium est, adulterum est, sacrilegum est, quodcunque humano furore statuitur, ut dispositio divina violetur*, it is abominable, impious, adulterous, and sacrilegious, what men make and ordain after their own furies to cross God's laws. Georgius Wicelius,⁴ one of their own arch-divines (*Inspect. Eccles. pag. 18*), exclaims against it, and all such rash monastical vows, and would have such persons seriously to consider what they do, whom they admit, *ne in posterum querantur de inambus stupris*, lest they repent it at last. For either, as he follows it, you must allow them concubines or suffer them to marry, for scarce shall you find three priests of three thousand, *qui per ætatem non ament*, that are not troubled with burning lust.⁵ Wherefore I conclude, it is an unnatural and impious thing to bar men of this Christian liberty, too severe and inhuman an edict.

The silly wren, the titmouse also,
The little redbreast have their election,
They fly I saw and together gone,
Whereas hem list, about environ
As they of kind have inclination,
And as nature impress and guide,
Of everything list to provide.

But man alone, alas, the hard stond,
Full cruelly by kind's ordinance
Constrained is, and by statutes bound,

And debarred from all such pleasance:
 What meaneth this, what is this pretence
 Of laws, I wis, against all right of kind
 Without a cause, so narrow men to bind? ¹

Many laymen repine still at priests' marriages above the rest, and not at clergymen only, but of all the meaner sort and condition; they would have none marry but such as are rich and able to maintain wives, because their parish belike shall be pestered with orphans, and the world full of beggars: but these are hard-hearted, unnatural, monsters of men, shallow politicians,² they do not consider that a great part of the world is not yet inhabited as it ought, how many colonies into America, Terra Australis Incognita, Africa, may be sent.³ Let them consult with Sir William Alexander's Book of Colonies, Orpheus Junior's Golden Fleece,⁴ Captain Whitbourne, Mr. Hagthorpe, etc., and they shall surely be otherwise informed. Those politic Romans were of another mind, they thought their city and country could never be too populous. Hadrian the emperor said he had rather have men than money, *malle se hominum adjectione ampliare imperium, quam pecunia*.⁵ Augustus Cæsar made an oration in Rome *ad cælibes* [to the bachelors], to persuade them to marry; some countries compelled them to marry of old, as Jews, Turks, Indians, Chinese⁶ amongst the rest in these days, who much wonder at our discipline to suffer so many idle persons to live in monasteries, and often marvel how they can live honest. In the Isle of Maragnan, the governor and petty king there did wonder at the Frenchmen, and admire how so many friars and the rest of their company could live without wives, they thought it a thing impossible, and would not believe it.⁷ If these men should but survey our multitudes of religious houses, observe our numbers of monasteries all over Europe, 18 nunneries in Padua, in Venice 34 cloisters of monks, 28 of nuns, etc., *ex ungue leonem* [you can tell a lion from a claw], 'tis to this proportion in all other provinces and cities, what would they think, do they live honest? Let them dissemble as they will, I am of Tertullian's mind, that few can continue but by compulsion. "O chastity" (saith he), "thou art a rare goddess in the world, not so easily got, seldom continueate; thou mayst now and then be compelled, either for defect of nature, or if discipline persuade, decrees enforce";⁸ or for some such by-respects, sullenness, discontent, they have lost their first loves, may not have whom they will themselves, want of means, rash vows, etc. But can he willingly contain? I think

not. Therefore, either out of commiseration of human imbecility in policy, or to prevent a far worse inconvenience, for they hold some of them as necessary as meat and drink, and because vigour of youth, the state and temper of most men's bodies, do so furiously desire it, they have heretofore in some nations liberally admitted polygamy and stews, an hundred thousand courtesans in Grand Cairo in Egypt, as Radzivilius observes,¹ are tolerated, besides boys: how many at Fez, Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, etc.? and still in many other provinces and cities of Europe they do as much, because they think young men, churchmen, and servants amongst the rest, can hardly live honest. The consideration of this belike made Vibius, the Spaniard, when his friend Crassus,² that rich Roman gallant, lay hid in the cave, *ut voluptatis quam ætas illa desiderat copiam faceret*, to gratify him the more, send two lusty lasses to accompany him all that while he was there imprisoned; ³ and Surenas, the Parthian general, when he warred against the Romans, to carry about with him 200 concubines, as the Swiss soldiers do now commonly their wives. But, because this course is not generally approved, but rather contradicted as unlawful and abhorred, in most countries they do much encourage them to marriage,⁴ give great rewards to such as have many children, and mulct those that will not marry, *Jus trium liberorum*, and in A. Gellius, *lib. 2, cap. 15*, Ælian, *lib. 6, cap. 5*, Valerius, *lib. 1, cap. 9*, we read that three children freed the father from painful offices, and five from all contribution.⁵ "A woman shall be saved by bearing children." Epictetus would have all marry,⁶ and as Plato will, *6 de legibus*, he that marrieth not before 35 years of his age, must be compelled and punished, and the money consecrated to Juno's temple, or applied to public uses.⁷ They account him, in some countries, unfortunate that dies without a wife, a most unhappy man, as Boethius infers,⁸ and if at all happy, yet *infortunio felix*, unhappy in his supposed happiness. They commonly deplore his estate, and much lament him for it: "O my sweet son," etc. See Lucian, *de luctu*, Sandys, *fol. 83*, etc.

Yet, notwithstanding, many with us are of the opposite part, they are married themselves, and for others, let them burn, fire and flame, they care not, so they be not troubled with them. Some are too curious, and some too covetous, they may marry when they will both for ability and means, but so nice, that, except as Theophilus the emperor was presented by his mother Euphrosyne with all the rarest beauties of the empire

in the great chamber of his palace at once, and bid to give a golden apple to her he liked best, if they might so take and choose whom they list out of all the fair maids their nation affords, they could happily condescend to marry; otherwise, etc. Why should a man marry? saith another Epicurean rout, what's matrimony but a matter of money? why should free nature be entrenched on, confined, or obliged to this or that man or woman, with these manacles of body and goods? etc. There are those too that dearly love, admire and follow women all their lives long, *sponsi Penelopes* [Penelope's suitors], never well but in their company, wistly gazing on their beauties, observing close, hanging after them, dallying still with them, and yet dare not, will not marry. Many poor people, and of the meaner sort, are too distrustful of God's providence, "they will not, dare not for such worldly respects," fear of want, woes, miseries, or that they shall light, as Lemnius saith, "on a scold, a slut, or a bad wife."¹ And therefore, *Tristem juventam Venere deserta colunt*² they are resolved to live single, as Epaminondas did:³ *Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cælibe vita*,⁴ [he says there is nothing to surpass or excel a single life], and ready with Hippolytus to abjure all women: *Detestor omnes, horreo, fugio, execror*⁵ [I detest all of them; I loathe, shun, execrate them], etc. But,

Hippolyte, nescis quod fugis vitæ bonum,
Hippolyte, nescis,

[Hippolytus, thou knowest not what a blessing thou lovest,]

alas, poor Hippolytus, thou knowest not what thou sayest, 'tis otherwise, Hippolytus. Some⁶ make a doubt, *an uxor literato sit ducenda*, whether a scholar should marry; if she be fair she will bring him back from his grammar to his horn-book, or else with kissing and dalliance she will hinder his study; if foul, with scolding; he cannot well intend to both, as Philippus Beroaldus, that great Bononian doctor, once writ, *impediri enim studia literarum* [for it interferes with study], etc., but he recanted at last, and in a solemn sort with true-conceived words he did ask the world and all women forgiveness. But you shall have the story as he relates himself, in his Commentaries on the Sixth of Apuleius. "For a long time I lived a single life, *et ab uxore ducenda semper abhorruui, nec quicquam libero lecto census jucundius* [I always shrank from marriage and rejoiced in the freedom of a single life]. I could not abide marriage, but as a rambler, *erraticus ac volaticus*

amator" (to use his own words) "*per multiplices amores discurrebam*, I took a snatch where I could get it; nay more, I railed at marriage downright, and in a public auditory, when I did interpret that sixth Satire of Juvenal, out of Plutarch and Seneca, I did heap up all the dicteries I could against women; but now recant with Stesichorus, *palinodiam cano, nec pœnitet censeri in ordine maritorum*, I approve of marriage, I am glad I am a married man,¹ I am heartily glad I have a wife, so sweet a wife, so noble a wife, so young, so chaste a wife, so loving a wife, and I do wish and desire all other men to marry; and especially scholars, that as of old Martia did by Hortensius, Terentia by Tullius, Calphurnia to Plinius, Pudentilla to Apuleius, hold the candle whilst their husbands did meditate and write,² so theirs may do them, and as my dear Camilla doth to me." Let other men be averse, rail then and scoff at women, and say what they can to the contrary, *vir sine uxore malorum expers est*, etc., a single man is a happy man, etc., but this is a toy:

*Nec dulces amores sperne, puer, neque tu choreas;*³

[Reject not, boy, the sweets of love and the pleasures
of the dance;]

these men are too distrustful, and much to blame to use such speeches:

*Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes.*⁴

They must not condemn all for some. As there be many bad, there be some good wives; as some be vicious, some be virtuous. Read what Solomon hath said in their praises (Prov. xxxi), and Siracides (*cap. xxvi et xxx*), "Blessed is the man that hath a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double. A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and she shall fulfil the years of his life in peace. A good wife is a good portion" (*et xxxvi, 24*), "an help, a pillar of rest," *columna quietis*;

*Qui capit uxorem, fratrem capit atque sororem.*⁵

[Who takes a wife takes a brother and a sister.]

Et v. 25, "He that hath no wife wandereth to and fro mourning." *Minuuntur atræ conjuge curæ* [cares are lightened when shared with a wife], women are the sole, only joy, and comfort of a man's life, born *ad usum et lusum hominum, firmamenta familiæ* [for man's help and pleasure, for founding a family],

*Deliciæ humani generis, solatia vitæ,
Blanditiæ noctis, placidissima cura diei,
Vota virum, juvenum spes, etc.*¹

[The delight of mankind, the comfort of life, the ravishment of the night, the calm joy of day, the gratification of older men and the hope of younger.]

"A wife is a young man's mistress, a middle-age's companion, an old man's nurse,"² *particeps lætorum et tristium* [a partner of his joys and sorrows], a prop, an help, etc.

*Optima viri possessio est uxor benevola,
Mitigans iram et avertens animam ejus a tristitia.*³

Man's best possession is a loving wife,
She tempers anger and diverts all strife.

There is no joy, no comfort, no sweetness, no pleasure in the world like to that of a good wife:

*Quam cum cara domi conjux, fidusque maritus
Unanimes degunt,*

[As when a loving wife and a faithful husband live in harmony together.]

saith our Latin Homer; she is still the same in sickness and in health, his eye, his hand, his bosom friend, his partner at all times, his other self, not to be separated by any calamity, but ready to share all sorrow, discontent, and as the Indian women do, live and die with him, nay more, to die presently for him. Admetus, King of Thessaly, when he lay upon his death-bed, was told by Apollo's oracle, that if he could get anybody to die for him, he should live longer yet, but when all refused, his parents, *etsi decrepiti* [although decrepit], friends and followers forsook him, Alcestis his wife, though young, most willingly undertook it; what more can be desired or expected? And although on the other side there be an infinite number of bad husbands (I should rail downright against some of them), able to discourage any women; yet there be some good ones again, and those most observant of marriage rites. An honest country fellow (as Fulgوسus relates it) in the kingdom of Naples, at plough by the sea-side,⁴ saw his wife carried away by Mauritanian pirates; he ran after in all haste, up to the chin first, and when he could wade no longer, swam, calling to the governor of the ship to deliver his wife, or if he must not have her restored, to let him follow as a prisoner, for he was resolved to be a galley-slave, his drudge, willing to endure any misery, so that he

might enjoy his dear wife.¹ The Moors, seeing the man's constancy, and relating the whole matter to their governor at Tunis, set them both free, and gave them an honest pension to maintain themselves during their lives.² I could tell many stories to this effect; but put case it often prove otherwise, because marriage is troublesome, wholly therefore to avoid it is no argument; "He that will avoid trouble must avoid the world"³ (Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.* 5, cap. 50). Some trouble there is in marriage, I deny not; *Etsi grave sit matrimonium*, saith Erasmus, *edulcatur tamen multis*, etc., yet there be many things to sweeten it, a pleasant wife,⁴ *placens uxor*, pretty children, *dulces nati, deliciæ filiorum hominum*, the chief delight of the sons of men (Eccles. ii, 8), etc. And howsoever, though it were all troubles, *utilitatis publicæ causa devorandum, grave quid libenter subeundum*,⁵ it must willingly be undergone for public good's sake.

*Audite (populus) hæc, inquit Susarion,
Malæ sunt mulieres, veruntamen, o populares,
Hoc sine malo domum inhabitare non licet.*⁶

Hear me, O my countrymen, saith Susarion,
Women are naught, yet no life without one.

Malum est mulier, sed necessarium malum,⁷ they are necessary evils, and for our own ends we must make use of them to have issue, *Supplet Venus ac restituit humanum genus*⁸ [conjugal intercourse renovates the human race], and to propagate the Church. For to what end is a man born? why lives he, but to increase the world? and how shall he do that well, if he do not marry? *Matrimonium humano generi immortalitatem tribuit*, saith Nevisanus,⁹ matrimony makes us immortal, and, according to Tacitus,¹⁰ 'tis *firmissimum imperii munimentum*, the sole and chief prop of an empire. *Indigne vivit per quem non vivit et alter*,¹¹ which Pelopidas objected to Epaminondas,¹² he was an unworthy member of a commonwealth that left not a child after him to defend it; and as Trismegistus to his son Tatius, "Have no commerce with a single man";¹³ holding belike that a bachelor could not live honestly as he should; and with Georgius Wicelius, a great divine and holy man, who of late by twenty-six arguments commends marriage as a thing most necessary for all kind of persons, most laudable and fit to be embraced: and is persuaded withal that no man can live and die religiously and as he ought without a wife, *persuasus neminem posse neque pie vivere, neque bene mori citra uxorem*, he is false, an enemy to the

commonwealth, injurious to himself, destructive to the world, an apostate to nature, a rebel against heaven and earth. Let our wilful, obstinate, and stale bachelors ruminate of this. "If we could live without wives," as Marcellus Numidicus said in A. Gellius,¹ "we would all want them; but because we cannot, let all marry, and consult rather to the public good than their own private pleasure or estate." It were an happy thing, as wise Euripides hath it, if we could buy children with gold and silver,² and be so provided *sine mulierum congressu*, without women's company; but that may not be:

*Orbis jacebit squalido turpis situ,
Vanum sine ullis classibus stabit mare,
Alesque cælo deerit et silvis fera.*³

Earth, air, sea, land eftsoon would come to naught,
The world itself should be to ruin brought.

Necessity therefore compels us to marry.

But what do I trouble myself, to find arguments to persuade to, or commend marriage? behold a brief abstract of all that which I have said, and much more, succinctly, pithily, pathetically, perspicuously, and elegantly delivered in twelve motions to mitigate the miseries of marriage, by Jacobus de Voragine.⁴

1. *Res est? habes quæ tueatur et augeat.*—2. *Non est? habes quæ quærat.*—3. *Secundæ res sunt? felicitas duplicatur.*—4. *Adversæ sunt? Consolatur, adsidet, onus participat ut tolerabile fiat.*—5. *Domi es? solitudinis tædium pellit.*—6. *Foras? Discedentem visu prosequitur, absentem desiderat, redeuntem læta excipit.*—7. *Nihil jucundum absque societate? Nulla societas matrimonio suavior.*—8. *Vinculum conjugalæ caritatis adamantinum.*—9. *Accrescit dulcis affinium turba, duplicatur numerus parentum, fratrum, sororum, nepotum.*—10. *Pulchra sis prole parens.*—11. *Lex Mosis sterilitatem matrimonii execratur, quanto amplius cælibatum?*—12. *Si natura pœnam non effugit, ne voluntas quidem effugiet.*

1. Hast thou means? thou hast one to keep and increase it.—2. Hast none? thou hast one to help to get it.—3. Art in prosperity? thine happiness is doubled.—4. Art in adversity? she'll comfort, assist, bear a part of thy burden to make it more tolerable.—5. Art at home? she'll drive away melancholy.—6. Art abroad? she looks after thee going from home, wishes for thee in thine absence, and joyfully welcomes thy return.—7. There's nothing delightsome without society, no society so

sweet as matrimony.—8. The band of conjugal love is adamantine.—9. The sweet company of kinsmen increaseth, the number of parents is doubled, of brothers, sisters, nephews.—10. Thou art made a father by a fair and happy issue.—11. Moses curseth the barrenness of matrimony, how much more a single life? —12. If nature escape not punishment, surely thy will shall not avoid it.

All this is true, say you, and who knows it not? but how easy a matter is it to answer these motives, and to make an *antiparodia* quite opposite unto it! To exercise myself I will essay:

1. Hast thou means? thou hast one to spend it.—2. Hast none? thy beggary is increased.—3. Art in prosperity? thy happiness is ended.—4. Art in adversity? like Job's wife she 'll aggravate thy misery, vex thy soul, make thy burden intolerable.—5. Art at home? she 'll scold thee out of doors.—6. Art abroad? If thou be wise, keep thee so, she 'll perhaps graft horns in thine absence, scowl on thee coming home.—7. Nothing gives more content than solitariness, no solitariness like this of a single life.—8. The band of marriage is adamantine, no hope of loosing it, thou art undone.—9. Thy number increaseth, thou shalt be devoured by thy wife's friends.—10.—Thou art made a cornuto by an unchaste wife, and shalt bring up other folks' children instead of thine own.—11. Paul commends marriage, yet he prefers a single life.—12. Is marriage honourable? What an immortal crown belongs to virginity!

So Siracides himself speaks as much as may be for and against women, so doth almost every philosopher plead pro and con, every poet thus argues the case (though what cares *vulgus hominum* [the common herd] what they say?); so can I conceive peradventure, and so canst thou: when all is said, yet since some be good, some bad, let's put it to the venture. I conclude therefore with Seneca:

*Cur toro viduo jaces?
Tristem juventam solve: nunc luxus rape,
Effunde habenas, optimos vitæ dies
Effluere prohibe.*

Why dost thou lie alone, let thy youth and best days to pass away? Marry whilst thou mayest, *donec virenti canities abest morosa* [while sour old age still keeps its distance], whilst thou art yet able, yet lusty, *Elige cui dicas, tu mihi sola places*¹ [choose one to whom thou canst say, "Thee alone I love"], make thy

choice, and that freely forthwith, make no delay, but take thy fortune as it falls. 'Tis true,

*Calamitosus est qui incidereit
In malam uxorem, felix qui in bonam.*¹

[Unlucky is he who has struck upon a bad wife, but happy is he who has found a good one.]

'Tis an hazard both ways I confess, to live single or to marry, *Nam et uxorem ducere, et non ducere malum est*² [it is bad both to marry and not to marry], it may be bad, it may be good; as it is a cross and calamity on the one side, so 'tis a sweet delight, an incomparable happiness, a blessed estate, a most unspeakable benefit, a sole content, on the other; 'tis all in the proof. Be not then so wayward, so covetous, so distrustful, so curious and nice, but let 's all marry, *mutuos foventes amplexus*. "Take me to thee, and thee to me," to-morrow is St. Valentine's Day, let 's keep it holiday for Cupid's sake, for that great god Love's sake, for Hymen's sake, and celebrate Venus' vigil³ with our ancestors for company together, singing as they did:

*Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit, cras amet,
Ver novum, ver jam canorum, vere natus orbis est,
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus coma resolvit, etc.
Cras amet, etc.*

[Let those love now who never loved before,
And those who always loved now love the more;
Sweet loves are born with every opening spring;
Birds from the tender boughs their pledges sing, etc.]

Let him that is averse from marriage read more in Barbarus, *de re uxor. lib. 1, cap. 1*, Lemnius, *de institut. cap. 4*, P. Godefridus, *de Amor. lib. 3, cap. 1*, Nevisanus, *lib. 3*,⁴ Alex. ab Alexandro, *lib. 4, cap. 8*, Tunstall, Erasmus' tracts *in laudem matrimonii*, etc., and I doubt not but in the end he will rest satisfied, recant with Beroaldus, do penance for his former folly, singing some penitential ditties, desire to be reconciled to the deity of this great god Love, go a pilgrimage to his shrine, offer to his image, sacrifice upon his altar, and be as willing at last to embrace marriage as the rest. There will not be found, I hope, "no, not in that severe family of Stoics, who shall refuse to submit his grave beard and supercilious looks to the clipping of a wife, or disagree from his fellows in this point."⁵ "For what more willingly" (as Varro holds) "can a proper man see than a fair wife, a sweet wife, a loving wife?"⁶ Can the

world afford a better sight, sweeter content, a fairer object, a more gracious aspect?

Since then this of marriage is the last and best refuge and cure of heroical love, all doubts are cleared, and impediments removed; I say again, what remains, but that according to both their desires they be happily joined, since it cannot otherwise be helped? God send us all good wives, every man his wish in this kind, and me mine!

And God that all this world hath ywrought
Send him his love that hath it so deere bought.¹

If all parties be pleased, ask their banns, 'tis a match. *Fruitur Rhodanthe sponsa sponso Dosicle*,² Rhodanthe and Dosicles shall go together, Clitophon and Leucippe, Theagenes and Chariclea, Poliarchus hath his Argenis, Lysander Calista (to make up the mask), *potiturque sua puer Iphis lanthe*³ [and young Iphis has his own Ianthe].

And Troilus in lust and in quiet
Is with Creseid, his own heart sweet.⁴

And although they have hardly passed the pikes,⁵ through many difficulties and delays brought the match about, yet let them take this of Aristænetus⁶ (that so marry) for their comfort: "After many troubles and cares, the marriages of lovers are more sweet and pleasant."⁷ As we commonly conclude a comedy with a wedding⁸ and shaking of hands, let 's shut up our discourse, and end all with an epithalamium.⁹

Feliciter nuptis, God give them joy together, *Hymen o Hymenæe, Hymen ades, o Hymenæe!*¹⁰ *Bonum factum*, 'tis well done, *Haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine divum* [Heaven, as I deem, has willed this match], 'tis an happy conjunction, a fortunate match, an even couple,

*Ambo animis, ambo præstantes viribus, ambo
Florentes annis,*

they both excel in gifts of body and mind, are both equal in years, youth, vigour, alacrity, she is fair and lovely as Lais or Helen, he as another Clinias or Alcibiades:

*Ludite ut lubet et brevi
Liberos date.*¹¹

Then modestly go sport and toy,
And let 's have every year a boy.

"Go give a sweet smell as incense, and bring forth flowers as the lily":¹² that we may say hereafter, *Scitus mecastor natus*

est Pamphilo puer [I' faith, a pretty boy is born to Pamphilus].
In the meantime I say,

*Ite, agite, O juvenes, non murmura vestra columbæ,
Brachia, non hederæ, neque vincant oscula conchæ.*¹

Gentle youths, go sport yourselves betimes,
Let not the doves outpass your murmurings,
Or ivy clasping arms, or oyster kissings.²

And in the morn betime, as those Lacedæmonian lasses saluted
Helena and Menelaus,³ singing at their windows, and wishing
good success, do we at yours:

*Salve o sponsa, salve felix, det vobis Latona
Felicem sobolem, Venus dea det æqualem amorem
Inter vos mutuo; Saturnus durabiles divitias.
Dormite in pectora mutuo amorem inspirantes,
Et desiderium!*

Good morrow, master bridegroom, and mistress bride,
Many fair lovely bairns to you betide!
Let Venus to you mutual love procure,
Let Saturn give you riches to endure,
Long may you sleep in one another's arms,
Inspiring sweet desire, and free from harms.

Even all your lives long,

*Contingat vobis turturum concordia,
Corniculæ vivacitas.*⁴

The love of turtles hap to you,
And ravens' years still to renew.

Let the Muses sing (as he said), the Graces dance, not at their
weddings only but all their days long; "so couple their hearts,
that no irksomeness or anger ever befall them. Let him never
call her other name than my joy, my light, or she call him other-
wise than sweetheart. To this happiness of theirs let not old
age any whit detract, but as their years, so let their mutual
love and comfort increase." ⁵ And when they depart this life,

*Concordes quoniam vixere tot annos,
Auferat hora duos eadem, nec conjugis usquam
Busta suæ videat, nec sit tumulandus ab illa.*

Because they have so sweetly liv'd together,
Let not one die a day before the other,
He bury her, she him, with even fate,
One hour their souls let jointly separate.

*Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.*

[Happy both! if my lines can aught avail, no lapse of
time shall ever bring you into oblivion.]

Atque hæc de amore dixisse sufficiat, sub correctione, quod ait ille,¹ cujusque melius sentientis. Plura qui volet de remediis amoris, legat Jasonem Pratensem, Arnoldum, Montaltum, Savonarolum, Langium, Valescum, Crimisonum, Alexandrum Benedictum, Laurentium, Valleriolam; e poetis Nasonem, e nostratibus Chaucerum [We have now said sufficient on the subject of love, under correction, as he saith, of any one who knoweth better. He who would know more of the remedies for love may consult Jason Pratensis, etc.; among the poets, Ovid, our own Chaucer], etc., with whom I conclude.

For my words here and every part,
I speak hem all under correction,
Of you that feeling have in love's art,
And put it all in your discretion,
To entreat or make diminution,
Of my language, that I you beseech:
But now to purpose of my rather speech.^a

SECT. III. MEMB. I.

SUBJECT. I. — *Jealousy, its Equivocations, Name, Definition, Extent, several kinds; of Princes, Parents, Friends. In Beasts, Men: before marriage, as Corrivals; or after, as in this place*

VALESCUS de Taranta, *cap. de Melanchol.*, Ælian Montaltus, Felix Platerus, Guianerius, put jealousy for a cause of melancholy, others for a symptom; because melancholy persons, amongst these passions and perturbations of the mind, are most obnoxious to it. But methinks for the latitude it hath, and that prerogative above other ordinary symptoms, it ought to be treated of as a species apart, being of so great and eminent note, so furious a passion, and almost of as great extent as love itself, as Benedetto Varchi holds,³ “no love without a mixture of jealousy,” *qui non zelat, non amat*. For these causes I will dilate and treat of it by itself, as a bastard branch or kind of love-melancholy, which, as heroical love goeth commonly before marriage, doth usually follow, torture, and crucify in like sort, deserves therefore to be rectified alike, requires as much care and industry in setting out the several causes of it, prognostics and cures. Which I have more willingly done, that he that is or hath been jealous may see his error as in a glass; he that is

not, may learn to detest, avoid it himself, and dispossess others that are anywise affected with it.

Jealousy is described and defined to be "a certain suspicion which the lover hath of the party he chiefly loveth. lest he or she should be enamoured of another";¹ or any eager desire to enjoy some beauty alone, to have it proper to himself only: a fear or doubt lest any foreigner should participate or share with him in his love. Or (as Scaliger adds²) "a fear of losing her favour whom he so earnestly affects." Cardan calls it "a zeal for love, and a kind of envy lest any man should beguile us."³ Ludovicus Vives⁴ defines it in the very same words, or little differing in sense.

There be many other jealousies, but improperly so called all; as that of parents, tutors, guardians over their children, friends whom they love, or such as are left to their wardship or protection:

*Storax, non rediit hac nocte a cœna Æschinus,
Neque servulorum quispiam qui adversum ierant,*

[Storax, Æschinus did not return from supper to-night,
nor any of the slaves who went to meet him,]

as the old man in the comedy cried out in a passion, and from a solicitous fear and care he had of his adopted son; "not of beauty, but lest they should miscarry, do amiss, or anyway discredit, disgrace" (as Vives notes) "or endanger themselves and us."⁵ Ægeus was so solicitous for his son Theseus (when he went to fight with the Minotaur), of his success, lest he should be foiled.⁶ *Prona est timori semper in pejus fides,*⁷ we are still apt to suspect the worst in such doubtful cases, as many wives in their husbands' absence, fond mothers in their children's, lest if absent they should be misled or sick, and are continually expecting news from them, how they do fare, and what is become of them, they cannot endure to have them long out of their sight: Oh, my sweet son! oh, my dear child! etc. Paul was jealous over the Church of Corinth, as he confesseth (2 Cor. xi, 2, 3), "with a godly jealousy, to present them a pure virgin to Christ"; and he was afraid still, lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so their minds should be corrupt from the simplicity that is in Christ. God Himself, in some sense, is said to be jealous: "I am a jealous God, and will visit";⁸ so Psalm lxxix, 5: "Shall thy jealousy burn like fire for ever?" But these are improperly called jealousies, and by a metaphor, to show the care and solicitude they have of them. Although

some jealousies express all the symptoms of this which we treat of, fear, sorrow, anguish, anxiety, suspicion, hatred, etc., the object only varied. That of some fathers is very eminent to their sons and heirs; for though they love them dearly being children, yet now coming towards man's estate they may not well abide them; the son and heir is commonly sick of the father, and the father again may not well brook his eldest son, *inde simultates, plerumque contentiones et inimicitiae* [thence arise quarrels, strife and enmity]. But that of princes is most notorious, as when they fear corrivals (if I may so call them), successors, emulators, subjects, or such as they have offended. *Omnisque potestas impatiens consortis erit*¹ [to share authority is ever irksome]: "they are still suspicious, lest their authority should be diminished," as one observes;² and as Comineus hath it,³ "it cannot be expressed what slender causes they have of their grief and suspicion, a secret disease, that commonly lurks and breeds in princes' families."⁴ Sometimes it is for their honour only, as that of Hadrian the emperor, "that killed all his emulators."⁵ Saul envied David; Domitian Agricola, because he did excel him, obscure his honour, as he thought, eclipse his fame. Juno turned Prætus' daughters into kine, for that they contended with her for beauty; [the] Cyparissæ, King Eteocles' children, were envied of the goddesses for their excellent good parts, and dancing amongst the rest, saith Constantine, "and for that cause flung headlong from heaven, and buried in a pit, but the earth took pity of them, and brought out cypress trees to preserve their memories."⁶ Niobe, Arachne, and Marsyas can testify as much.⁷ But it is most grievous when it is for a kingdom itself, or matters of commodity, it produceth lamentable effects, especially amongst tyrants, *in despotico imperio*, and such as are more feared than beloved of their subjects, that get and keep their sovereignty by force and fear: *Quod civibus tenere te invitis scias*⁸ [you know that you hold your position against the will of the citizens], etc., as Phalaris, Dionysius, Periander held theirs. For though fear, cowardice, and jealousy, in Plutarch's opinion, be the common causes of tyranny, as in Nero, Caligula, Tiberius, yet most take them to be symptoms. For "what slave, what hangman" (as Bodine well expresseth this passion, *lib. 2, cap. 5, de rep.*) "can so cruelly torture a condemned person as this fear and suspicion? Fear of death, infamy, torments, are those furies and vultures that vex and disquiet tyrants, and torture them day and night with perpetual terrors and affrights; envy, suspicion,

fear, desire of revenge, and a thousand such disagreeing perturbations, turn and affright the soul out of the hinges of health, and more grievously wound and pierce than those cruel masters can exasperate and vex their prentices or servants with clubs, whips, chains, and tortures.”¹ Many terrible examples we have in this kind, amongst the Turks especially, many jealous outrages; Selimus killed Cornutus his youngest brother, five of his nephews, Mustapha Bassa, and divers others.² Bajazet, the second Turk,³ jealous of the valour and greatness of Achmet Bassa, caused him to be slain. Solymán the Magnificent murdered his own son Mustapha;⁴ and ’tis an ordinary thing amongst them, to make away their brothers, or any competitors, at the first coming to the crown: ’tis all the solemnity they use at their fathers’ funerals. What mad pranks in his jealous fury did Herod of old commit in Jewry, when he massacred all the children of a year old! Valens the emperor in Constantinople, whenas he left no man alive of quality in his kingdom that had his name begun with Theo! Theodoti, Theognosti, Theodosii, Theoduli, etc.,⁵ they went all to their long home, because a wizard told him that name should succeed in his empire. And what furious designs hath Jo. Basilius, that Muscovian tyrant, practised of late!⁶ It is a wonder to read that strange suspicion which Suetonius reports of Claudius Cæsar and of Domitian, they were afraid of every man they saw;⁷ and which Herodian [reports] of Antoninus and Geta, those two jealous brothers, the one could not endure so much as the other’s servants, but made away him, his chiefest followers, and all that belonged to him or were his well-wishers. Maximinus, “perceiving himself to be odious to most men, because he was come to that height of honour out of base beginnings, and suspecting his mean parentage would be objected to him, caused all the senators that were nobly descended to be slain in a jealous humour, turned all the servants of Alexander his predecessor out of doors, and slew many of them, because they lamented their master’s death, suspecting them to be traitors for the love they bare to him.”⁸ When Alexander in his fury had made Clitus his dear friend to be put to death, and saw now (saith Curtius⁹) an alienation in his subjects’ hearts, none durst talk with him, he began to be jealous of himself, lest they should attempt as much on him, “and said they lived like so many wild beasts in a wilderness, one afraid of another.” Our modern stories afford us many notable examples. Henry the Third of France, jealous of

Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, *anno* 1588, caused him to be murdered in his own chamber.¹ Louis the Eleventh was so suspicious, he durst not trust his children, every man about him he suspected for a traitor;² many strange tricks Comineus telleth of him. How jealous was our Henry the Fourth³ of King Richard the Second, so long as he lived, after he was deposed! and of his own son Henry in his later days! which the prince well perceiving, came to visit his father in his sickness, in a watchet velvet gown, full of oilet-holes, and with needles sticking in them (as an emblem of jealousy), and so pacified his suspicious father, after some speeches and protestations which he had used to that purpose. Perpetual imprisonment, as that of Robert Duke of Normandy,⁴ in the days of Henry the First, forbidding of marriage to some persons, with such-like edicts and prohibitions, are ordinary in all states. In a word (as he said⁵) three things cause jealousy, a mighty state, a rich treasure, a fair wife; or where there is a cracked title, much tyranny, and many exactions. In our state, as being freed from all these fears and miseries, we may be most secure and happy under the reign of our fortunate prince.

His fortune hath indebted him to none,
But to all his people universally;
And not to them but for their love alone,
Which they account as placed worthily.
He is so set, he hath no cause to be
Jealous, or dreadful of disloyalty;
The pedestal whereon his greatness stands,
Is held of all our hearts, and all our hands.⁶

But I rove, I confess. These equivocations, jealousies, and many such, which crucify the souls of men, are not here properly meant, or in this distinction of ours included, but that alone which is for beauty, tending to love, and wherein they can brook no corrival, or endure any participation: and this jealousy belongs as well to brute beasts as men. Some creatures, saith Vives,⁷ swans, doves, cocks, bulls, etc., are jealous as well as men, and as much moved, for fear of communion.

*Grege pro toto bella juveni,
Si conjugio timuere suo,
Poscunt timidi prælia cervi,
Et mugitus dant concepti signa furoris.⁸*

In Venus' cause what mighty battles make
Your raving bulls, and stirs for their herd's sake:
And harts and bucks, that are so timorous,
Will fight and roar, if once they be but jealous.

In bulls, horses, goats, this is most apparently discerned; bulls especially: *alium in pascuis non admittit*, he will not admit another bull to feed in the same pasture, saith Oppian: ¹ which Stephanus Bathorius, late King of Poland, used as an impress, with that motto, *Regnum non capit duos* [the throne will not hold two]. R. T., in his Blazon of Jealousy, telleth a story of a swan about Windsor, that finding a strange cock with his mate, did swim I know not how many miles after to kill him, and when he had so done, came back and killed his hen; a certain truth, he saith, done upon Thames, as many watermen and neighbour gentlemen can tell. *Fidem suam liberet* [let him vindicate his good faith]; for my part, I do believe it may be true; for swans have ever been branded with that epithet of jealousy.

The jealous swanne against his death that singeth,
And eke the owle that of death bode bringeth.²

Some say as much of elephants,³ that they are more jealous than any other creatures whatsoever; and those old Egyptians, as Pierius informeth us,⁴ express in their hieroglyphics the passion of jealousy by a camel; because that, fearing the worst still about matters of venery, he loves solitudes, that he may enjoy his pleasure alone,⁵ *et in quoscunque obvios insurgit, zelotypiae stimulis agitatus*, he will quarrel and fight with whosoever comes next, man or beast, in his jealous fits. I have read as much of crocodiles;⁶ and if Peter Martyr's authority be authentic, *Legat. Babylonicae, lib. 3*, you shall have a strange tale to that purpose confidently related. Another story of the jealousy of dogs, see in Hieron. Fabricius, *tract. 3, cap. 5, de loquela animalium*.

But this furious passion is most eminent in men, and is as well amongst bachelors as married men. If it appear amongst bachelors, we commonly call them rivals or corrivals, a metaphor derived from a river, *rivales a rivo*; ⁷ for as a river, saith Acron in *Hor. Art. Poet.* and Donat. in *Ter. Eunuch.*, divides a common ground betwixt two men, and both participate of it, so is a woman indifferent between two suitors, both likely to enjoy her; and thence comes this emulation, which breaks out many times into tempestuous storms, and produceth lamentable effects, murder itself, with much cruelty, many single combats. They cannot endure the least injury done unto them before their mistress, and in her defence will bite off one another's noses; they are most impatient of any flout, disgrace, least emulation

or participation in that kind. *Lacerat lacertum Largi mordax Memmius*¹ [jealous Memmius bites the arm of Largus]. Memmius the Roman (as Tully tells the story, *de oratore lib. 2*), being corrvial with Largus at Terracina, bit him by the arm, which fact of his was so famous, that it afterwards grew to a proverb in those parts. Phædria could not abide his corrvial Thraso; for when Parmeno demanded, *Numquid aliud imperas?* whether he would command him any more service: "No more" saith he) "but to speak in his behalf, and to drive away his corrvial if he could."² Constantine, in the eleventh book of his Husbandry, *cap. ix*, hath a pleasant tale of the pine-tree; she was once a fair maid, whom Phineus and Boreas, two corrvivals, dearly sought; but jealous Boreas broke her neck, etc.³ And in his eighteenth chapter he telleth another tale of Mars, that in his jealousy slew Adonis.⁴ Petronius calleth this passion *amantium furiosam æmulationem*, a furious emulation; and their symptoms are well expressed by Sir Geoffrey Chaucer in his first Canterbury Tale. It will make the nearest and dearest friends fall out; they will endure all other things to be common, goods, lands, moneys, participate of each [other's] pleasures, and take in good part any disgraces, injuries in another kind; but as Propertius well describes it in an elegy of his, in this they will suffer nothing, have no corrvivals.

*Tu mihi vel ferro pectus, vel perde veneno,
A domina tantum te modo tolle mea :
Te socium vitæ, te corporis esse licebit,
Te dominum admitto rebus, amice, meis.
Lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno,
Rivalem possum non ego ferre Jovem.*

Stab me with sword, or poison strong
Give me to work my bane:
So thou court not my lass, so thou
From mistress mine refrain.
Command myself, my body, purse,
As thine own goods take all,
And as my ever dearest friend,
I ever use thee shall.
O spare my love, to have alone
Her to myself I crave,
Nay, Jove himself I'll not endure
My rival for to have.

This jealousy which I am to treat of, is that which belongs to married men, in respect of their own wives; to whose estate, as no sweetness, pleasure, happiness can be compared in the

world, if they live quietly and lovingly together; so if they disagree or be jealous, those bitter pills of sorrow and grief, disastrous mischiefs, mischances, tortures, gripings, discontents, are not to be separated from them. A most violent passion it is where it taketh place, an unspeakable torment, a hellish torture, an infernal plague, as Ariosto calls it, "a fury, a continual fever, full of suspicion, fear, and sorrow, a martyrdom, a mirth-marring monster." "The sorrow and grief of heart of one woman jealous of another, is heavier than death" (Eccclus. xxvi, 6), as Peninnah did Hannah, "vex her and upbraid her sore."¹ 'Tis a main vexation, a most intolerable burden, a corsive to all content, a frenzy, a madness itself; as Benedetto Varchi proves out of that select sonnet of Giovanni de la Casa, that reverend lord, as he styles him.²

SUBJECT. II.—*Causes of Jealousy. Who are most apt. Idleness, Melancholy, Impolency, long Absence, Beauty, Wantonness, naught themselves. Allurements from time, place, persons, bad usage, Causes*

Astrologers make the stars a cause or sign of this bitter passion, and out of every man's horoscope will give a probable conjecture whether he will be jealous or no, and at what time, by direction of the significators to their several promissors: their aphorisms are to be read in Albubater, Pontanus, Schoner, Junctine, etc. Bodine, *cap. 5 Meth. hist.*, ascribes a great cause to the country or clime, and discourseth largely there of this subject, saying, that southern men are more hot, lascivious, and jealous than such as live in the north; they can hardly contain themselves in those hotter climes, but are most subject to prodigious lust. Leo Afer telleth incredible things almost of the lust and jealousy of his countrymen of Africa, and especially such as live about Carthage, and so doth every geographer of them in Asia, Turkey, Spaniards, Italians.³ Germany hath not so many drunkards, England tobacconists, France dancers, Holland mariners, as Italy alone hath jealous husbands. And in Italy some account them of Piacenza more jealous than the rest.⁴ In Germany, France, Britain, Scandia, Poland, Muscovy, they are not so troubled with this feral malady,⁵ although Damianus à Goes, which I do much wonder at, in his topography of Lapland, and Herbastein of Russia, against the stream of all other geographers, would fasten it

upon those northern inhabitants. Altomarus, Poggius, and Munster in his description of Baden, reports that men and women of all sorts go commonly into the baths together, without all suspicion; "the name of jealousy" (saith Munster) "is not so much as once heard of among them." In Friesland the women kiss him they drink to, and are kissed again of those they pledge. The virgins in Holland go hand-in-hand with young men from home, glide on the ice, such is their harmless liberty, and lodge together abroad without suspicion, which rash Sansovinus, an Italian, makes a great sign of unchastity. In France, upon small acquaintance, it is usual to court other men's wives, to come to their houses, and accompany them arm-in-arm in the streets, without imputation. In the most northern countries young men and maids familiarly dance together, men and their wives, which, Siena only excepted, Italians may not abide.¹ The Greeks, on the other side, have their private baths for men and women, where they must not come near, nor so much as see one another;² and as Bodine observes, *lib. 5 de repub.*, "the Italians could never endure this,"³ or a Spaniard, the very conceit of it would make him mad; and for that cause they lock up their women, and will not suffer them to be near men, so much as in the church, but with a partition between.⁴ He telleth, moreover, how that "when he was ambassador in England, he heard Mendoza the Spanish legate finding fault with it, as a filthy custom for men and women to sit promiscuously in churches together; but Dr. Dale, the Master of the Requests, told him again that it was indeed a filthy custom in Spain, where they could not contain themselves from lascivious thoughts in their holy places, but not with us." Baronius in his Annals, out of Eusebius, taxeth Licinius the emperor for a decree of his made to this effect, *jubens ne viri simul cum mulieribus in ecclesia interessent* [ordering that men and women should not sit together in church]: for being prodigiously naught himself, *aliorum naturam ex sua vitiosa mente spectavit* [he judged others by his own vicious mind], he so esteemed others. But we are far from any such strange conceits, and will permit our wives and daughters to go to the tavern with a friend, as Aubanus saith, *modo absit lascivia* [as long as there is no lewdness], and suspect nothing, to kiss coming and going, which, as Erasmus writes in one of his epistles, they cannot endure. England is a paradise for women, and hell for horses: Italy a paradise for horses, hell for women, as the proverb goes. Some make a question whether

this headstrong passion rage more in women than men, as Montaigne, *lib.* 3. But sure it is more outrageous in women, as all other melancholy is, by reason of the weakness of their sex. Scaliger, *Poet. lib. cap.* 14, concludes against women: "Besides their inconstancy, treachery, suspicion, dissimulation, superstition, pride" (for all women are by nature proud), "desire of sovereignty, if they be great women" (he gives instance in Juno), "bitterness and jealousy are the most remarkable affections." ¹

*Sed neque fulvus aper mediâ tam sævus in ira est,
Fulmineo rabidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec lea, etc.* ²

Tiger, boar, bear, viper, lioness,
A woman's fury cannot express.

Some say red-headed women, pale-coloured, black-eyed, and of a shrill voice, are most subject to jealousy. ³

High colour in a woman choler shows,
Naught are they, peevish, proud, malicious;
But worst of all, red, shrill, and jealous. ⁴

Comparisons are odious, I neither parallel them with others, nor debase them any more: men and women are both bad, and too subject to this pernicious infirmity. It is most part a symptom and cause of melancholy, as Plater and Valescus teach us: melancholy men are apt to be jealous, and jealous apt to be melancholy.

Pale jealousy, child of insatiate love,
Of heart-sick thoughts which melancholy bred,
A hell-tormenting fear, no faith can move,
By discontent with deadly poison fed;
With heedless youth and error vainly led.
A mortal plague, a virtue-drowning flood,
A hellish fire not quenched but with blood. ⁵

If idleness concur with melancholy, such persons are most apt to be jealous; 'tis Nevisanus' note, "An idle woman is presumed to be lascivious, and often jealous." ⁶ *Mulier cum sola cogitat, male cogitat* [when a woman is left to herself, her thoughts are evil]: and 'tis not unlikely, for they have no other business to trouble their heads with.

More particular causes be these which follow. Impotency first, when a man is not able of himself to perform those dues which he ought unto his wife: for though he be an honest liver, hurt no man, yet Trebatius the lawyer may make a question,

an suum cuique tribuat, whether he give every one their own; and therefore when he takes notice of his wants, and perceives her to be more craving, clamorous, unsatiable and prone to lust than is fit, he begins presently to suspect, that wherein he is defective, she will satisfy herself, she will be pleased by some other means. Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly expressed this humour in an epigram to his Lycoris:

*Jamque alios juvenes aliosque requirit amores,
Me vocat imbellem decrepitumque senem.*

[Now seeks she for her sweethearts other swains,
And calls me old and feeble for my pains.]

For this cause is most evident in old men, that are cold and dry by nature, and married *succi plenis*, to young wanton wives; with old doting Janivere in Chaucer, they begin to mistrust all is not well:

She was young and he was old,
And therefore he feared to be a cuckold.

And how should it otherwise be? Old age is a disease of itself, loathsome, full of suspicion and fear; when it is at best, unable, unfit for such matters. *Tam apta nuptiis quam bruma messibus*, as welcome to a young woman as snow in harvest, saith Nevisanus;¹ *et si capis juvenculam, faciet tibi cornua*: marry a lusty maid and she will surely graft horns on thy head. "All women are slippery, often unfaithful to their husbands" (as Æneas Sylvius, *Epist.* 38, seconds him), "but to old men most treacherous":² they had rather *morlem amplexarier*, lie with a corse, than such a one: *Oderunt illum pueri, contemnunt mulieres*³ [boys hate him, women despise him]. On the other side, many men, said Hieronymus, are suspicious of their wives, if they be lightly given,⁴ but old folks above the rest. Insomuch that she did not complain without a cause in Apuleius,⁵ of an old bald bedridden knave she had to her goodman: "Poor woman as I am, what shall I do? I have an old grim sire to my husband, as bald as a coot, as little and as unable as a child," a bedful of bones, "he keeps all the doors barred and locked upon me, woe is me, what shall I do?" He was jealous, and she made him a cuckold for keeping her up: suspicion without a cause, hard usage is able of itself to make a woman fly out, that was otherwise honest,

*Plerasque bonas tractatio pravas
Esse facit,*⁶

bad usage aggravates the matter. *Nam quando mulieres*

cognoscunt maritum hoc advertere, licentius peccant, as Nevisanus holds,¹ when a woman thinks her husband watcheth her, she will sooner offend; *Liberius peccant, et pudor omnis abest*² [they sin more readily, and without shame], rough handling makes them worse: as the Goodwife of Bath in Chaucer brags,

In his own grease I made him frie
For anger and for very jealousie.

Of two extremes, this of hard usage is the worst. 'Tis a great fault (for some men are *uxorii* [uxorious]) to be too fond of their wives, to dote on them as Senior Deliro on his Fallace,³ to be too effeminate, or as some do, to be sick for their wives, breed children for them, and like the Tiberini lie in for them; as some birds hatch eggs by turns, they do all women's offices:⁴ Cælius Rhodiginus, *Ant. lect. lib. 6, cap. 24*, makes mention of a fellow out of Seneca, that was so besotted on his wife, he could not endure a moment out of her company, he wore her scarf when he went abroad next his heart, and would never drink but in that cup she began first.⁵ We have many such fondlings that are their wives' packhorses and slaves (*nam grave malum uxor superans virum suum*, as the comical poet hath it, there's no greater misery to a man than to let his wife domineer), to carry her muff, dog, and fan, let her wear the breeches, lay out, spend, and do what she will, go and come whither, when she will, they give consent:

Here, take my muff, and, do you hear, good man,
Now give me Pearl, and carry you my fan, etc.

*Poscit pallam, redimicula, mnaures;
Curre, quid hic cessas? vulgo vult illa videri,
Tu pete lecticas.*⁶

Many brave and worthy men have trespassed in this kind, *multos foras claros domestica hæc destruxit infamia* [many men of great public esteem have been ruined by this domestic disgrace], and many noble senators and soldiers (as Pliny notes⁷) have lost their honour, in being *uxorii*, so sottishly overruled by their wives; and therefore Cato in Plutarch made a bitter jest on his fellow-citizens, the Romans: "We govern all the world abroad, and our wives at home rule us." These offend in one extreme; but too hard and too severe are far more offensive on the other. As just a cause may be long absence of either party, when they must of necessity be much from home, as lawyers, physicians, mariners, by their

professions; or otherwise make frivolous, impertinent journeys, tarry long abroad to no purpose, lie out, and are gadding still, upon small occasions, it must needs yield matter of suspicion, when they use their wives unkindly in the meantime, and never tarry at home, it cannot use but engender some such conceit.

*Uxor si cesses amare te cogitat
Aut te amari, aut polare, aut animo obsequi,
Et tibi bene esse soli, quum sibi sit male.¹*

If thou be absent long, thy wife then thinks,
Th' art drunk, at ease, or with some pretty minx,
'Tis well with thee, or else beloved of some,
Whilst she, poor soul, doth fare full ill at home.

Hippocrates the physician had a smack of this disease; for when he was to go from home as far as Abdera and some other remote cities of Greece, he writ to his friend Dionysius (if at least those Epistles² be his) "to oversee his wife in his absence" (as Apollo set a raven to watch his Coronis), "although she lived in his house with her father and mother, whom he knew would have a care of her; yet that would not satisfy his jealousy, he would have his special friend Dionysius to dwell in his house with her all the time of his peregrination, and to observe her behaviour, how she carried herself in her husband's absence, and that she did not lust after other men."³ For a woman had need to have an overseer to keep her honest; they are bad by nature, and lightly given all, and if they be not curbed in time, as an unpruned tree, they will be full of wild branches, and degenerate of a sudden."⁴ Especially in their husbands' absence: though one Lucretia were trusty, and one Penelope, yet Clytemnestra made Agamemnon cuckold; and no question there be too many of her conditions. If their husbands tarry too long abroad upon unnecessary business, well they may suspect: or if they run one way, their wives at home will fly out another, *quid pro quo*. Or if present, and give them not that content which they ought, *primum ingratae, mox invisae noctes quae per somnum transiguntur*,⁵ they cannot endure to lie alone, or to fast long. Peter Godefridus, in his second book of Love, and sixth chapter, hath a story out of St. Anthony's life, of a gentleman, who, by that good man's advice, would not meddle with his wife in the Passion Week, but for his pains she set a pair of horns on his head.⁶ Such another he hath out of Abstemius: one persuaded a new-married man "to forbear the three first nights, and he should all his lifetime after be fortunate in cattle,"⁷

but his impatient wife would not tarry so long: well he might speed in cattle, but not in children. Such a tale hath Heinsius of an impotent and slack scholar, a mere student, and a friend of his, that seeing by chance a fine damsel sing and dance, would needs marry her; the match was soon made, for he was young and rich, *genis gratus, corpore glabellus, arte multiscius, et fortuna opulentus* [smooth-cheeked, soft-skinned, well educated, and rich], like that Apollo in Apuleius. The first night, having liberally taken his liquor (as in that country they do) my fine scholar was so fuddled, that he no sooner was laid in bed but he fell fast asleep, never waked till morning, and then much abashed, *purpureis formosa rosis cum Aurora ruberet* [when the fair morn with purple hue 'gan shine], he made an excuse, I know not what, out of Hippocrates Cous, etc., and for that time it went current:¹ but whenas afterward he did not play the man as he should do, she fell in league with a good fellow, and whilst he sat up late at his study about those criticisms, mending some hard places in Festus or Pollux, came cold to bed, and would tell her still what he had done, she did not much regard what he said, etc. "She would have another matter mended much rather, which he did not conceive was corrupt":² thus he continued at his study late, she at her sport, *alibi enim festivas noctes agitabat* [she was having a gay night somewhere else], hating all scholars for his sake, till at length he began to suspect, and turned a little yellow, as well he might; for it was his own fault; and if men be jealous in such cases (as oft it falls out³) the mends is in their own hands, they must thank themselves. Who will pity them, saith Neander, or be much offended with such wives, *si deceptæ prius viros decipiant, et cornutos reddant*, if they deceive those that cozened them first? A lawyer's wife in Aristænetus, because her husband was negligent in his business, *quando lecto danda opera*, threatened to cornute him, and did not stick to tell Philinna, one of her gossips, as much, and that aloud for him to hear: "If he follow other men's matters and leave his own, I'll have an orator shall plead my cause,"⁴ I care not if he know it.

A fourth eminent cause of jealousy may be this, when he that is deformed and, as Pindarus of Vulcan, *sine gratiis natus* [ugly from birth], hirsute, ragged, yet virtuously given, will marry some fair nice piece, or light huswife, begins to misdoubt (as well he may) she doth not affect him. *Lis est cum forma magna pudicitia*,⁵ beauty and honesty have ever been at odds. Abraham was jealous of his wife because she was

fair: so was Vulcan of his Venus, when he made her creaking shoes, saith Philostratus,¹ *ne mæcharetur, sandalio scilicet deferente*, that he might hear by them when she stirred, which Mars *indigne ferre*, was not well pleased with.² Good cause had Vulcan to do as he did, for she was no honestest than she should be. Your fine faces have commonly this fault; and it is hard to find, saith Francis Philelphus in an epistle to Saxola his friend, a rich man honest, a proper woman not proud or unchaste. "Can she be fair and honest too?"

*Sæpe etenim occuluit picta sese hydra sub herba,
Sub specie formæ, incauto se sæpe marito
Nequam animus vendit.*³

[For oft is a serpent concealed beneath the verdant grass, and often while the husband suspects naught, the beautiful but worthless wife has sold herself.]

He that marries a wife that is snout-fair alone, let him look, saith Barbarus,⁴ for no better success than Vulcan had with Venus, or Claudius with Messalina. And 'tis impossible almost in such cases the wife should contain, or the good man not be jealous: for when he is so defective, weak, ill-proportioned, unpleasing in those parts which women most affect, and she most absolutely fair and able on the other side, if she be not very virtuously given, how can she love him? and although she be not fair, yet if he admire her and think her so, in his conceit she is absolute, he holds it impossible for any man living not to dote as he doth, to look on her and not lust, not to covet, and if he be in company with her, not to lay siege to her honesty: or else out of a deep apprehension of his infirmities, deformities, and other men's good parts, out of his own little worth and desert, he distrusts himself (for what is jealousy but distrust?), he suspects she cannot affect him, or be not so kind and loving as she should, she certainly loves some other man better than himself.

Nevisanus, *lib. 4, num. 72*, will have barrenness to be a main cause of jealousy.⁵ If her husband cannot play the man, some other shall, they will leave no remedies unassayed, and thereupon the good man grows jealous; I could give an instance, but be it as it is.

I find this reason given by some men, because they have been formerly naught themselves, they think they may be so served by others; they turned up trump before the cards

were shuffled, they shall have therefore *legem talionis*, like for like.

*Ipse miser docui, quo posset ludere pacto
Custodes, Eheu nunc premor arte mea.*¹

Wretch as I was, I taught her bad to be,
And now mine own sly tricks are put upon me.

Mala mens, malus animus, as the saying is, ill dispositions cause ill suspicions.

There is none jealous, I durst pawn my life,
But he that hath defiled another's wife,
And for that he himself hath gone astray,
He straightway thinks his wife will tread that way.²

To these two above-named causes, or incendiaries of this rage, I may very well annex those circumstances of time, place, persons, by which it ebbs and flows, the fuel of this fury, as Vives truly observes:³ and such-like accidents or occasions, proceeding from the parties themselves or others, which much aggravate and intend this suspicious humour. For many men are so lasciviously given, either out of a depraved nature, or too much liberty, which they do assume unto themselves by reason of their greatness, in that they are noblemen (for *licentia peccandi et multitudo peccantium* [liberty to sin and multitude of sinners] are great motives), though their own wives be never so fair, noble, virtuous, honest, wise, able, and well given, they must have change.

*Qui cum legitimi junguntur fœdere lecti
Virtute egregiis facieque domoque puellis,
Scorta tamen fœdasque lupas in fornice quærunt,
Et per adulterium nova carpere gaudia tentant*⁴

Who being match'd to wives most virtuous,
Noble, and fair, fly out lascivious.

Quod licet ingratum est, that which is ordinary is unpleasant. Nero (saith Tacitus) abhorred Octavia his own wife, a noble virtuous lady, and loved Acte, a base quean in respect. Cerinthus rejected Sulpicia, a nobleman's daughter, and courted a poor servant maid,⁵ *tanta est aliena in messe voluptas* [so pleasant it is to enjoy another's harvest], for that "stolen waters be more pleasant":⁶ or, as Vitellius the emperor was wont to say, *Jucundiores amores qui cum periculo habentur*, like stolen venison, still the sweetest is that love which is most difficultly attained: they like better to hunt by stealth in another man's

walk, than to have the fairest course that may be at game of their own.

*Aspice ut in cælo modo sol, modo luna ministret,
Sic etiam nobis una puella parum est.*¹

As sun and moon in heaven change their course,
So they change loves, though often to the worse.

Or that some fair object so forcibly moves them, they cannot contain themselves; be it heard or seen, they will be at it. Nessus, the centaur, was by agreement to carry Hercules and his wife over the river Evenus; no sooner had he set Deianira on the other side but he would have offered violence unto her, leaving Hercules to swim over as he could: and though her husband was a spectator, yet would he not desist till Hercules with a poisoned arrow shot him to death.² Neptune saw by chance that Thessalian Tyro, Enipeus' wife; he forthwith in the fury of his lust counterfeited her husband's habit, and made him cuckold.³ Tarquin heard Collatine commend his wife, and was so far enraged that in the midst of the night to her he went. Theseus stole Ariadne,⁴ *vi rapuit* [forcibly carried off] that Troezenian Anaxo, Antiope, and now being old, Helena, a girl not yet ready for a husband. Great men are most part thus affected all, as a horse they neigh, saith Jeremiah, after their neighbours' wives,⁵ *ut visa pullus adhinnit equa* [as the horse neighs at sight of the mare]: and if they be in company with other women, though in their own wives' presence, they must be courting and dallying with them. Juno in Lucian complains of Jupiter that he was still kissing Ganymede before her face, which did not a little offend her: and besides, he was a counterfeit Amphitryo, a bull, a swan, a golden shower, and played many such bad pranks, too long, too shameful to relate.

Or that they care little for their own ladies, and fear no laws, they dare freely keep whores at their wives' noses. 'Tis too frequent with noblemen to be dishonest; *Pietas, probitas, fides, privata bona sunt*, as he said⁶ long since, piety, chastity, and such-like virtues are for private men: not to be much looked after in great courts: and which Suetonius [said] of the good princes of his time, they might be all engraven in one ring, we may truly hold of chaste potentates of our age. For great personages will familiarly run out in this kind, and yield occasion of offence. Montaigne, in his Essays,⁷ gives instance in Cæsar, Mahomet the Turk, that sacked Constantinople, and

Ladislaus, King of Naples, that besieged Florence: great men, and great soldiers, are commonly great, etc.; *probatum est* [it is a known fact], they are good doers. Mars and Venus are equally balanced in their actions:

*Militis in galea nidum fecere columbæ,
Apparet Marti quam sit amica Venus.*¹

A dove within a head-piece made her nest,
'Twixt Mars and Venus see an interest.

Especially if they be bald, for bald men have ever been suspicious (read more in Aristotle, *sect. 4, prob. 19*), as Galba, Otho, Domitian, and remarkable Cæsar amongst the rest: *Urbani servate uxores, mæchum calvum adducimus*² [citizens, look to your wives, we bring along a bald-headed gallant]; besides, this bald Cæsar, saith Curio in Suetonius, was *omnium mulierum vir* [ran after every woman he saw]; he made love to Eunoe, Queen of Mauritania; to Cleopatra; to Posthumia, wife to Sergius Sulpicius; to Lollia, wife to Gabinius; to Tertulla, of Crassus; to Mucia, Pompey's wife, and I know not how many besides: and well he might, for, if all be true that I have read, he had a licence to lie with whom he list. *Inter alios honores Cæsari decretos* (as Suetonius, *cap. 52 de Julio*, and Dion, *lib. 44*, relate) *jus illi datum, cum quibuscunque feminis se jungendi*. Every private history will yield such variety of instances: otherwise good, wise, discreet men, virtuous and valiant, but too faulty in this. Priamus had fifty sons, but seventeen alone lawfully begotten. Philippus Bonus left fourteen bastards.³ Laurence Medices,⁴ a good prince and a wise, but, saith Machiavel, prodigiously lascivious.⁵ None so valiant as Castruccio Castrucanus, but, as the said author hath it, none so incontinent as he was.⁶ And 'tis not only predominant in grandees, this fault; but, if you will take a great man's testimony, 'tis familiar with every base soldier in France (and elsewhere, I think). "This vice" (saith mine author⁷) "is so common with us in France, that he is of no account, a mere coward, not worthy the name of a soldier, that is not a notorious whoremaster." In Italy he is not a gentleman, that besides his wife hath not a courtesan and mistress. 'Tis no marvel, then, if poor women in such cases be jealous, when they shall see themselves manifestly neglected, contemned, loathed, unkindly used; their disloyal husbands to entertain others in their rooms, and many times to court ladies to their faces; other men's wives to wear their jewels: how shall a poor woman in such a case moderate her passion? *Quis*

*tibi nunc, Dido, cernenti talia sensus!*¹ [What feelings were thine, Dido, at such a sight!]

How, on the other side, shall a poor man contain himself from this feral malady, when he shall see so manifest signs of his wife's inconstancy? whenas, like Milo's wife, she dotes upon every young man she sees, or, as Martial's Sota,² *deserto sequitur Clitum marito* [deserts her husband and follows Clitus]. Though her husband be proper and tall, fair and lovely to behold, able to give contentment to any one woman, yet she will taste of the forbidden fruit: Juvenal's Iberina to a hair, she is as well pleased with one eye as one man. If a young gallant come by chance into her presence, a Fastidious Brisk,³ that can wear his clothes well in fashion, with a lock, jingling spur, a feather, that can cringe, and withal compliment, court a gentlewoman, she raves upon him: "O what a lovely proper man he was," another Hector, an Alexander, a goodly man, a demigod, how sweetly he carried himself, with how comely a grace, *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat* [such eyes, such hands, such looks], how neatly he did wear his clothes! *Quam sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis*⁴ [how nobly he looked, how bravely he bore himself!], how bravely did he discourse, ride, sing, and dance, etc.; and then she begins to loathe her husband, *repugnans osculatur* [she kisses him with loathing], to hate him and his filthy beard, his goatish complexion, as Doris said of Polyphemus, *totus qui sanie, totus ut hircus olet*,⁵ he is a rammy fulsome fellow, a goblin-faced fellow, he smells, he stinks, *et cæpas simul alliumque ructat* [he reeks of onion and garlic]; *si quando ad thalamum*, etc. [should he approach the nuptial couch], how like a dizzard, a fool, an ass, he looks, how like a clown he behaves himself! she will not come near him by her own good will, but wholly rejects him, as Venus did her fuliginous Vulcan at last: *Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est* [no god honoured him with a seat at his table, nor goddess with her couch]. So did Lucretia, a lady of Senæ,⁶ after she had but seen Euryalus, *in Euryalum tota ferebatur, domum reversa*, etc., she would not hold her eyes off him in his presence, *tantum egregio decus enilet ore*⁷ [such beauty from his noble presence shone], and in his absence could think of none but him, *odit virum*, she loathed her husband forthwith, might not abide him:

*Et conjugalis negligens tori, viro
Præsente, acerbo nauseat fastidio; **

All against the laws of matrimony,
She did abhor her husband's phis'nomy;

and sought all opportunity to see her sweetheart again. Now when the good man shall observe his wife so lightly given, "to be so free and familiar with every gallant, her immodesty and wantonness" (as Camerarius notes¹), it must needs yield matter of suspicion to him, when she still pranks up herself beyond her means and fortunes, makes impertinent journeys, unnecessary visitations, stays out so long, with such and such companions, so frequently goes to plays, masks, feasts, and all public meetings, shall use such immodest gestures,² free speeches, and withal show some distaste of her own husband; how can he choose, though he were another Socrates, but be suspicious, and instantly jealous? *Socraticas tandem faciet transcendere metas*³ ['twill make him transgress the Socratic bounds]; more especially when he shall take notice of their more secret and sly tricks, which to cornute their husbands they commonly use (*dum ludis, ludos hæc te facit* [while you play, she makes game of you]), they pretend love, honour, chastity, and seem to respect them before all men living; saints in show, so cunningly can they dissemble, they will not so much as look upon another man in his presence, so chaste, so religious, and so devout, they cannot endure the name or sight of a quean, an harlot, out upon her!⁴ and in their outward carriage are most loving and officious, will kiss their husband, and hang about his neck (dear husband, sweet husband), and with a composed countenance salute him, especially when he comes home; or if he go from home, weep, sigh, lament, and take upon them to be sick and swoon (like Jocundo's wife in Ariosto,⁵ when her husband was to depart), and yet arrant, etc., they care not for him:

Ay me, the thought (quoth she) makes me so 'fraid,
That scarce the breath abideth in my breast;
Peace, my sweet love and wife, Jocundo said,
And weeps as fast, and comforts her his best, etc.
All this might not assuage the woman's pain,
Needs must I die before you come again,
Nor how to keep my life I can devise,
The doleful days and nights I shall sustain,
From meat my mouth, from sleep will keep mine eyes, etc.
That very night that went before the morrow,
That he had pointed surely to depart,
Jocundo's wife was sick, and swoon'd for sorrow
Amid his arms, so heavy was her heart.

And yet for all these counterfeit tears and protestations, Jocundo coming back in all haste for a jewel he had forgot,

His chaste and [faithful] yoke-fellow he found
Yok'd with a knave, all honesty neglected,
The adulterer sleeping very sound,
Yet by his face was easily detected;
A beggar's brat bred by him from his cradle,
And now was riding on his master's saddle.

Thus can they cunningly counterfeit, as Platina describes their customs,¹ "kiss their husbands, whom they had rather see hanging on a gallows, and swear they love him dearer than their own lives, whose soul they would not ransom for their little dog's":

*Similis si permutatio detur,
Morte viri cupiunt animam servare catellæ.*

Many of them seem to be precise and holy forsooth, and will go to such a church, to hear such a good man by all means, an excellent man, when 'tis for no other intent (as he follows it) than "to see and to be seen, to observe what fashions are in use, to meet some pander, bawd, monk, friar, or to entice some good fellow."² For they persuade themselves, as Nevisanus shows,³ "that it is neither sin nor shame to lie with a lord or a parish priest, if he be a proper man"; "and though she kneel often, and pray devoutly, 'tis" (saith Platina) "not for her husband's welfare, or children's good, or any friend, but for her sweetheart's return, her pander's health."⁴ If her husband would have her go, she feigns herself sick, *Et simulat subito condoluisse caput*:⁵ her head aches, and she cannot stir; but if her paramour ask as much, she is for him in all seasons, at all hours of the night. In the kingdom of Malabar, and about Goa in the East Indies,⁶ the women are so subtle that, with a certain drink they give them to drive away cares as they say, "they will make them sleep for twenty-four hours, or so intoxicate them that they can remember naught of that they saw done or heard, and, by washing of their feet, restore them again, and so make their husbands cuckolds to their faces."⁷ Some are ill disposed⁸ at all times to all persons they like, others more wary to some few, at such and such seasons, as Augusta Livia *non nisi plena navi vectorem tollebat* [carried no passenger save in a full boat]. But as he said:

No pen could write, no tongue attain to tell,
By force of eloquence, or help of art,
Of women's treacheries the hundredth part.⁹

Both, to say truth, are often faulty; men and women give just occasion in this humour of discontent, aggravate and yield matter of suspicion: but most part of the chief causes proceed from other

adventitious accidents and circumstances, though the parties be free, and both well given themselves. The indiscreet carriage of some lascivious gallant (*et e contra* of some light woman) by his often frequenting of an house, bold unseemly gestures, may make a breach, and by his over-familiarity, if he be inclined to yellowness, colour him quite out. If he be poor, basely born, saith Benedetto Varchi, and otherwise unhandsome, he suspects him the less; but if a proper man, such as was Alcibiades in Greece, and Castrucius Castrucanus in Italy, well descended, commendable for his good parts, he taketh on the more, and watcheth his doings. Theodosius the emperor gave his wife Eudocia a golden apple when he was a suitor to her, which she long after bestowed upon a young gallant in the court, of her especial acquaintance. The emperor, espying this apple in his hand, suspected forthwith, more than was, his wife's dishonesty, banished him the court, and from that day following forbore to accompany her any more.¹ A rich merchant had a fair wife; according to his custom he went to travel; in his absence a good fellow tempted his wife; she denied him; yet he, dying a little after, gave her a legacy for the love he bore her. At his return, her jealous husband, because she had got more by land than he had done at sea, turned her away upon suspicion.²

Now when those other circumstances of time and place, opportunity and importunity, shall concur, what will they not effect?

Fair opportunity can win the coyest she that is,
So wisely he takes time, as he 'll be sure he will not miss:
Then he that loves her gamesome vein, and tempers toys with art,
Brings love that swimmeth in her eyes to dive into her heart.

As at plays, masks, great feasts and banquets, one singles out his wife to dance, another courts her in his presence, a third tempts her, a fourth insinuates with a pleasing compliment, a sweet smile, ingratiates himself with an amphibological speech, as that merry companion in the satirist³ did to his Glycerium, *adsidens et interiorum palmam amabiliter concutiens* [sitting by her and lovingly stroking her palm]:—

*Quod meus hortus habet sumas impune licebit,
Si dederis nobis quod tuus hortus habet;*

[You are at liberty to take what is in my garden if you will give me what is in your garden;]

with many such, etc., and then, as he saith,

She may no while in chastity abide,
That is assaid on every side.

For after a great feast, *Vino sæpe suum nescit amica virum*¹ [in her cups a maid oft knows not her own lover]. Noah (saith Hierome²) "showed his nakedness in his drunkenness, which for six hundred years he had covered in soberness." Lot lay with his daughters in his drink, as Cinyras with Myrrha, *quid enim Venus ebria curat?*³ [for what scruples has love when flown with wine?] The most continent may be overcome, or if otherwise they keep bad company, they that are modest of themselves, and dare not offend, "confirmed by others, grow impudent, and confident, and get an ill habit."⁴

*Alia quæstus gratia matrimonium corrumpit,
Alia peccans multas vult morbi habere socias.*⁵

[One for pelf breaks her marriage vow, another desires
to have many companions in sin.]

Or if they dwell in suspected places, as in an infamous inn, near some stews, near monks, friars, Nevisanus adds, where be many tempters and solicitors, idle persons that frequent their companies, it may give just cause of suspicion. Martial⁶ of old inveighed against them that counterfeited a disease to go to the bath; for so, many times,

*relicto
Conjuge Penelope venit, abit Helene.*

[She left her husband a Penelope, she returned a Helen.]

Æneas Sylvius puts in a caveat against princes' courts, because there be *lot formosi juvenes qui promittunt*, so many brave suitors to tempt, etc. "If you leave her in such a place, you shall likely find her in company you like not; either they come to her, or she is gone to them."⁷ Kornmannus⁸ makes a doubting jest in his lascivious country: *Virginis illibata censeaturne castitas ad quam frequentur accedant scholares?* [can a girl be presumed to have preserved her chastity who is visited by many students?] And Baldus the lawyer scoffs on; *Quum scholaris, inquit, loquitur cum puella, non præsumitur ei dicere, Pater noster*, when a scholar talks with a maid or another man's wife in private, it is presumed he saith not a paternoster. Or if I shall see a monk or a friar climb up a ladder at midnight into a virgin's or widow's chamber-window, I shall hardly think he then goes to administer the sacraments, or to take her confession. These are the ordinary causes of jealousy, which are intended or remitted as the circumstances vary.

MEMB. II.

Symptoms of Jealousy: Fear, Sorrow, Suspicion, strange Actions, Gestures, Outrages, Locking Up, Oaths, Trials, Laws, etc.

OF all passions, as I have already proved, love is most violent, and of those bitter potions which this love-melancholy affords, this bastard jealousy is the greatest, as appears by those prodigious symptoms which it hath, and that it produceth. For besides fear and sorrow, which is common to all melancholy, anxiety of mind, suspicion, aggravation, restless thoughts, paleness, meagreness, neglect of business, and the like, these men are farther yet misaffected, and in a higher strain. 'Tis a more vehement passion, a more furious perturbation, a bitter pain, a fire, a pernicious curiosity, a gall corrupting the honey of our life, madness, vertigo, plague, hell, they are more than ordinarily disquieted, they lose *bonum pacis* [the boon of peace], as Chrysostom observes;¹ and though they be rich, keep sumptuous tables, be nobly allied, yet *miserrimi omnium sunt*, they are most miserable, they are more than ordinarily discontent, more sad, *nihil tristius*, more than ordinarily suspicious. Jealousy, saith Vives,² "begets unquietness in the mind, night and day: he hunts after every word he hears, every whisper, and amplifies it to himself" (as all melancholy men do in other matters) "with a most unjust calumny of others; he misinterprets everything is said or done, most apt to mistake or misconster," he pries into every corner, follows close, observes to a hair. 'Tis proper to jealousy so to do,

Pale hag, infernal fury, pleasure's smart,
Envy's observer, prying in every part.

Besides those strange gestures of staring, frowning, grinning, rolling of eyes, menacing, ghastly looks, broken pace, interrupt, precipitate half-turns. He will sometimes sigh, weep, sob for anger,

Nempe suos imbres etiam ista tonitrua fundunt.

[These thunders bring their own downpours after them,]

swear and belie, slander any man, curse, threaten, brawl, scold, fight; and sometimes again flatter and speak fair, ask forgiveness, kiss and coll, condemn his rashness and folly, vow, protest, and swear he will never do so again; and then eftsoons, impatient as he is, rave, roar, and lay about him like a madman, thump

her sides, drag her about perchance, drive her out of doors, send her home, he will be divorced forthwith, she is a whore, etc.; by and by with all submiss compliment entreat her fair, and bring her in again, he loves her dearly, she is his sweet, most kind and loving wife, he will not change, nor leave her for a kingdom; so he continues off and on, as the toy takes him, the object moves him, but most part brawling, fretting, unquiet he is, accusing and suspecting not strangers only, but brothers and sisters, father and mother, nearest and dearest friends. He thinks with those Italians,

*Chi non tocca parentado,
Tocca mai e rado,*

and through fear conceives unto himself things almost incredible and impossible to be effected. As a heron when she fishes, still prying on all sides, or as a cat doth a mouse, his eye is never off hers; he gloats on him, on her, accurately observing on whom she looks, who looks at her, what she saith, doth, at dinner, at supper, sitting, walking, at home, abroad, he is the same, still inquiring, maundering, gazing, listening, affrighted with every small object; why did she smile, why did she pity him, commend him? why did she drink twice to such a man? why did she offer to kiss, to dance? etc.; a whore, a whore, an arrant whore. All this he confesseth in the poet:

*Omnia me terrent, timidus sum, ignosce timori,
Et miser in tunica suspicor esse virum.
Me lædit si multa tibi dabit oscula mater,
Me soror, et cum qua dormit amica simul.¹*

Each thing affrights me, I do fear,
Ah pardon me my fear,
I doubt a man is hid within
The clothes that thou dost wear.

Is't not a man in woman's apparel? is not somebody in that great chest, or behind the door, or hangings, or in some of those barrels? may not a man steal in at the window with a ladder of ropes, or come down the chimney, have a false key, or get in when he is asleep? If a mouse do but stir, or the wind blow, a casement clatter, that's the villain, there he is: by his good will no man shall see her, salute her, speak with her, she shall not go forth of his sight, so much as to do her needs. *Non ita bovem Argus*, etc.,² Argus did not so keep his cow, that watchful dragon the golden fleece, or Cerberus the coming in of hell, as he keeps his wife. If a dear friend or near kinsman

come as a guest to his house, to visit him, he will never let him be out of his own sight and company, lest peradventure, etc. If the necessity of his business be such that he must go from home, he doth either lock her up, or commit her with a deal of injunctions and protestations to some trusty friends, him and her he sets and bribes to oversee: one servant is set in his absence to watch another, and all to observe his wife, and yet all this will not serve; though his business be very urgent, he will when he is half-way come back again in all post-haste, rise from supper, or at midnight, and be gone, and sometimes leave his business undone, and as a stranger court his own wife in some disguised habit. Though there be no danger at all, no cause of suspicion, she live in such a place where Messalina herself could not be dishonest if she would, yet he suspects her as much as if she were in a bawdy-house, some prince's court, or in a common inn, where all comers might have free access. He calls her on a sudden all to naught, she is a strumpet, a light huswife, a bitch, an arrant whore. No persuasion, no protestation can divert this passion, nothing can ease him, secure or give him satisfaction. It is most strange to report what outrageous acts by men and women have been committed in this kind, by women especially, that will run after their husbands into all places and companies, as Jovianus Pontanus' wife did by him,¹ follow him whithersoever he went, it matters not, or upon what business, raving like Juno in the tragedy, miscalling, cursing, swearing, and mistrusting every one she sees. Gomesius in his third book of the life and deeds of Francis Ximenins, sometime Archbishop of Toledo, hath a strange story of that incredible jealousy of Joan Queen of Spain, wife to King Philip, mother of Ferdinand and Charles the Fifth, emperors: when her husband Philip, either for that he was tired with his wife's jealousy, or had some great business, went into the Low Countries, she was so impatient and melancholy upon his departure, that she would scarce eat her meat, or converse with any man; and though she were with child, the season of the year very bad, the wind against her, in all haste she would to sea after him. Neither Isabella her queen mother, the archbishop or any other friend could persuade her to the contrary, but she would after him. When she was now come into the Low Countries, and kindly entertained by her husband, she could not contain herself, "but in a rage ran upon a yellow-haired wench," with whom she suspected her husband to be naught, "cut off her hair, did beat her black and blue, and so dragged

her about.”¹ It is an ordinary thing for women in such cases to scratch the faces, slit the noses of such as they suspect; as Henry the Second’s importune Juno did by Rosamond at Woodstock: for she complains in a modern poet,² she scarce spake,

But flies with eager fury to my face,
Offering me most unwomanly disgrace.
Look how a tigress, etc.
So fell she on me in outrageous wise,
As could disdain and jealousy devise.

Or if it be so they dare not or cannot execute any such tyrannical injustice, they will miscall, rail and revile, bear them deadly hate and malice, as Tacitus observes, “The hatred of a jealous woman is inseparable against such as she suspects.”³

*Nulla vis flammæ tumidique venti
Tanta, nec teli metuenda lorti,
Quanta cum conjux viduata lædis
Ardet et odit.*⁴

Winds, weapons, flames make not such hurly-burly,
As raving women turn all topsy-turvy.

So did Agrippina by Lollia, and Calpurnia in the days of Claudius. But women are sufficiently curbed in such cases; the rage of men is more eminent, and frequently put in practice. See but with what rigour those jealous husbands tyrannize over their poor wives in Greece, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Africa, Asia, and generally over all those hot countries. *Mulieres vestræ terra vestra, arate sicut vultis*,⁵ Mahomet in his Alcoran gives this power to men: your wives are as your land, till them, use them, entreat them fair or foul, as you will yourselves. *Mecastor lege dura vivunt mulieres*⁶ [of a truth, women’s lives are governed by a hard law], they lock them still in their houses, which are so many prisons to them, will suffer nobody to come at them, or their wives to be seen abroad, *nec campos liceat lustrare patentes* [they may not stroll across the open fields]. They must not so much as look out. And if they be great persons, they have eunuchs to keep them, as the Grand Signior among the Turks, the Sophies of Persia, those Tartarian Mogors, and Kings of China. *Infantes masculos castrant innumeros ut regi serviant*, saith Riccius,⁷ “they geld innumerable infants” to this purpose; the King of China “maintains 10,000 eunuchs in his family to keep his wives.”⁸ The Xeriffs of Barbary keep their courtesans in such a strict manner, that if any man come but in sight of them he dies for it; and if they chance to see a man, and do

not instantly cry out, though from their windows, they must be put to death. The Turks have I know not how many black, deformed eunuchs (for the white serve for other ministries) to this purpose sent commonly from Egypt, deprived in their childhood of all their privities, and brought up in the seraglio at Constantinople to keep their wives; which are so penned up they may not confer with any living man, or converse with younger women, have a cucumber or carrot sent into them for their diet, but sliced, for fear, etc., and so live and are left alone to their unchaste thoughts all the days of their lives. The vulgar sort of women, if at any time they come abroad, which is very seldom, to visit one another or to go to their baths, are so covered that no man can see them, as the matrons were in old Rome, *lectica aut sella tecta vectæ* [riding in a litter or sedan-chair], so Dion¹ and Seneca record, *velatæ totæ incedunt* [they go completely veiled], which Alexander ab Alexandro relates of the Parthians, *lib. 5, cap. 24*,² which, with Andreas Tiraquellus his commentator, I rather think should be understood of Persians. I have not yet said all; they do not only lock them up, *sed et pudendis seras adhibent*: hear what Bembus relates, *lib. 6* of his Venetian History, of those inhabitants that dwell about Quiloa in Africa. *Lusitani, inquit, quorundum civitates adierunt, qui natis statim feminis naturam consuunt, quoad urinæ exitus ne impediatur, easque quum adoleverint sic consutas in matrimonium collocant, ut sponsi prima cura sit conglutinalas puellæ oras ferro interscindere.* In some parts of Greece at this day, like those old Jews, they will not believe their wives are honest, *nisi pannum menstruatam prima nocte videant*: our countryman Sandys, in his Peregrination,³ saith it is severely observed in Zacynthus, or Zante; and Leo Afer in his time at Fez, in Africa: *Non credunt virginem esse nisi videant sanguineam mappam; si non, ad parentes pudore rejicitur.* Those sheets are publicly shown by their parents, and kept as a sign of incorrupt virginity. The Jews of old examined their maids *ex tenui membrana*, called hymen, which Laurentius in his Anatomy, Columbus, *lib. 12, cap. 16*, Capivaccius, *lib. 4, cap. 11, de uteri affectibus*, Vincent. Alsarius Genuensis, *Quæsit. med. cent. 4*, Hieronymus Mercurialis, *Consult.*, Ambros. Pareus, Julius Cæsar Claudinus, *Respons. 4*, as that also *de ruptura venarum ut sanguis fluat*,⁴ copiously confute; 'tis no sufficient trial, they contend. And yet others again defend it, Gaspar Bartholinus, *Institut. Anat. lib. 1, cap. 31*, Pinæus of Paris, Albertus Magnus, *de secret. mulier. cap. 9 et 10*, etc., and think

they speak too much in favour of women. *Ludovicus Bonaciolus*,¹ lib. 2, cap. 2, *Muliebr., naturalem illam uteri labiorum constrictionem, in qua virginitatem consistere volunt, astringentibus medicinis fieri posse vindicat, et si defloratæ sint, astutæ mulieres (inquit) nos fallunt in his*.² *Idem Alsarius Crucius Genuensis iisdem fere verbis. Idem Avicenna, lib. 3, fen. 20, tract. 1, cap. 47, Rhasis, Continent. lib. 24,*³ *Rodericus a Castro, de nat. mul. lib. 1, cap. 3.* An old bawdy nurse in *Aristænetus* ⁴ (like that Spanish *Cælestina, quæ quinque mille virgines fecit mulieres, totidemque mulieres arte sua virgines* ⁵), when a fair maid of her acquaintance wept and made her moan to her, how she had been deflowered, and, now ready to be married, was afraid it would be perceived, comfortably replied, *Noli vereri, filia*, etc.: "Fear not, daughter, I'll teach thee a trick to help it." *Sed hæc extra callem* [but these matters are out of my way]. To what end are all those astrological questions, *an sit virgo, an sit casta, an sit mulier?* and such strange absurd trials in *Albertus Magnus, Bap. Porta, Mag. lib. 2, cap. 21, in Wecker, lib. 5 de secret.*, by stones, perfumes, to make them piss, and confess I know not what in their sleep; some jealous brain was the first founder of them. And to what passion may we ascribe those severe laws against jealousy (*Num. v, 14*), adulterers (*Deut. xxii, 22*), as amongst the Hebrews, amongst the Egyptians (read *Bohemus, lib. 1, cap. 5, de mor. gen.*);⁶ of the Carthaginians, *cap. 6*; of Turks, *lib. 2, cap. 11*), amongst the Athenians of old, Italians at this day, wherein they are to be severely punished, cut in pieces, burned, *vivi-comburio*, buried alive, with several expurgations, etc., are they not as so many symptoms of incredible jealousy? We may say the same of those vestal virgins that fetched water in a sieve, as *Tatia* did in Rome, *anno ab urbe condita 800*, before senators; and *Æmilia, virgo innocens*, that ran over hot irons,⁷ as *Emma*, *Edward the Confessor's* mother, did, the king himself being a spectator, with the like. We read in *Nicephorus*, that *Cunegunda*, the wife of *Henricus Bavarus*, emperor, suspected of adultery, *insimulata adulterii per ignitos vomeres illæsa transiit*, trod upon red-hot coulters, and had no harm: such another story we find in *Regino, lib. 2*; in *Aventinus* and *Sigonius*, of *Charles the Third* and his wife *Richarda, an. 887*, that was so purged with hot irons. *Pausanias* saith that he was once an eye-witness of such a miracle at *Diana's temple*, a maid without any harm at all walked upon burning coals. *Pius Secundus*,⁸ in his description of *Europe, cap. 46*, relates as much, that it was commonly practised at *Diana's temple*, for women to go

barefoot over hot coals, to try their honesties: Plinius, Solinus, and many writers, make mention of Feronia's temple,¹ and Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *lib.* 3, of Memnon's statue, which were used to this purpose, Tatiush, *lib.* 6, of Pan his cave (much like old St. Wilfrid's needle in Yorkshire²) wherein they did use to try maids, whether they were honest;³ when Leucippe went in, *suavissimus exaudiri sonus cœpit* [a wonderfully sweet sound began to make itself heard]. Austin, *de Civ. Dei, lib.* 10, *cap.* 16, relates many such examples, all which Lavater, *de spectr. part.* 1, *cap.* 19, contends to be done by the illusion of devils; though Thomas, *quæst.* 6, *de potentia*, etc., ascribes it to good angels. Some, saith Austin,⁴ compel their wives to swear they be honest, as if perjury were a lesser sin than adultery; some consult oracles, as Pheron, that blind king of Egypt.⁵ Others reward, as those old Romans used to do; if a woman were contented with one man, *corona pudicitiae donabatur*, she had a crown of chastity bestowed on her. When all this will not serve, saith Alexander Gaguinus, *cap.* 5 *descript. Muscoviæ*, the Muscovites, if they suspect their wives, will beat them till they confess, and if that will not avail, like those wild Irish, be divorced at their pleasures, or else knock them on the heads, as the old Gauls have done in former ages.⁶ Of this tyranny of jealousy read more in Parthenius, *Erot. cap.* 10; Camerarius, *cap.* 53 *Hor. subcis. et cent.* 2, *cap.* 34; Cælia's Epistles; Tho. Chaloner, *de repub. Ang. lib.* 9; Ariosto, *lib.* 31, staff 1; Felix Platerus, *Observat. lib.* 1, etc.

MEMB. III.

Prognostics of Jealousy, Despair, Madness, to make away themselves and others

THOSE which are jealous, most part, if they be not otherwise relieved, "proceed from suspicion to hatred, from hatred to frenzy, madness, injury, murder, and despair."⁷

A plague by whose most damnable effect,
Divers in deep despair to die have sought.
By which a man to madness near is brought,
As well with causeless as with just suspect.⁸

In their madness many times, saith Vives,⁹ they make away themselves and others. Which induceth Cyprian to call it

fecundam et multiplicem perniciem, fontem cladium et seminarium delictorum, a fruitful mischief, the seminary of offences, and fountain of murders. Tragical examples are too common in this kind, both new and old, in all ages, as of Cephalus and Procris,¹ Pheron of Egypt,² Tereus, Atreus, and Thyestes. Alexander Pheræus was murdered of his wife, *ob pellicatus suspicionem*, Tully saith.³ Antoninus Verus was so made away by Lucilla; Demetrius the son of Antigonus, and Nicanor, by their wives; Hercules poisoned by Deianira, Cæcinna murdered by Vespasian,⁴ Justina, a Roman lady, by her husband. Amestris, Xerxes' wife, because she found her husband's cloak in Masista his house, "cut off Masista his wife's paps, and gave them to the dogs, flayed her besides, and cut off her ears, lips, tongue, and slit the nose of Artaynta her daughter."⁵ Our late writers are full of such outrages.

Paulus Æmilius, in his History of France,⁶ hath a tragical story of Chilpericus the First his death, made away by Fredegunde his queen. In a jealous humour he came from hunting, and stole behind his wife, as she was dressing and combing her head in the sun, gave her a familiar touch with his wand, which she mistaking for her lover, said, "Ah, Landre, a good knight should strike before, and not behind": but when she saw herself betrayed by his presence, she instantly took order to make him away. Hierome Osorius, in the eleventh book of the deeds of Emanuel, King of Portugal, to this effect hath a tragical narration of one Ferdinandus Calderia, that wounded Gotherinus, a noble countryman of his, at Goa in the East Indies, "and cut off one of his legs, for that he looked, as he thought, too familiarly upon his wife, which was afterwards a cause of many quarrels and much bloodshed."⁷ Guianerius, *cap. 36 de ægritud. matr.*, speaks of a silly jealous fellow, that seeing his child new-born included in a kell, thought sure a Franciscan that used to come to his house was the father of it, it was so like the friar's cowl, and thereupon threatened the friar to kill him:⁸ Fulgosus, of a woman in Narbonne, that cut off her husband's privities in the night, because she thought he played false with her. The story of Jonuses Bassa, and fair Manto his wife, is well known to such as have read the Turkish History; and that of Joan of Spain, of which I treated in my former section. Her jealousy, saith Gomesius, was the cause of both their deaths: King Philip died for grief a little after, as Martian his physician gave it out, "and she for her part after a melancholy discontented life, mispent in lurking-holes and corners, made an end of her miseries."⁹

Felix Plater, in the first book of his *Observations*, hath many such instances, of a physician of his acquaintance, "that was first mad through jealousy, and afterwards desperate":¹ of a merchant "that killed his wife in the same humour, and after precipitated himself":² of a doctor of law that cut off his man's nose: of a painter's wife in Basil, *anno* 1600, that was mother of nine children and had been twenty-seven years married, yet afterwards jealous, and so impatient that she became desperate, and would neither eat nor drink in her own house, for fear her husband should poison her. 'Tis a common sign this; for when once the humours are stirred, and the imagination misaffected, it will vary itself in divers forms; and many such absurd symptoms will accompany, even madness itself. Sckenkius, *Observat. lib. 4, cap. de uter.* hath an example of a jealous woman that by this means had many fits of the mother: and in his first book of some that through jealousy ran mad: of a baker that gelded himself to try his wife's honesty, etc. Such examples are too common.

MEMB. IV.

SUBJECT. I.—*Cure of Jealousy: by avoiding Occasions, not to be Idle; by Good Counsel; to contain it, not to watch or lock them up; to dissemble it, etc.*

As of all other melancholy, some doubt whether this malady may be cured or no, they think 'tis like the gout,³ or Switzers, whom we commonly call Walloons, those hired soldiers, if once they take possession of a castle they can never be got out.

*Qui timet, ut sua sit, ne quis sibi subtrahat illam,
Ille Machaonia vix ope salvus erit.*

[He who is in constant fear that his wife will be filched from him can scarce be cured by any doctor.]

This is the cruel wound, against whose smart,
No liquor's force prevails, or any plaster,
No skill of stars, no depth of magic art,
Devised by that great clerk Zoroaster;
A wound that so infects the soul and heart,
As all our sense and reason it doth master;
A wound whose pang and torment is so durable,
As it may rightly called be incurable.⁴

Yet what I have formerly said of other melancholy, I will say again, it may be cured, or mitigated at least, by some contrary passion, good counsel and persuasion, if it be withstood in the beginning, maturely resisted, and as those ancients hold, "the nails of it be pared before they grow too long."¹ No better means to resist or repel it than by avoiding idleness, to be still seriously busied about some matters of importance, to drive out those vain fears, foolish fantasies, and irksome suspicions out of his head, and then to be persuaded by his judicious friends to give ear to their good counsel and advice, and wisely to consider how much he discredits himself, his friends, dishonours his children, disgraceth his family, publisheth his shame, and, as a trumpeter of his own misery, divulgeth, macerates, grieves himself and others; what an argument of weakness it is, how absurd a thing in its own nature, how ridiculous, how brutish a passion, how sottish, how odious; for as Hierome well hath it,² *Odium sui facit, et ipse novissime sibi odio est*, others hate him, and at last he hates himself for it; how hare-brain a disease, mad and furious. If he will but hear them speak, no doubt he may be cured. Joan, Queen of Spain, of whom I have formerly spoken, under pretence of changing air was sent to Complutum, or Alcala de las Henares, where Ximenius the Archbishop of Toledo then lived, that by his good counsel (as for the present she was) she might be eased.³ "For a disease of the soul, if concealed, tortures and overturns it, and by no physic can sooner be removed than by a discreet man's comfortable speeches."⁴ I will not here insert any consolatory sentences to this purpose, or forestall any man's invention, but leave it every one to dilate and amplify as he shall think fit in his own judgment: let him advise with Siracides, *cap. ix, 1*: "Be not jealous over the wife of thy bosom"; read that comfortable and pithy speech to this purpose of Ximenius, in the author himself, as it is recorded by Gomesius; consult with Chaloner, *lib. 9 de repub. Anglor.*, or Cælia in her Epistles, etc. Only this I will add, that if it be considered aright, which causeth this jealous passion, be it just or unjust, whether with or without cause, true or false, it ought not so heinously to be taken; 'tis no such real or capital matter, that it should make so deep a wound. 'Tis a blow that hurts not, an insensible smart, grounded many times upon false suspicion alone, and so fostered by a sinister conceit. If she be not dishonest, he troubles and macerates himself without a cause; or put case, which is the worst, he be a cuckold, it cannot be helped, the

more he stirs in it, the more he aggravates his own misery. How much better were it in such a case to dissemble or contemn it! why should that be feared which cannot be redressed? *Multæ tandem deposuerunt* (saith Vives¹) *quum flecti maritos non posse vident*, many women, when they see there is no remedy, have been pacified; and shall men be more jealous than women? 'Tis some comfort in such a case to have companions, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris*. Who can say he is free? Who can assure himself he is not one *de præterito* [in the past], or secure himself *de futuro* [for the future]? If it were his case alone, it were hard; but being as it is almost a common calamity, 'tis not so grievously to be taken. If a man have a lock which every man's key will open as well as his own, why should he think to keep it private to himself? In some countries they make nothing of it, *ne nobiles quidem*, saith Leo Afer,² in many parts of Africa (if she be past fourteen) there's not a nobleman that marries a maid, or that hath a chaste wife; 'tis so common; as the moon gives horns once a month to the world, do they to their husbands at least. And 'tis most part true which that Caledonian lady, Argentocoxus a British prince his wife, told Julia Augusta, which she took her up for dishonesty: "We Britons are naught at least with some few choice men of the better sort, but you Romans lie with every base knave, you are a company of common whores."³ Severus the emperor in his time made laws for the restraint of this vice;⁴ and as Dion Nicæus relates in his life, *tria millia mæchorum*, three thousand cuckold-makers, or *naturæ monetam adulterantes*, as Philo calls them, false coiners, and clippers of nature's money, were summoned into the court at once. And yet, *Non omnem molitor quæ fluit unda videt*, the miller sees not all the water that goes by his mill; no doubt but, as in our days, these were of the commonalty, all the great ones were not so much as called in question for it. Martial's epigram⁵ I suppose might have been generally applied in those licentious times: *Omnia solus habes*, etc., thy goods, lands, money, wits are thine own, *Uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo*, but, neighbour Candidus, your wife is common. Husband and cuckold in that age, it seems, were reciprocal terms; the emperors themselves did wear Actæon's badge; how many Cæsars might I reckon up together, and what a catalogue of cornuted kings and princes in every story! Agamemnon, Menelaus, Philippus of Greece, Ptolemæus of Ægypt, Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompeius, Cato, Augustus, Antonius, Antoninus, etc., that wore fair plumes

of bull's feathers in their crests. The bravest soldiers and most heroical spirits could not avoid it. They have been active and passive in this business, they have either given or taken horns. King Arthur,¹ whom we call one of the Nine Worthies, for all his great valour, was unworthily served by Mardred, one of his Round-Table knights: and Guithera, or Helena Alba, his fair wife, as Leland interprets it, was an arrant honest woman. *Parcerem libenter* (saith mine author²) *heroinarum læsæ majestati, si non historiæ veritas aurem vellicaret*, I could willingly wink at a fair lady's faults, but that I am bound by the laws of history to tell the truth: against his will, God knows, did he write it, and so do I repeat it. I speak not of our times all this while, we have good, honest, virtuous men and women, whom fame, zeal, fear of God, religion and superstition contains: and yet for all that, we have many knights of this order, so dubbed by their wives, many good women abused by dissolute husbands. In some places, and such persons, you may as soon enjoin them to carry water in a sieve as to keep themselves honest. What shall a man do now in such a case? What remedy is to be had? how shall he be eased? By suing a divorce? this is hard to be effected: *si non caste, tamen caute* [if they act not chastely, they act warily], they carry the matter so cunningly, that though it be as common as simony, as clear and as manifest as the nose in a man's face, yet it cannot be evidently proved, or they likely taken in the fact: they will have a knave Gallus to watch, or with that Roman Sulpicia,³ all made fast and sure,

*Ne se Cadurcis destitutam fasciis,
Nudam Caleno concumbentem videat.*

[Lest he should see her undressed and lying with Calenus.]

She will hardly be surprised by her husband, be he never so wary. Much better then to put it up; the more he strives in it, the more he shall divulge his own shame; make a virtue of necessity, and conceal it. Yea, but the world takes notice of it, 'tis in every man's mouth: let them talk their pleasure, of whom speak they not in this sense? From the highest to the lowest they are thus censured all; there is no remedy then but patience. It may be 'tis his own fault, and he hath no reason to complain, 'tis *quid pro quo*, she is bad, he is worse. "Bethink thyself, hast thou not done as much for some of thy neighbours? why dost thou require that of thy wife, which thou wilt not perform thyself?"⁴ Thou rangest like a town bull, "why art thou so incensed if she tread awry?"⁵

Be it that some woman break chaste wedlock's laws,
 And leaves her husband and becomes unchaste:
 Yet commonly it is not without cause,
 She sees her man in sin her goods to waste,
 She feels that he his love from her withdraws,
 And hath on some perhaps less worthy placed,
 Who strike with sword, the scabbard them may strik
 And sure love craveth love, like asketh like.¹

Ea semper studebit, saith Nevisanus,² *pares reddere vices*, she will quit it if she can. And therefore, as well adviseth Siracides, *cap. ix, 1*, "teach her not an evil lesson against thyself," which, as Jansenius, Lyranus, on this text, and Carthusianus interpret, is no otherwise to be understood than that she do thee not a mischief. I do not excuse her in accusing thee; but if both be naught, mend thyself first; for as the old saying is, A good husband makes a good wife.

Yea, but, thou repliest, 'tis not the like reason betwixt man and woman, through her fault my children are bastards, I may not endure it; *Sit amarulenta, sit imperiosa, prodiga*, etc.,³ let her scold, brawl, and spend, I care not, *modo sit casta*, so she be honest, I could easily bear it; but this I cannot, I may not, I will not; my faith, my fame, mine eye must not be touched, as the diverb is, *Non patitur tactum fama, fides, oculus*, I say the same of my wife, touch all, use all, take all but this. I acknowledge that of Seneca to be true, *Nullius boni jucunda possessio sine socio*, there is no sweet content in the possession of any good thing without a companion, this only excepted, I say, *this*. And why this? Even this which thou so much abhorrest, it may be for thy progeny's good, better be any man's son than thine,⁴ to be begot of base Irus, poor Seius, or mean Mævius, the town swineherd's, a shepherd's son: and well is he, that like Hercules he hath any two fathers; for thou thyself hast peradventure more diseases than an horse, more infirmities of body and mind, a cankered soul, crabbed conditions; make the worst of it, as it is *vulnus insanabile, sic vulnus insensibile*, as it is incurable, so it is insensible. But art thou sure it is so? *res agit ille tuas?*⁵ [does he do thy business for thee?], doth he so indeed? It may be thou art over-suspicious, and without a cause as some are: if it be *octimestris partus*, born at eight months, or like him, and him, they fondly suspect he got it; if she speak or laugh familiarly with such or such men, then presently she is naught with them; such is thy weakness: whereas charity, or a well-disposed mind, would interpret all unto the best. St. Francis, by chance seeing a friar familiarly kissing another man's

wife, was so far from misconceiving it, that he presently kneeled down and thanked God there was so much charity left: but they, on the other side, will ascribe nothing to natural causes, indulge nothing to familiarity, mutual society, friendship; but out of a sinister suspicion, presently lock them close, watch them, thinking by those means to prevent all such inconveniences, that's the way to help it; whereas by such tricks they do aggravate the mischief. 'Tis but in vain to watch that which will away.

*Nec custodiri si velit ulla potest;
Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia serves;
Omnibus exclusis, intus adulter erit.*¹

None can be kept resisting for her part;
Though body be kept close, within her heart
Advoutry lurks, t' exclude it there's no art.

Argus with an hundred eyes cannot keep her, *et hunc unus sæpe fefellit amor* [even he was frequently deceived, and by love alone], as in Ariosto:²

If all our hearts were eyes, yet sure, they said,
We husbands of our wives should be betrayed.

Hierome holds, *Uxor impudica servari non potest, pudica non debet, infida custos castitatis est necessitas*, to what end is all your custody? A dishonest woman cannot be kept, an honest woman ought not to be kept, necessity is a keeper not to be trusted. *Difficile custoditur, quod plures amant*: that which many covet, can hardly be preserved, as Sarisburiensis thinks.³ I am of Æneas Sylvius' mind, "Those jealous Italians do very ill to lock up their wives; for women are of such a disposition, they will most covet that which is denied most, and offend least when they have free liberty to trespass."⁴ It is in vain to lock her up if she be dishonest; *et tyrannicum imperium*, as our great master Aristotle calls it, too tyrannical a task, most unfit; for when she perceives her husband observes her and suspects,⁵ *liberius peccat* [she sins more freely], saith Nevisanus. *Toxica zelotypo dedit uxor mæcha marito*⁶ [the adulterous wife gave poison to her jealous husband], she is exasperated, seeks by all means to vindicate herself, and will therefore offend, because she is unjustly suspected. The best course then is to let them have their own wills, give them free liberty, without any keeping.

In vain our friends from this do us dehort,
For beauty will be where is most resort.

If she be honest as Lucretia to Collatinus, Laodamia to Protesilaus, Penelope to her Ulysses, she will so continue her honour, good name, credit: *Penelope conjux semper Ulyssis ero* [I shall always be Penelope the wife of Ulysses]; and as Phocias' wife, in Plutarch, called her husband "her wealth, treasure, world, joy, delight, orb, and sphere,"¹ she will hers. The vow she made unto her goodman, love, virtue, religion, zeal, are better keepers than all those locks, eunuchs, prisons; she will not be moved:

*At mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Aut pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam,
Ante, pudor, quam te violem, aut tua jura resolvam.*²

First I desire the earth to swallow me,
Before I violate mine honesty,
Or thunder from above drive me to hell,
With those pale ghosts and ugly night to dwell.

She is resolved with Dido to be chaste; though her husband be false, she will be true; and as Octavia writ to her Antony:

These walls that here do keep me out of sight,
Shall keep me all unspotted unto thee,
And testify that I will do thee right,
I'll never stain thine house, though thou shame me.³

Turn her loose to all those Tarquins and satyrs, she will not be tempted. In the time of Valence the emperor, saith St. Austin,⁴ one Archidamus, a consul of Antioch, offered an hundred pound of gold to a fair young wife, and besides to set her husband free, who was then *sub gravissima custodia*, a dark prisoner, *pro unius noctis concubitu* [for one night's intercourse]; but the chaste matron would not accept of it. When one commended Theano's fine arm to his fellows, she took him up short: "Sir, 'tis not common";⁵ she is wholly reserved to her husband. Bilia had an old man to her spouse, and his breath stunk, so that nobody could abide it abroad; "coming home one day he reprehended his wife, because she did not tell him of it: she vowed unto him, she had told him, but she thought every man's breath had been as strong as his."⁶ Tigranes and Armenia his lady were invited to supper by King Cyrus: when they came home, Tigranes asked his wife how she liked Cyrus, and what she did especially commend in him? "she swore she did not observe him; when he replied again, what then she did observe, whom she looked on? she made answer, her husband

that said he would die for her sake." ¹ Such are the properties and conditions of good women; and if she be well given, she will so carry herself; if otherwise she be naught, use all the means thou canst, she will be naught. *Non deest animus sed corruptor* [not the will but the seducer is lacking], she hath so many lies, excuses, as an hare hath muses, tricks, panders, bawds, shifts to deceive, 'tis to no purpose to keep her up, or to reclaim her by hard usage. Fair means peradventure may do somewhat. *Obsequio vinces aptius ipse tuo* ² [you will gain better success by giving in]. Men and women are both in a predicament in this behalf, so sooner won, and better pacified. *Duci volunt, non cogi* [they want to be led, not forced]; though she be as arrant a scold as Xantippe, as cruel as Medea, as clamorous as Hecuba, as lustful as Messalina, by such means (if at all) she may be reformed. Many patient Grizels, ³ by their obsequiousness in this kind, have reclaimed their husbands from their wandering lusts. In Nova Francia ⁴ and Turkey (as Leah, Rachel, and Sarah did to Abraham and Jacob) they bring their fairest damsels to their husbands' beds; Livia seconded the lustful appetites of Augustus; Stratonice, wife to King Deiotarus, did not only bring Electra, a fair maid, to her goodman's bed, but brought up the children begot on her, as carefully as if they had been her own. Tertius Æmilius' wife, Cornelia's mother, perceiving her husband's intemperance, *rem dissimulavit*, made much of the maid, and would take no notice of it. A new-married man, when a pickthank friend of his, to curry favour, had showed him his wife familiar in private with a young gallant, courting and dallying, etc., "Tush," said he, "let him do his worst, I dare trust my wife, though I dare not trust him." The best remedy then is by fair means; if that will not take place, to dissemble it as I say, or turn it off with a jest: hear Guevara's advice in this case, *Vel joco excipies, vel silentio eludes* [either make a jest of it, or ignore it]; for if you take exceptions at everything your wife doth, Solomon's wisdom, Hercules' valour, Homer's learning, Socrates' patience, Argus' vigilancy, will not serve turn. Therefore *minus malum*, a less mischief, Nevisanus holds, ⁵ *dissimulare* [to dissemble], to be *cunarum emptor*, ⁶ a buyer of cradles, as the proverb is, than to be too solicitous. "A good fellow, when his wife was brought to bed before her time, bought half a dozen cradles beforehand for so many children, as if his wife should continue to bear children every two months." ⁷ Pertinax the emperor, when one told him a fiddler was too familiar with his empress, made no reckoning of it. ⁸ And when that

Macedonian Philip was upbraided with his wife's dishonesty, *cum tot victor regnorum ac populorum esset*, etc., a conqueror of kingdoms could not tame his wife (for she thrust him out of doors), he made a jest of it. *Sapientes portant cornua in pectore, stulti in fronte*, saith Nevisanus, wise men bear their horns in their hearts, fools on their foreheads. Eumenes, King of Pergamus, was at deadly feud with Perseus of Macedonia, insomuch that Perseus, hearing of a journey he was to take to Delphi, set a company of soldiers to intercept him in his passage; they did it accordingly, and as they supposed, left him stoned to death. The news of this fact was brought instantly to Pergamus; Attalus, Eumenes' brother, proclaimed himself king forthwith, took possession of the crown, and married Stratonice the queen. But by and by, when contrary news was brought, that King Eumenes was alive and now coming to the city, he laid by his crown, left his wife, as a private man went to meet him and congratulate his return. Eumenes, though he knew all particulars passed, yet dissembling the matter, kindly embraced his brother, and took his wife into his favour again, as if no such matter had been heard of or done.¹ Jocundo, in Ariosto, found his wife in bed with a knave, both asleep, went his ways, and would not so much as wake them, much less reprove them for it. An honest fellow, finding in like sort his wife had played false at tables, and borne a man too many, drew his dagger, and swore if he had not been his very friend, he would have killed him. Another hearing one had done that for him which no man desires to be done by a deputy, followed in a rage with his sword drawn, and having overtaken him, laid adultery to his charge; the offender, hotly pursued, confessed it was true; with which confession he was satisfied, and so left him, swearing that if he had denied it he would not have put it up.² How much better is it to do thus than to macerate himself, impatiently to rave and rage, to enter an action (as Arnoldus Tilius did in the court of Toulouse against Martin Guerre his fellow-soldier, for that he counterfeited his habit and was too familiar with his wife), so to divulge his own shame, and to remain for ever a cuckold on record! How much better be Cornelius Tacitus than Publius Cornutus, to condemn in such cases, or take no notice of it! *Melius sic errare, quam zelotypia curis*, saith Erasmus, *se conficere* [it is better to make such a mistake than to become a prey to jealousy], better be a wittol and put it up, than to trouble himself to no purpose. And though he will not *omnibus dormire* [sleep for everyone],

be an ass, as he is an ox, yet to wink at it as many do is not amiss at some times, in some cases, to some parties, if it be for his commodity, or some great man's sake, his landlord, patron, benefactor (as Galba the Roman, saith Plutarch,¹ did by Mæcenas, and Phayllus of Argos did by King Philip, when he promised him an office on that condition he might lie with his wife), and so let it pass:

*Pol me haud pœnitet,
Scilicet boni dimidium dividere cum Jove,*²

"It never troubles me" (said Amphitryo) "to be cornuted by Jupiter"; let it not molest thee then; be friends with her;

*Tu cum Alcmena uxore antiquam in gratiam
Redi;*³

[Receive Alcmena to your grace again;]

let it, I say, make no breach of love between you. Howsoever, the best way is to contemn it, which Henry II, King of France, advised a courtier of his, jealous of his wife and complaining of her unchasteness, to reject it, and comfort himself;⁴ for he that suspects his wife's incontinency, and fears the Pope's curse, shall never live a merry hour or sleep a quiet night: no remedy but patience. When all is done, according to that counsel of Nevisanus,⁵ *si vitium uxoris corrigi non potest, ferendum est*: if it may not be helped, it must be endured. *Date veniam et sustinete taciti* [pardon and say nothing], 'tis Sophocles' advice, keep it to thyself, and (which Chrysostom calls *palæstram philosophiæ et domesticum gymnasium*, a school of philosophy), put it up. There is no other cure but time to wear it out, *injuriarum remedium est oblivio* [forgetfulness is the cure of wrongs], as if they had drunk a draught of Lethe in Trophonius' den. To conclude, age will bereave her of it, *dies dolorem minuit*, time and patience must end it.

The mind's affections patience will appease,
It passions kills, and healeth each disease.⁶

SUBJECT. II.—*By prevention before or after Marriage, Plato's Community, marry a Courtesan, Philters, Stews, to marry one equal in years, fortunes, of a good family, education, good place, to use them well, etc.*

Of such medicines as conduce to the cure of this malady I have sufficiently treated; there be some good remedies remaining, by way of prevention, precautions, or admonitions,

which, if rightly practised, may do much good. Plato, in his Commonwealth, to prevent this mischief belike, would have all things common, wives and children, all as one: and which Cæsar in his Commentaries observed of those old Britons that first inhabited this land, they had ten or twelve wives allotted to such a family, or promiscuously to be used by so many men; not one to one, as with us, or four, five, or six to one, as in Turkey. The Nicholaites, a sect that sprung, saith Austin,¹ from Nicholas the Deacon, would have women indifferent; and the cause of this filthy sect was Nicholas the Deacon's jealousy, for which when he was condemned, to purge himself of his offence he broached his heresy that it was lawful to lie with one another's wives, and for any man to lie with his: like to those Anabaptists in Munster,² that would consort with other men's wives as the spirit moved them: or as Mahomet,³ the seducing prophet, would needs use women as he list himself, to beget prophets; two hundred and five, their Alcoran saith, were in love with him, and he as able as forty men.⁴ Amongst the old Carthaginians, as Bohemus relates out of Sabellicus,⁵ the king of the country lay with the bride the first night, and once in a year they went promiscuously all together. Munster, *Cosmog. lib. 3, cap. 497*, ascribes the beginning of this brutish custom (unjustly) to one Picardus, a Frenchman, that invented a new sect of Adamites, to go naked as Adam did, and to use promiscuous venery at set times. When the priest repeated that of Genesis, "Increase and multiply," out went the candles in the place where they met, "and without all respect of age, persons, conditions, catch that catch may, every man took her that came next,"⁶ etc.; some fasten this on those ancient Bohemians and Russians: others on the inhabitants of Mambrium, in the Lucerne valley in Piedmont;⁷ and, as I read, it was practised in Scotland amongst Christians themselves, until King Malcolm's time, the king or the lord of the town had their maidenheads. In some parts of India in our age,⁸ and those Icelanders,⁹ as amongst the Babylonians of old,¹⁰ they will prostitute their wives and daughters (which Chalcocondylas, a Greek modern writer, for want of better intelligence, puts upon us Britons) to such travellers or seafaring men as come amongst them by chance, to show how far they were from this feral vice of jealousy, and how little they esteemed it. The kings of Calicut, as Lod. Vertomannus relates,¹¹ will not touch their wives, till one of their Biarmi or high priests have lain first with them, to sanctify their wombs. But those Essæi¹² and Montanists, two

strange sects of old, were in another extreme, they would not marry at all, or have any society with women, "because of their intemperance they held them all to be naught."¹ Nevisanus the lawyer, *lib. 4, num. 33, Sylv. nupt.*, would have him that is inclined to this malady, to prevent the worst, marry a quean; *Capiens meretricem, hoc habet saltem boni quod non decipitur, quia scit eam sic esse, quod non contingit aliis* [the advantage is that at least he is not deceived, because he knows what she is; which cannot be said of others]. A fornicator in Seneca constuprated two wenches in a night; for satisfaction, the one desired to hang him, the other to marry him. Hieronymus, King of Syracuse in Sicily, espoused himself to Pitho, keeper of the stews; and Ptolemy took Thais, a common whore, to be his wife, had two sons, Leontiscus and Lagus, by her, and one daughter Irene:² 'tis therefore no such unlikely thing. A citizen of Eugubine gelded himself to try his wife's honesty, and to be freed from jealousy;³ so did a baker in Basil, to the same intent.⁴ But of all other precedents in this kind, that of Combabus⁵ is most memorable; who to prevent his master's suspicion, for he was a beautiful young man, and sent by Seleucus his lord and king, with Stratonice the queen to conduct her into Syria, fearing the worst, gelded himself before he went, and left his genitals behind him in a box sealed up. His mistress by the way fell in love with him, but he, not yielding to her, was accused to Seleucus of incontineny (as that Bellerophon was in like case falsely traduced by Sthenobœa, to King Prætus her husband, *cum non posset ad coitum inducere*), and that by her, and was therefore at his coming home cast into prison: the day of hearing appointed, he was sufficiently cleared and acquitted, by showing his privities, which to the admiration of the beholders he had formerly cut off. The Lydians used to geld women whom they suspected, saith Leonicus, *Var. hist. lib. 3, cap. 49*, as well as men. To this purpose Saint Francis, because he used to confess women in private, to prevent suspicion, and prove himself a maid, stripped himself before the Bishop of Assisi and others:⁶ and Friar Leonard for the same cause went through Viterbium in Italy without any garments.

Our pseudo-Catholics, to help these inconveniences which proceed from jealousy, to keep themselves and their wives honest, make severe laws against adultery, present death; and withal [for] fornication, a venial sin, as a sink to convey that furious and swift stream of concupiscence, they appoint and

permit stews, those punks and pleasant sinners, the more to secure their wives in all populous cities, for they hold them as necessary as churches; and howsoever unlawful, yet to avoid a greater mischief to be tolerated in policy, as usury, for the hardness of men's hearts; and for this end they have whole colleges of courtesans in their towns and cities. Of Cato's mind belike,¹ that would have his servants (*cum ancillis congredi coitus causa, definito ære, ut graviora facinora evitarent, cæteris interim interdicens*) familiar with some such feminine creatures, to avoid worse mischiefs in his house, and made allowance for it. They hold it impossible for idle persons, young, rich, and lusty, so many servants, monks, friars, to live honest, too tyrannical a burden to compel them to be chaste, and most unfit to suffer poor men, younger brothers, and soldiers at all to marry, as those diseased persons, votaries, priests, servants. Therefore, as well to keep and ease the one as the other, they tolerate and wink at these kind of brothel-houses and stews. Many probable arguments they have to prove the lawfulness, the necessity, and a toleration of them, as of usury; and without question in policy they are not to be contradicted: but altogether in religion. Others prescribe philters, spells, charms to keep men and women honest. *Mulier ut alienum virum non admittat præter suum: Accipe fel hirci, et adipem, et exsicca, calescat in oleo, etc., et non alium præter te amabit.*² In *Alexi, Porta, etc., plura invenies, et multo his absurdiora, uti et in Rhasi, ne mulier virum admittat, et maritum solum diligit, etc.* But these are most part pagan, impious, irreligious, absurd, and ridiculous devices.

The best means to avoid these and like inconveniences are to take away the causes and occasions. To this purpose Varro writ *Satiram Menippeam*,³ but it is lost. Patricius⁴ prescribes four rules to be observed in choosing of a wife (which whoso will may read); Fonseca the Spaniard, in his 45th *cap. Amphitheat. Amoris*, sets down six special cautions for men, four for women; Sam. Neander, out of Schonbernerus, five for men, five for women; Anthony Guevara many good lessons; Cleobulus two alone,⁵ others otherwise; as first to make a good choice in marriage, to invite Christ to their wedding, and which St. Ambrose adviseth,⁶ *Deum conjugii præsidem habere* [to let God preside over the wedding], and to pray to Him for her (*A Domino enim datur uxor prudens* [a prudent wife is the gift of God], Prov. xix), not to be too rash and precipitate in his election, to run upon the first he meets, or dote on every stout fair piece he sees, but to choose her as much by his ears as

eyes, to be well advised whom he takes, of what age, etc., and cautious in his proceedings. An old man should not marry a young woman, nor a young woman an old man:

*Quam male inæquales veniunt ad aratra iuveni!*¹

[How ill come ill-matched oxen to the plough!]

such matches must needs minister a perpetual cause of suspicion, and be distasteful to each other.

*Noctua ut in tumulis, super atque cadavera bubo,
Talis apud Sophoclem nostra puella sedet.*²

Night-crows on tombs, owl sits on carcass dead,
So lies a wench with Sophocles in bed.

For Sophocles, as Athenæus³ describes him, was a very old man, as cold as January, a bed-fellow of bones, and doted yet upon Archippe, a young courtesan, than which nothing can be more odious. *Senex maritus uxori juveni ingratus est*,⁴ an old man is a most unwelcome guest to a young wench, unable, unfit:

*Amplexus suos fugiunt puellæ,
Omnis horret Amor Venusque Hymenque.*⁵

[Maidens shun his embraces; Cupid, Venus, and Hymen
all shudder at him]

And as in like case a good fellow that had but a peck of corn weekly to grind, yet would needs build a new mill for it, found his error eftsoons, for either he must let his mill lie waste, pull it quite down, or let others grind at it: so these men, etc.

Seneca therefore disallows all such unseasonable matches, *habent enim maledicti locum crebræ nuptiæ* [frequent weddings bring ill-repute]. And as Tully farther inveighs,⁶ "'tis unfit for any, but ugly and filthy in old age." *Turpe senilis amor* [an old man's love is vile], one of the three things God hateth.⁷ Plutarch, in his book *contra Coloten*, rails downright at such kind of marriages, which are attempted by old men, *qui jam corpore impotenti, et a voluptatibus deserti, peccant animo* [who, being impotent in body and past pleasure, yet sin in their minds], and makes a question whether in some cases it be tolerable at least for such a man to marry, *qui Venerem affectat sine viribus*, that is now past those venereous exercises, "as a gelded man lies with a virgin and sighs" (Ecclus. xxx, 20), and now complains with him in Petronius, *Funerata est hæc pars jam, quæ fuit olim Achillea* [this part is dead and buried which was once Achillean], he is quite done:

*Vixit puellæ nuper idoneus,
Et militavit non sine gloria.¹*

[He has had his day with the girls, and served with some credit in the field of love.]

But the question is whether he may delight himself as those priapean popes, which, in their decrepit age, lay commonly between two wenches every night, *contactu formosarum et contrectatione, num adhuc gaudeat*; and as many doting sires do to their own shame, their children's undoing, and their families' confusion: he abhors it, *tanquam ab agresti et furioso domino fugiendum*, it must be avoided as a bedlam-master, and not obeyed.

Alecto
Ipsa facies præfert nubentibus, et malus Hymen
Triste ululat,

[Alecto herself holds the torch at the nuptials, and ill-boding Hymen makes sad wail,]

the devil himself makes such matches. Levinus Lemnius² reckons up three things which generally disturb the peace of marriage: the first is when they marry *intempestive* or unseasonably, "as many mortal men marry precipitately and inconsiderately when they are effete and old; the second, when they marry unequally for fortunes and birth; the third, when a sick impotent person weds one that is sound"; *novæ nuptiæ spes frustratur* [the hope of the bride is cheated]: many dislikes instantly follow. Many doting dizzards, it may not be denied, as Plutarch confesseth, "recreate themselves with such obsolete, unseasonable, and filthy remedies" (so he calls them), "with a remembrance of their former pleasures; against nature they stir up their dead flesh";³ but an old lecher is abominable; *mulier tertio nubens*, Nevisanus holds,⁴ *præsumitur lubrica et inconstans*, a woman that marries a third time may be presumed to be no honester than she should. Of them both, thus Ambrose concludes in his Comment upon Luke: "They that are coupled together, not to get children, but to satisfy their lust, are not husbands, but fornicators";⁵ with whom St. Austin consents: matrimony without hope of children, *non matrimonium, sed concubium dici debet*, is not a wedding but a jumbling or coupling together. In a word, except they wed for mutual society, help and comfort one of another, in which respects, though Tiberius deny it,⁶ without question old folks may well marry, for sometimes a man hath most need of a wife, according to Puccius,

when he hath no need of a wife; otherwise it is most odious, when an old Acherontic dizzard, that hath one foot in his grave, a *silicernium* [funeral feast], shall flicker after a young wench that is blithe and bonny,

*salaciorque
Verno passere, et albulis columbis.*¹

[And more lustful than the sparrow in spring or the snow-white doves.]

What can be more detestable?

*Tu cano capite amas, senex nequissime?
Jam plenus ætatis, animaque fœtida,
Senex hircosus, tu osculare mulierem?
Utine adiens vomitum potius excutias.*²

Thou old goat, hoary lecher, naughty man,
With stinking breath, art thou in love?
Must thou be slavering? she spews to see
Thy filthy face, it doth so move.

Yet, as some will, it is much more tolerable for an old man to marry a young woman (Our Lady's match they call it), for *cras erit mulier* [she will soon be middle-aged], as he said in Tully. Cato the Roman, Critobulus in Xenophon,³ Traquellus of late,⁴ Julius Scaliger, etc., and many famous precedents we have in that kind; but not *e contra* [of the opposite kind]: 'tis not held fit for an ancient woman to match with a young man. For as Varro will, *Anus dum ludit morti delicias facit* [when an old woman disports herself, she makes Death merry], 'tis Charon's match between Cascus and Casca,⁵ and the devil himself is surely well pleased with it. And therefore, as the poet inveighs,⁶ thou old Vetustilla, bed-ridden quean, that art now skin and bones,

*Cui tres capilli, quatuorque sunt dentes,
Pectus cicadæ, crusculumque formicæ,
Rugosiorum quæ geris stola frontem,
Et araneum cassibus pares mammas.*

That hast three hairs, four teeth, a breast
Like grasshopper, an emmet's crest,
A skin more rugged than thy coat,
And dugs like spider's web to boot.

Must thou marry a youth again? And yet *ducentas ire nuptum post mortes amant* [they want to marry again after burying a hundred husbands]: howsoever it is, as Apuleius⁷ gives out of his Meroe, *congressus annosus, pestilens, abhorrendus*, a pestilent

match, abominable, and not to be endured. In such case how can they otherwise choose but be jealous? how should they agree one with another? This inequality is not in years only, but in birth, fortunes, conditions, and all good qualities:

*Si qua voles apte nubere, nube pari.*¹

[If you want a suitable match, marry one of your own station.]

'Tis my counsel, saith Anthony Guevara, to choose such a one. *Civis civem ducat, nobilis nobilem*, let a citizen match with a citizen, a gentleman with a gentlewoman; he that observes not this precept (saith he) *non generum sed malum genium, non nurum sed furiam, non vitæ comitem, sed litis fomitem domi habebit*, instead of a fair wife shall have a fury, for a fit son-in-law a mere fiend, etc. Examples are too frequent.

Another main caution fit to be observed is this, that though they be equal in years, birth, fortunes, and other conditions, yet they do not omit virtue and good education, which Musonius and Antipater so much inculcate in Stobæus.

*Dos est magna parentum
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas.*

[The best dowry is a good parentage, and firm chastity that fears a stranger's touch.]

If, as Plutarch adviseth, one must eat *modium salis*, a bushel of salt with him, before he choose his friend, what care should be had in choosing a wife, his second self, how solicitous should he be to know her qualities and behaviour! and when he is assured of them, not to prefer birth, fortune, beauty, before bringing up, and good conditions. Cocuage, god of cuckolds, as one merrily said,² accompanies the goddess Jealousy, both follow the fairest, by Jupiter's appointment, and they sacrifice to them together: beauty and honesty seldom agree; straight personages have often crooked manners; fair faces, foul vices; good complexions, ill conditions. *Suspicionis plena res est, et insidiarum*, beauty (saith Chrysostom³) is full of treachery and suspicion: he that hath a fair wife cannot have a worse mischief, and yet most covet it, as if nothing else in marriage but that and wealth were to be respected. Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, was so curious in this behalf, that he would not marry the Duke of Mantua's daughter, except he might see her naked first:⁴ which Lycurgus appointed in his laws, and Morus in his Utopian commonwealth approves. In Italy, as a traveller

observes,¹ if a man have three or four daughters, or more, and they prove fair, they are married eftsoons: if deformed, they change their lovely names of Lucia, Cynthia, Camæna, call them Dorothy, Ursula, Bridget, and so put them into monasteries, as if none were fit for marriage, but such as are eminently fair: but these are erroneous tenents: a modest virgin, well conditioned, to such a fair stout piece is much to be preferred. If thou wilt avoid them, take away all causes of suspicion and jealousy, marry a coarse piece, fetch her from Cassandra's temple,² which was wont in Italy to be a sanctuary of all deformed maids, and so thou shalt be sure that no man will make thee cuckold, but for spite. A citizen of Byzance in Thrace had a filthy, dowdy, deformed slut to his wife, and finding her in bed with another man, cried out as one amazed: *O miser! quæ te necessitas huc adexit?* "O thou wretch, what necessity brought thee hither?" as well he might; for who can affect such a one? But this is warily to be understood, most offend in another extreme, they prefer wealth before beauty, and so she be rich, they care not how she look; but these are all out as faulty as the rest. *Attendenda uxoris forma*, as Sarisburiensis adviseth,³ *ne si alteram aspexeris, mox eam sordere putes* [pay heed to your wife's appearance, lest on seeing some other woman you should find her distasteful], as the knight in Chaucer that was married to an old woman,

And all day after hid him as an owl,
So woe was him his wife looked so foul.

Have a care of thy wife's complexion, lest whilst thou seest another, thou loathest her, she prove jealous, thou naught:

*Si tibi deformis conjux, si serva venusta,
Ne utaris serva.*

[If you have an ugly wife and a handsome maid, abstain from the maid]

I can perhaps give instance. *Molestum est possidere, quod nemo habere dignetur*, [it is] a misery to possess that which no man likes: on the other side, *difficile custoditur quod plures amant* [it is difficult to keep that which many covet]. And as the bragging soldier vaunted in the comedy, *nimia est miseria pulchrum esse hominem nimis* [it is a great misery to be so very handsome]. Scipio did never so hardly besiege Carthage as these young gallants will beset thine house, one with wit or person, another with wealth, etc. If she be fair, saith Guazzo, she will be suspected howsoever. Both extremes are naught, *pulchra cito*

adamatur, fæda facile concupiscit, the one is soon beloved, the other loves; one is hardly kept, because proud and arrogant, the other not worth keeping; what is to be done in this case? Ennius, in *Menelippe*, adviseth thee as a friend to take *statam formam, si vis habere incolumem pudicitiam*, one of a middle size, neither too fair, nor too foul:

*Nec formosa magis quam mihi casta placet;*¹

[Beauty pleases me not more than chastity;]

with old Cato, though fit, let her beauty be *neque lectissima, neque illiberalis* [neither too exquisite, nor without charm], between both. This I approve; but of the other two I resolve with *Sarisburiensis, cæteris paribus*, both rich alike, endowed alike, *majori miseria deformis habetur quam formosa servatur*, I had rather marry a fair one, and put it to the hazard, than be troubled with a blowze; but do thou as thou wilt, I speak only of myself.

Howsoever, *quod iterum moneo*, I would advise thee this much, be she fair or foul, to choose a wife out of a good kindred, parentage, well brought up, in an honest place.

*Primum animo tibi proponas quo sanguine creta,
Qua forma, qua ætate, quibusque ante omnia virgo
Moribus, in junctos veniat nova nupta penates.*²

[Consider first whence she springs, what is her appearance, her age, above all her character.]

He that marries a wife out of a suspected inn or alehouse, buys a horse in Smithfield, and hires a servant in Paul's, as the proverb is, shall likely have a jade to his horse, a knave for his man, an arrant honest woman to his wife. *Filia præsumitur esse matri similis* [the daughter is presumed to be like her mother], saith Nevisanus,³ "such a mother, such a daughter";⁴ *mali corvi malum ovum* [like crow, like egg], cat to her kind.

*Scilicet exspectas ut tradat mater honestos
Atque alios mores quam quos habet?*⁵

[Do you really think that the mother can transmit a good character which she has not herself?]

If the mother be dishonest, in all likelihood the daughter will *matrizare*, take after her in all good qualities,

*Creden' Pasiphæ non tauripotentem futuram
Tæuripetam?*

If the dam trot, the foal will not amble. My last caution is, that a woman do not bestow herself upon a fool, or an apparent

melancholy person; jealousy is a symptom of that disease, and fools have no moderation. Justina, a Roman lady, was much persecuted, and after made away by her jealous husband, she caused and enjoined this epitaph, as a caveat to others, to be engraven on her tomb:

*Discite ab exemplo Justinæ, discite patres,
Ne nubat fatuo filia vestra viro, etc.*¹

Learn parents all, and by Justina's case,
Your children to no dizzards for to place.

After marriage, I can give no better admonitions than to use their wives well, and which a friend of mine told me that was a married man, I will tell you as good cheap, saith Nicostratus in Stobæus:² to avoid future strife, and for quietness' sake, "when you are in bed, take heed of your wife's flattering speeches overnight, and certain sermons in the morning." Let them do their endeavour likewise to maintain them to their means, which Patricius ingeminates,³ and let them have liberty with discretion, as time and place requires: many women turn queans by compulsion, as Nevisanus observes,⁴ because their husbands are so hard, and keep them so short in diet and apparel, *paupertas cogit eas meretricari*, poverty and hunger, want of means, makes them dishonest, or bad usage; their churlish behaviour forceth them to fly out, or bad examples, they do it to cry quittance. In the other extreme some are too liberal, as the proverb is, *Turdus malum sibi cacat*, they make a rod for their own tails, as Candaules did to Gyges in Herodotus,⁵ commend his wife's beauty himself, and besides would needs have him see her naked. Whilst they give their wives too much liberty to gad abroad, and bountiful allowance, they are accessory to their own miseries; *animæ uxorum pessime olent*, as Plautus jibes, they have deformed souls, and by their painting and colours procure *odium mariti*, their husband's hate, especially *cum miseri viscantur labra mariti*⁶ [when they make their poor husband's lips sticky]. Besides, their wives (as Basil notes⁷) *impudenter se exponunt masculorum aspectibus, jactantes tunicas, et coram tripudiantes*, impudently thrust themselves into other men's companies, and by their indecent wanton carriage provoke and tempt the spectators. Virtuous women should keep house; and 'twas well performed and ordered by the Greeks,

*Mulier ne qua in publicum
Spectandam se sine arbitro præbeat viro;*

[That a woman should not show herself in public
unaccompanied by her husband;]

which made Phidias belike at Elis paint Venus treading on a tortoise, a symbol of women's silence and housekeeping. For a woman abroad and alone is like a deer broke out of a park, *quam mille venatores insequuntur*, whom every hunter follows; and besides in such places she cannot so well vindicate herself, but as that virgin Dinah (Gen. xxxiv, 2), "going for to see the daughters of the land," lost her virginity, she may be defiled and overtaken of a sudden.

Imbelles damæ quid nisi præda sumus?

[We helpless deer are only to be hunted.]

And therefore I know not what philosopher he was, that would have women come but thrice abroad all their time, "to be baptized, married, and buried";¹ but he was too strait-laced. Let them have their liberty in good sort, and go in good sort, *modo non annos viginti ætatis suæ domi relinquunt*, as a good fellow said, so that they look not twenty years younger abroad than they do at home, they be not spruce, neat, angels abroad, beasts, dowdies, sluts at home; but seek by all means to please and give content to their husbands: to be quiet above all things, obedient, silent and patient; if they be incensed, angry, chide a little, their wives must not cample again,² but take it in good part. An honest woman, I cannot now tell where she dwelt, but by report an honest woman she was, hearing one of her gossips by chance complain of her husband's impatience, told her an excellent remedy for it, and gave her withal a glass of water, which when he brawled she should hold still in her mouth, and that *toties quoties*, as often as he chid; she did so two or three times with good success, and at length seeing her neighbour, gave her great thanks for it, and would needs know the ingredients, she told her in brief what it was, "fair water," and no more: for it was not the water, but her silence which performed the cure.³ Let every froward woman imitate this example, and be quiet within doors, and (as M. Aurelius prescribes⁴) a necessary caution it is to be observed of all good matrons that love their credits, to come little abroad, but follow their work at home, look to their household affairs and private business, *æconomia incumbentes*, be sober, thrifty, wary, circumspect, modest, and compose themselves to live to their husbands' means, as a good housewife should do,

*Quæ studiis gavisæ coli, partita labores
Fallet opus cantu, formæ assimilata corona*

*Cura puellaris, circum fusosque rotasque
Cum volvet, etc.*¹

[Who delights in the' about of the distaff, beguiling her work with song, her maids working in a ring round her, as she turns the wheel and the spindle.]

Howsoever 'tis good to keep them private, not in prison:

*Quisquis custodit uxorem vectibus et seris,
Etsi sibi sapiens, stultus est, et nihil sapit.*²

[Whoso guards a wife with bolts and bars may think himself clever, but is really a fool.]

Read more of this subject, *Horol. princ. lib. 2, per totum*; Arnisæus, *Polit.*; Cyprian; Tertullian; Bossus, *de mulier apparat.*; Godefridus, *de amor. lib. 2, cap. 4*; Levinus Lemnius, *cap. 54, de institut. Christ.*; Barbarus, *de re uxor. lib. 2, cap. 2*; Franciscus Patricius, *de institut. reipub. lib. 4, tit. 4 et 5, de officio mariti et uxoris*; Christ. Fonseca, *Amphitheat. Amor. cap. 45*; Sam. Neander, etc.

These cautions concern him; and if by those or his own discretion otherwise he cannot moderate himself, his friends must not be wanting by their wisdom, if it be possible, to give the party grieved satisfaction, to prevent and remove the occasions, objects, if it may be to secure him. If it be one alone, or many, to consider whom he suspects or at what times, in what place he is most incensed, in what companies. Nevisanus³ makes a question whether a young physician ought to be admitted in cases of sickness, into a new-married man's house, to administer a julep, a syrup, or some such physic. The Persians of old would not suffer a young physician to come amongst women. Apollonides Cous made Artaxerxes cuckold, and was after buried alive for it.⁴ A gaoler in Aristænetus had a fine young gentleman to his prisoner; in commiseration of his youth and person he let him loose, to enjoy the liberty of the prison, but he unkindly made him a cornuto.⁵ Menelaus gave good welcome to Paris a stranger, his whole house and family were at his command, but he ungently stole away his best-beloved wife. The like measure was offered to Agis, King of Lacedæmon, by Alcibiades⁶ an exile, for his good entertainment; he was too familiar with Timæa his wife, begetting a child of her, called Leotychides, and bragging moreover, when he came home to Athens, that he had a son should be king of the Lacedæmonians. If such objects were removed, no doubt but the parties might easily be satisfied, or that they could use

them gently and entreat them well, not to revile them, scoff at, hate them, as in such cases commonly they do; 'tis an human infirmity, a miserable vexation, and they should not add grief to grief, nor aggravate their misery, but seek to please. and by all means give them content, by good counsel, removing such offensive objects, or by mediation of some discreet friends. In old Rome there was a temple erected by the matrons to that *Viriplaca Dea*¹ [husband-placating goddess], another to *Venus Verticordia*, *quæ maritos uxoribus reddebat benevolos* [Venus the Turner of Hearts, who makes husbands well disposed to their wives], whither (if any difference happened between man and wife) they did instantly resort: there they did offer sacrifice, a white hart, Plutarch records, *sine felle*, without the gall (some say the like of Juno's temple), and make their prayers for conjugal peace: before some indifferent arbitrators and friends, the matter was heard between man and wife, and commonly composed.² In our times we want no sacred churches or good men to end such controversies, if use were made of them. Some say that precious stone called beryllus,³ others a diamond, hath excellent virtue, *contra hostium injurias, et conjugatos invicem conciliare*, to reconcile men and wives, to maintain unity and love; you may try this when you will, and as you see cause. If none of all these means and cautions will take place, I know not what remedy to prescribe, or whither such persons may go for ease, except they can get into the same Turkey paradise,⁴ "where they shall have as many fair wives as they will themselves, with clear eyes, and such as look on none but their own husbands," no fear, no danger of being cuckolds; or else I would have them observe that strict rule of Alphonsus, to marry a deaf and dumb man to a blind woman.⁵ If this will not help, let them, to prevent the worst, consult with an astrologer,⁶ and see whether the significators in her horoscope agree with his, that they be not *in signis et partibus odiose intuentibus aut imperantibus, sed mutuo et amice antisciiis et obedientibus* [in signs and quarters of hostile aspect and command, but in such as are friendly and mutually obliging], otherwise (as they hold) there will be intolerable enmities between them: or else get him *sigillum Veneris*, a characteristical seal stamped in the day and hour of Venus, when she is fortunate, with such and such set words and charms, which Villanovanus and Leo Suavius prescribe, *ex sigillis magicis Salomonis, Hermetis, Raguelis*, etc., with many such, which Alexis, Albertus, and some of our natural magicians put upon us: *Ut mulier cum aliquo adulterare*

non possit, incide de capillis ejus, etc. [to prevent a woman committing adultery, cut from her hair, etc.], and he shall surely be gracious in all women's eyes, and never suspect or disagree with his own wife so long as he wears it. If this course be not approved, and other remedies may not be had, they must in the last place sue for a divorce; but that is somewhat difficult to effect, and not all out so fit. For as Felisacus in his tract *de justa uxore* urgeth, if that law of Constantine the Great, or that of Theodosius and Valentinian, concerning divorce, were in use in our times, *innumeras propemodum viduas haberemus, et cælibes viros*, we should have almost no married couples left. Try therefore those former remedies; or, as Tertullian¹ reports of Democritus, that put out his eyes because he could not look upon a woman without lust, and was much troubled to see that which he might not enjoy, let him make himself blind, and so he shall avoid that care and molestation of watching his wife. One other sovereign remedy I could repeat, an especial antidote against jealousy, an excellent cure, but I am not now disposed to tell it, not that like a covetous empiric I conceal it for any gain, but some other reasons, I am not willing to publish it; if you be very desirous to know it, when I meet you next I will peradventure tell you what it is in your ear. This is the best counsel I can give; which he that hath need of, as occasion serves, may apply unto himself. In the meantime, *Di talem terris avertite pestem* [ye gods, avert such a plague from the earth], as the proverb is; from heresy, jealousy and frenzy, good Lord, deliver us.

SECT IV. MEMB. I.

SUBJECT. I.—*Religious Melancholy. Its Object God; what His Beauty is; how it allureth. The Parts and Parties affected*

THAT there is such a distinct species of love-melancholy, no man hath ever yet doubted; but whether this subdivision of Religious Melancholy² be warrantable, it may be controverted.

*Pergite Pierides, medio nec calle vagantem
Linquite me, qua nulla pedum vestigia ducunt,
Nulla rotæ currus testantur signa priores.*³

[Onward, ye Muses, nor forsake me in the midst of my journey where no footsteps guide me, no forerunner hath left trace of carriage-wheel.]

I have no pattern to follow as in some of the rest, no man to imitate. No physician hath as yet distinctly written of it as

of the other; all acknowledge it a most notable symptom, some a cause, but few a species or kind. Aretæus,¹ Alexander, Rhasis, Avicenna, and most of our late writers, as Gordonius, Fuchsius, Plater, Bruel, Montaltus, etc., repeat it as a symptom. "Some seem to be inspired of the Holy Ghost, some take upon them to be prophets,² some are addicted to new opinions, some foretell strange things *de statu mundi et Antichristi*," saith Gordonius. Some will prophesy of the end of the world to a day almost, and the fall of the Antichrist, as they have been addicted or brought up; for so melancholy works with them, as Laurentius holds.³ If they have been precisely given, all their meditations tend that way, and in conclusion produce strange effects; the humour imprints symptoms according to their several inclinations and conditions, which makes Guianerius⁴ and Felix Plater⁵ put too much devotion, blind zeal, fear of eternal punishment and that last judgment for a cause of those enthusiasts and desperate persons; but some do not obscurely make a distinct species of it, dividing love-melancholy into that whose object is women, and into the other whose object is God. Plato, in *Convivio*, makes mention of two distinct furies; and amongst our neoterics, Hercules de Saxonia, *lib. 1 Pract. med. cap. 16, cap. de melanch.*, doth expressly treat of it in a distinct species. "Love-melancholy" (saith he) "is twofold: the first is that (to which peradventure some will not vouchsafe this name or species of melancholy) affection of those which put God for their object, and are altogether about prayer, fasting, etc.; the other about women."⁶ Peter Forestus in his Observations delivereth as much in the same words: and Felix Platerus, *de mentis alienat. cap. 3, Frequentissima est ejus species, in qua curanda sæpissime multum fui impeditus*; 'tis a frequent disease; and they have a ground of what they say, forth of Aretæus and Plato. Aretæus, an old author, in his third book, *cap. 6*, doth so divide love-melancholy, and derives this second from the first, which comes by inspiration or otherwise.⁷ Plato in his *Phædrus* hath these words: "Apollo's priests in Delphi, and at Dodona, in their fury do many pretty feats, and benefit the Greeks, but never in their right wits."⁸ He makes them all mad, as well he might; and he that shall but consider that superstition of old, those prodigious effects of it (as in its place I will show the several furies of our *fatidici dii* [prophetic gods], pythonissas, sibyls, enthusiasts, pseudoprophets, heretics, and schismatics in these our latter ages), shall instantly confess, that all the world again cannot afford so much matter of madness, so many stupid

symptoms, as superstition, heresy, schism hath brought out: that this species alone may be paralleled to all the former, hath a greater latitude and more miraculous effects; that it more besots and infatuates men than any other above named whatsoever, doth more harm, works more disquietness to mankind, and hath more crucified the souls of mortal men (such hath been the devil's craft) than wars, plagues, sicknesses, dearth, famine, and all the rest.

Give me but a little leave, and I will set before your eyes in brief a stupend, vast, infinite ocean of incredible madness and folly: a sea full of shelves and rocks, sands, gulfs, euripes and contrary tides, full of fearful monsters, uncouth shapes, roaring waves, tempests, and siren calms, halcyonian seas, unspeakable misery, such comedies and tragedies, such absurd and ridiculous, feral and lamentable fits, that I know not whether they are more to be pitied or derided, or may be believed, but that we daily see the same still practised in our days, fresh examples, *nova novitia*, fresh objects of misery and madness in this kind that are still represented unto us, abroad, at home, in the midst of us, in our bosoms.

But before I can come to treat of these several errors and obliquities, their cause, symptoms, affections, etc., I must say something necessarily of the object of this love, God Himself, what this love is, how it allureth, whence it proceeds, and (which is the cause of all our miseries) how we mistake, wander and swerve from it.

Amongst all those divine attributes that God doth vindicate to Himself, eternity, omnipotency, immutability, wisdom, majesty, justice, mercy, etc., His beauty is not the least.¹ "One thing," saith David, "have I desired of the Lord, and that I will still desire, to behold the beauty of the Lord" (Ps. xxvii, 4). "And out of Sion, which is the perfection of beauty, hath God shined" (Ps. l, 2). All other creatures are fair, I confess, and many other objects do much enamour us, a fair house, a fair horse, a comely person. "I am amazed," said Austin, "when I look up to heaven and behold the beauty of the stars, the beauty of angels, principalities, powers; who can express it? who can sufficiently commend or set out this beauty which appears in us? so fair a body, so fair a face, eyes, nose, cheeks, chin, brows, all fair and lovely to behold; besides the beauty of the soul which cannot be discerned. If we so labour and be so much affected with the comeliness of creatures, how should we be ravished with that admirable lustre of God Himself?"² If ordinary

beauty have such a prerogative and power, and what is amiable and fair, to draw the eyes and ears, hearts and affections of all spectators unto it, to move, win, entice, allure, how shall this divine form ravish our souls, which is the fountain and quintessence of all beauty? *Cælum pulchrum, sed pulchrior cæli fabricator*; if heaven be so fair, the sun so fair, how much fairer shall He be, that made them fair? "For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionally the maker of them is seen" (Wisd. xiii, 5). If there be such pleasure in beholding a beautiful person alone, and, as a plausible sermon, he so much affect us, what shall this beauty of God Himself, that is infinitely fairer than all creatures, men, angels, etc.? *Omnis pulchritudo florum, hominum, angelorum, et rerum omnium pulcherrimarum ad Dei pulchritudinem collata, nox est et tenebræ*,¹ all other beauties are night itself, mere darkness, to this our inexplicable, incomprehensible, unspeakable, eternal, infinite, admirable, and divine beauty. This lustre, *pulchritudo omnium pulcherrima* [a beauty surpassing all other beauties], this beauty and "splendour of the divine Majesty"² is it that draws all creatures to it, to seek it, love, admire, and adore it; and those heathens, pagans, philosophers, out of those relics they have yet left of God's image, are so far forth incensed, as not only to acknowledge a God, but, though after their own inventions, to stand in admiration of His bounty, goodness, to adore and seek Him; the magnificence and structure of the world itself, and beauty of all His creatures, His goodness, providence, protection, enforceth them to love Him, seek Him, fear Him, though a wrong way to adore Him: but for us that are Christians, regenerate, that are His adopted sons, illuminated by His word, having the eyes of our hearts and understandings opened, how fairly doth He offer and expose Himself! *Ambit nos Deus* (Austin saith) *donis et forma sua*, He woos us by His beauty, gifts, promises, to come unto Him; "the whole Scripture is a message, an exhortation, a love-letter to this purpose,"³ to incite us and invite us, "God's epistle," as Gregory calls it, "to His creatures."⁴ He sets out His Son and His Church in that epithalamium or mystical Song of Solomon, to enamour us the more, comparing His head to fine gold, "His locks curled and black as a raven" (Cant. v, 11); "His eyes like doves on rivers of waters, washed with milk; His lips as lilies, drooping down pure juice; His hands as rings of gold set with chrysolite": and His Church to "a vineyard, a garden enclosed, a fountain of living waters, an orchard of pomegranates, with sweet scents of saffron, spike,

calamus and cinnamon, and all the trees of incense, as the chief spices, the fairest amongst women, no spot in her, His sister, His spouse, undefiled, the only daughter of her mother,¹ dear unto her, fair as the moon, pure as the sun, looking out as the morning"; that by these figures, that glass, these spiritual eyes of contemplation, we might perceive some resemblance of His beauty, the love between His Church and Him. And so in the forty-fifth Psalm this beauty of His Church is compared to a "queen in a vesture of gold of Ophir, embroidered raiment of needlework, that the king might take pleasure in her beauty." To incense us further yet, John, in his Apocalypse,² makes a description of that heavenly Jerusalem, the beauty of it, and in it the Maker of it; likening it to "a city of pure gold, like unto clear glass, shining and garnished with all manner of precious stones, having no need of sun or moon: for the Lamb is the light of it, the glory of God doth illuminate it"; to give us to understand the infinite glory, beauty and happiness of it. Not that it is no fairer than these creatures to which it is compared, but that this vision of his, this lustre of His divine Majesty, cannot otherwise be expressed to our apprehensions, "no tongue can tell, no heart can conceive it," as Paul saith. Moses himself (Exod. xxxiii, 18), when he desired to see God in His glory, was answered that he might not endure it, no man could see His face and live. *Sensibile forte destruit sensum*, a strong object overcometh the sight, according to that axiom in philosophy: *fulgorem solis ferre non potes, multo magis Creatoris*: if thou canst not endure the sunbeams, how canst thou endure that fulgor and brightness of Him that made the sun? The sun itself, and all that we can imagine, are but shadows of it, 'tis *visio præcellens* [a marvellous sight], as Austin calls it,³ the quintessence of beauty this, "which far exceeds the beauty of heavens, sun and moon, stars, angels, gold and silver, woods, fair fields, and whatsoever is pleasant to behold." All those other beauties fail, vary, are subject to corruption, to loathing; "but this is an immortal vision, a divine beauty, an immortal love, an indefatigable love and beauty,"⁴ with sight of which we shall never be tired nor wearied, but still the more we see the more we shall covet Him." For as one saith,⁵ "Where this vision is, there is absolute beauty; and where is that beauty, from the same fountain comes all pleasure and happiness; neither can beauty, pleasure, happiness, be separated from His vision or sight, or His vision from beauty, pleasure, happiness." In this life we have but a glimpse of this beauty and

happiness: we shall hereafter, as John saith, see Him as He is: thine eyes, as Isaiah promiseth (xxxiii, 17), "shall behold the King in His glory," then shall we be perfectly enamoured, have a full fruition of it, desire, behold and love Him alone as the most amiable and fairest object, or *summum bonum*, or chiefest good.¹

This likewise should we now have done, had not our will been corrupted; and as we are enjoined to love God with all our heart, and all our soul: for to that end were we born, to love this object, as Melancthon discourseth,² and to enjoy it. "And Him our will would have loved and sought alone as our *summum bonum*, or principal good, and all other good things for God's sake: and nature, as she proceeded from it, would have sought this fountain; but in this infirmity of human nature this order is disturbed, our love is corrupt"; and a man is like that monster in Plato,³ composed of a Scylla, a lion and a man; we are carried away headlong with the torrent of our affections: the world, and that infinite variety of pleasing objects in it, do so allure and enamour us, that we cannot so much as look towards God, seek Him, or think on Him as we should: we cannot, saith Austin, *rempub. cælestem cogitare* [direct our thoughts to the heavenly state], we cannot contain ourselves from them, their sweetness is so pleasing to us. Marriage, saith Gualter,⁴ detains many, "a thing in itself laudable, good and necessary, but many, deceived and carried away with the blind love of it, have quite laid aside the love of God, and desire of His glory. Meat and drink hath overcome as many, whilst they rather strive to please, satisfy their guts and belly, than to serve God and nature." Some are so busied about merchandise to get money, they lose their own souls, whiles covetously carried, and with an unsatiable desire of gain, they forget God; as much we may say of honour, leagues, friendships, health, wealth, and all other profits or pleasures in this life whatsoever. "In this world there be so many beautiful objects, splendours and brightness of gold, majesty of glory, assistance of friends, fair promises, smooth words, victories, triumphs, and such an infinite company of pleasing beauties to allure us, and draw us from God, that we cannot look after Him."⁵ And this is it which Christ himself, those prophets and apostles, so much thundered against, dehorted us from: "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world" (1 John ii, 15). "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him" (v. 16). "For all that is in the world, as lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and pride

of life, is not of the Father, but of the world: and the world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever" (v. 17) "No man," saith our Saviour, "can serve two masters, but he must love the one and hate the other," etc.; *Bonos vel malos mores, boni vel mali faciunt amores* [a right or wrong love makes a good or bad character], Austin well infers: and this is that which all the Fathers inculcate. He cannot (Austin admonisheth¹) be God's friend, that is delighted with the pleasures of the world; "make clean thine heart, purify thine heart; if thou wilt see this beauty, prepare thyself for it." "It is the eye of contemplation by which we must behold it, the wing of meditation which lifts us up and rears our souls with the motion of our hearts and sweetness of contemplation": so saith Gregory, cited by Bonaventure.² And as Philo Judæus seconds him,³ "He that loves God will soar aloft and take him wings; and leaving the earth fly up to heaven, wander with sun and moon, stars, and that heavenly troop, God Himself being his guide." If we desire to see Him, we must lay aside all vain objects, which detain us and dazzle our eyes, and as Ficinus adviseth us,⁴ "get us solar eyes, spectacles as they that look on the sun: to see this divine beauty, lay aside all material objects, all sense, and then thou shalt see Him as He is." "Thou covetous wretch," as Austin expostulates, "why dost thou stand gaping on this dross, muck-hills, filthy excrements? behold a far fairer object, God Himself woos thee; behold Him, enjoy Him."⁵ He is sick for love (Cant. v), He invites thee to His sight, to come into His fair garden, to eat and drink with Him, to be merry with Him, to enjoy His presence for ever. Wisdom cries out in the streets besides the gates, in the top of high places, before the city, at the entry of the door, and bids them give ear to her instruction, which is better than gold or precious stones;⁶ no pleasures can be compared to it: leave all then and follow her, *vos exhortor, o amici, et obsecro* [I exhort and beseech you, friends]. In Ficinus' words,⁷ I exhort and beseech you, "that you would embrace and follow this divine love with all your hearts and abilities, by all offices and endeavours make this so loving God propitious unto you." For whom alone, saith Plotinus,⁸ "we must forsake the kingdoms and empires of the whole earth, sea, land, and air, if we desire to be engrafted into Him, leave all and follow Him."

Now, forasmuch as this love of God is a habit infused of God, as Thomas holds, 1, 2, *quæst.* 23, "by which a man is inclined to love God above all, and his neighbour as himself,"⁹ we must

pray to God that He will open our eyes, make clear our hearts, that we may be capable of His glorious rays, and perform those duties that He requires of us (Deut. vi and Josh. xxiii), "to love God above all, and our neighbour as ourself," to keep His commandments. "In this we know," saith John (*cap.* v, 2), "we love the children of God, when we love God and keep His commandments. This is the love of God, that we keep His commandments"; "he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love" (*cap.* iv, 8,) "and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him"; for love presupposeth knowledge, faith, hope, and unites us to God Himself, as Leon Hebræus delivereth unto us,¹ and is accompanied with the fear of God, humility, meekness, patience, all those virtues, and charity itself. For if we love God, we shall love our neighbour, and perform the duties which are required at our hands, to which we are exhorted (1 Cor. xiii, 4, 5; Ephes. iv; Coloss. iii; Rom. xii). We shall not be envious or puffed up, or boast, disdain, think evil, or be provoked to anger, but suffer all things; "endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace"; forbear one another, forgive one another, clothe the naked, visit the sick, and perform all those works of mercy which Clemens Alexandrinus² calls *amoris et amicitiae impletionem et extensionem*, the extent and complement of love; and that not for fear or worldly respects, but *ordine ad Deum*, for the love of God Himself. This we shall do if we be truly enamoured; but we come short in both, we neither love God nor our neighbour as we should. Our love in spiritual things is too "defective, in worldly things too excessive, there is a jar in both."³ We love the world too much; God too little; our neighbour not at all, or for our own ends. *Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat* [men usually value friendships for what they can bring]. The chief thing we respect is our commodity: and what we do is for fear of worldly punishment, for vainglory, praise of men, fashion, and such by-respects, not for God's sake. We neither know God aright, nor seek, love, or worship Him as we should. And for these defects, we involve ourselves into a multitude of errors, we swerve from this true love and worship of God: which is a cause unto us of unspeakable miseries; running into both extremes, we become fools, madmen, without sense, as now in the next place I will show you.

The parties affected are innumerable almost, and scattered over the face of the earth, far and near, and so have been in all precedent ages, from the beginning of the world to these times,

of all sorts and conditions. For method's sake I will reduce them to a twofold division, according to those two extremes of excess and defect, impiety and superstition, idolatry and atheism. Not that there is any excess of divine worship or love of God; that cannot be, we cannot love God too much, or do our duty as we ought, as papists hold, or have any perfection in this life, much less supererogate; when we have all done, we are unprofitable servants. But because we do *aliud agere* [attend to the wrong thing], zealous without knowledge, and too solicitous about that which is not necessary, busying ourselves about impertinent, needless, idle, and vain ceremonies, *populo ut placerent* [to please the public], as the Jews did about sacrifices, oblations, offerings, incense, new moons, feasts, etc., but as Isaiah taxeth them (i, 12): "Who required this at your hands?" We have too great opinion of our own worth, that we can satisfy the law: and do more than is required at our hands, by performing those evangelical counsels, and such works of supererogation, merit for others, which Bellarmine, Gregory de Valentia, all their Jesuits and champions defend, that if God should deal in rigour with them, some of their Franciscans and Dominicans are so pure that nothing could be objected to them. Some of us again are too dear, as we think, more divine and sanctified than others, of a better mettle, greater gifts, and, with that proud Pharisee, condemn others in respect of ourselves; we are better Christians, better learned, choice spirits, inspired, know more, have special revelation, perceive God's secrets, and thereupon presume, say and do many times which is not befitting to be said or done. Of this number are all superstitious idolaters, ethnics, Mahometans, Jews, heretics, enthusiasts, diviners, prophets, sectaries, and schismatics. Zanchius¹ reduceth such infidels to four chief sects; but I will insist and follow mine own intended method: all which, with many other curious persons, monks, hermits, etc., may be ranged in this extreme, and fight under this superstitious banner, with those rude idiots and infinite swarms of people that are seduced by them. In the other extreme or in defect, march those impious epicures, libertines, atheists, hypocrites, infidels, worldly, secure, impenitent, unthankful, and carnal-minded men, that attribute all to natural causes, that will acknowledge no supreme power; that have cauterized consciences, or live in a reprobate sense; or such desperate persons as are too distrustful of His mercies. Of these there be many subdivisions, divers degrees of madness and folly, some more

than other, as shall be showed in the symptoms: and yet all miserably out, perplexed, doting, and beside themselves for religion's sake. For as Zanchius well distinguished,¹ and all the world knows, religion is twofold, true or false; false is that vain superstition of idolaters, such as were of old, Greeks, Romans, present Mahometans, etc. *Timorem deorum inanem* [futile fear of the gods], Tully could term it;² or as Zanchius defines it, *ubi falsi dii, aut falso cultu colitur Deus*, when false gods, or that God is falsely worshipped. And 'tis a miserable plague, a torture of the soul, a mere madness, *religiosa insania* [religious insanity], Meteran calls it,³ or *insanus error*, as Seneca,⁴ a frantic error; or as Austin, *insanus animi morbus*, a furious disease of the soul; *insania omnium insanissima*, a quintessence of madness; for he that is superstitious can never be quiet.⁵ 'Tis proper to man alone, *uni superbia, avaritia, superstitio* [in him alone are found pride, avarice, and superstition], saith Pliny, *lib. 7, cap. 1, atque etiam post sævit de futuro*, which wrings his soul for the present and to come: the greatest misery belongs to mankind, a perpetual servitude, a slavery, *ex timore timor*⁶ [one fear leading to another], an heavy yoke, the seal of damnation, an intolerable burden. They that are superstitious are still fearing, suspecting, vexing themselves with auguries, prodigies, false tales, dreams, idle, vain works, unprofitable labours, as Boterus observes,⁷ *cura mentis ancipite versantur* [they are tormented with anxiety], enemies to God and to themselves. In a word, as Seneca concludes, *Religio Deum colit, superstitio destruit*, superstition destroys, but true religion honours God. True religion, *ubi verus Deus vere colitur*, where the true God is truly worshipped, is the way to heaven, the mother of virtues, love, fear, devotion, obedience, knowledge, etc. It rears the dejected soul of man, and amidst so many cares, miseries, persecutions, which this world affords, it is a sole ease, an unspeakable comfort, a sweet reposal, *jugum suave, et leve*, a light yoke, an anchor, and an haven. It adds courage, boldness, and begets generous spirits: although tyrants rage, persecute, and that bloody lictor or sergeant be ready to martyr them, *aut lita, aut morere* [either sacrifice or die] (as in those persecutions of the primitive Church it was put in practice, as you may read in Eusebius and others), though enemies be now ready to invade, and all in an uproar, *Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinæ*,⁸ though heaven should fall on his head, he would not be dismayed. But as a good Christian prince once made answer to a menacing Turk, *facile scelerata hominum arma contemnit, qui Dei præsidio*

tutus est [he who is secure in the protection of God can easily despise the impious weapons of men]: or as Phalaris writ to Alexander in a wrong cause, he nor any other enemy could terrify him, for that he trusted in God.¹ *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* [If God is with us, who is against us?] In all calamities, persecutions, whatsoever, as David did (2 Sam. ii, 22), he will sing with him, "The Lord is my rock, my fortress, my strength, my refuge, the tower and horn of my salvation," etc. In all troubles and adversities (Ps. xlv, 1), "God is my hope and help, still ready to be found, I will not therefore fear," etc.; 'tis a fear expelling fear; he hath peace of conscience, and is full of hope, which is (saith Austin²) *vita vitæ mortalis*, the life of this our mortal life, hope of immortality, the sole comfort of our misery: otherwise, as Paul saith, we of all others were most wretched, but this makes us happy, counterpoising our hearts in all miseries; superstition torments, and is from the devil, the author of lies; but this is from God Himself, as Lucian, that Antiochian priest, made his divine confession in Eusebius,³ *Auctor nobis de Deo Deus est*, God is the author of our religion Himself, His word is our rule, a lanthorn to us, dictated by the Holy Ghost, He plays upon our hearts as so many harp-strings, and we are His temples, He dwelleth in us, and we in Him.

The part affected of superstition is the brain, heart, will, understanding, soul itself, and all the faculties of it, *totum compositum* [the whole composition], all is mad and dotes. Now for the extent, as I say, the world itself is the subject of it (to omit that grand sin of atheism), all times have been misaffected, past, present, "There is not one that doth good, no not one, from the prophet to the priest," etc. A lamentable thing it is to consider, how many myriads of men this idolatry and superstition (for that comprehends all) hath infatuated in all ages, besotted by this blind zeal, which is religion's ape, religion's bastard, religion's shadow, false glass. For where God hath a temple, the devil will have a chapel: where God hath sacrifices, the devil will have his oblations: where God hath ceremonies, the devil will have his traditions: where there is any religion, the devil will plant superstition; and 'tis a pitiful sight to behold and read what tortures, miseries it hath procured, what slaughter of souls it hath made, how it raged amongst those old Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Tuscans, Gauls, Germans, Britons, etc. *Britannia jam hodie celebrat tam attonite*, saith Pliny,⁴ *tantīs ceremoniis* (speaking of superstition) *ut dedisse Persis videri possit*: the Britons are so stupendly superstitious

in their ceremonies, that they go beyond those Persians. He that shall but read in Pausanias alone, those gods, temples, altars, idols, statues, so curiously made with such infinite cost and charge amongst those old Greeks, such multitudes of them and frequent varieties, as Gerbelius truly observes,¹ may stand amazed, and never enough wonder at it; and thank God withal, that by the light of the Gospel we are so happily freed from that slavish idolatry in these our days. But heretofore, almost in all countries, in all places, superstition hath blinded the hearts of men; in all ages what a small portion hath the true Church ever been! *Divisum imperium cum Jove Dæmon habet* [the devil shares authority with Jove]. The patriarchs and their families, the Israelites, a handful in respect, Christ and his apostles, and not all of them, neither. Into what straits hath it been compinged, a little flock! how hath superstition on the other side dilated herself, error, ignorance, barbarism, folly, madness, deceived, triumphed, and insulted over the most wise, discreet, and understanding men! Philosophers, dynasts, monarchs, all were involved and overshadowed in this mist, in more than Cimmerian darkness. *Adeo ignara superstitio mentes hominum depravat, et nonnunquam sapientum animos transversos agit*² [superstition has such a hold on the human mind that it sometimes leads astray even the wise]. At this present, *quota pars!* how small a part is truly religious! How little in respect! Divide the world into six parts, and one, or not so much, is Christians; idolaters and Mahometans possess almost Asia, Africa, America, Magellanica. The kings of China, Great Cham, Siam, and Bornay, Pegu, Deccan, Narsinga, Japan, etc., are gentiles, idolaters, and many other petty princes in Asia, Monomotopa, Congo, and I know not how many other petty princes in Africa, all Terra Australis Incognita, most of America pagans, differing all in their several superstitions; and yet all idolaters. The Mahometans extend themselves over the Great Turk's dominions in Europe, Africa, Asia, to the Xeriffs in Barbary, and his territories in Fez, Sus, Morocco, etc. The Tartar, the Great Mogor, the Sophy of Persia, with most of their dominions and subjects, are at this day Mahometans. See how the devil rageth! Those at odds, or differing among themselves, some for Ali, some for Enbocar, for Acmar, and Ozimen,³ those four doctors, Mahomet's successors, and are subdivided into seventy-two inferior sects, as Leo Afer reports.⁴ The Jews, as a company of vagabonds, are scattered over all parts; whose story, present estate, progress from time to time, is fully set down by Mr.

Thomas Jackson, Doctor of Divinity, in his Comment on the Creed.¹ A fifth part of the world, and hardly that, now professeth Christ, but so inlarded and interlaced with several superstitions, that there is scarce a sound part to be found, or any agreement amongst them. Presbyter John in Africa, lord of those Abyssines or Ethiopians, is by his profession a Christian, but so different from us, with such new absurdities and ceremonies, such liberty, such a mixture of idolatry and paganism, that they keep little more than a bare title of Christianity.² They suffer polygamy, circumcision, stupend fastings, divorce as they will themselves, etc., and as the papists call on the Virgin Mary, so do they on Thomas Didymus before Christ.³ The Greek or Eastern Church is rent from this of the West, and as they have four chief patriarchs, so have they four subdivisions, besides those Nestorians, Jacobins, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, etc., scattered over Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, etc., Greece, Valachia, Circassia, Bulgary, Bosnia, Albania, Illyricum, Sclavonia, Croatia, Thrace, Servia, Rascia,⁴ and a sprinkling amongst the Tartars. The Russians, Muscovites, and most of that Great Duke's subjects, are part of the Greek Church, and still Christians: but as one saith, *temporis successu nullas illi addiderunt superstitiones*, in process of time they have added so many superstitions, they be rather semi-Christians than otherwise.⁵ That which remains is the Western Church with us in Europe, but so eclipsed with several schisms, heresies and superstitions, that one knows not where to find it. The papists have Italy, Spain, Savoy, part of Germany, France, Poland, and a sprinkling in the rest of Europe. In America, they hold all that which Spaniards inhabit, Hispania Nova, Castella Aurea, Peru, etc. In the East Indies, the Philippinæ, some small holds about Goa, Malacca, Zelan,⁶ Ormus, etc., which the Portuguese got not long since, and those land-leaping Jesuits have essayed in China, Japan, as appears by their yearly letters; in Africa they have Melinda, Quiloa, Mombaze, etc., and some few towns; they drive out one superstition with another. Poland is a receptacle of all religions, where Samosetans, Socinians, Photinians (now protected in Transylvania and Poland), Arians, Anabaptists are to be found, as well as in some German cities. Scandia is Christian, but as Damianus à Goes,⁷ the Portugal knight, complains, so mixed with magic, pagan rites and ceremonies, they may be as well counted idolaters: what Tacitus formerly said of a like nation is verified in them, "A people subject to superstition, contrary to religion."⁸ And some of

them, as about Lapland, and the Pilapians, the devil's possession to this day, *Misera hæc gens* (saith mine author¹) *Satanæ hactenus possessio . . . et quod maxime mirandum et dolendum*, and which is to be admired and pitied, if any of them be baptized, which the kings of Sweden much labour, they die within seven or nine days after, and for that cause they will hardly be brought to Christianity, but worship still the devil, who daily appears to them; in their idolatrous courses, *gaudentibus diis patris, quos religiose colunt* [rejoicing in their ancestral gods whom they scrupulously worship], etc. Yet are they very superstitious, like our wild Irish; though they of the better note, the kings of Denmark and Sweden govern themselves, that them, be Lutherans. The remnant are Calvinists, Lutherans, in Germany equally mixed; and yet the emperor himself, dukes of Lorraine, Bavaria, and the princes electors, are most part professed papists. And though some part of France and Ireland, Great Britain, half the cantons in Switzerland, and the Low Countries be Calvinists, more defecate than the rest, yet at odds amongst themselves, not free from superstition. And which Brocard the monk, in his description of the Holy Land,² after he had censured the Greek Church and showed their errors, concluded at last, *Faxit Deus ne Latinis multa irrepserint stultitiæ*, I say, God grant there be no fopperies in our Church. As a dam of water stopped in one place breaks out into another, so doth superstition. I say nothing of Anabaptists, Socinians, Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, etc. There is superstition in our prayers, often in our hearing of sermons, bitter contentions, invectives, persecutions, strange conceits, besides diversity of opinions, schisms, factions, etc. But as the Lord (Job xlii, 7) said to Eliphaz the Temanite and his two friends, "His wrath was kindled against them, for they had not spoken of him things that were right," we may justly of these schismatics and heretics, how wise soever in their own conceits, *non recte loquuntur de Deo*, they speak not, they think not, they write not well of God, and as they ought. And therefore, *Quid, quæso, mi Dorpi*, as Erasmus concludes to Dorpius, *hisce theologis faciamus, aut quid preceris, nisi forte fidelem medicum, qui cerebro medeatur?* What shall we wish them, but *sanam mentem* [a sound mind] and a good physician? But more of their differences, paradoxes, opinions, mad pranks, in the Symptoms: I now hasten to the Causes.

SUBJECT. II.—*Causes of Religious Melancholy. From the Devil by miracles, apparitions, oracles. His instruments or factors, Politicians, Priests, Impostors, Heretics, blind guides. In them simplicity, fear, blind zeal, ignorance, solitariness, curiosity, pride, vainglory, presumption, etc. His engines, fasting, solitariness, hope, fear, etc.*

We are taught in Holy Scripture, that the devil “rangeth abroad like a roaring lion, still seeking whom he may devour”: and as in several shapes, so by several engines and devices he goeth about to seduce us; sometimes he transforms himself into an angel of light, and is so cunning that he is able, if it were possible, to deceive the very elect. He will be worshipped as God Himself, and is so adored by the heathen, and esteemed.¹ And in imitation of that divine power, as Eusebius observes,² to abuse or emulate God’s glory, as Dandinus adds,³ he will have all homage, sacrifices, oblations, and whatsoever else belongs to the worship of God, to be done likewise unto him, *similis erit altissimo* [he will be like the Most High], and by this means infatuates the world, deludes, entraps, and destroys many a thousand souls. Sometimes by dreams, visions (as God to Moses by familiar conference), the devil in several shapes talks with them: in the Indies it is common,⁴ and in China nothing so familiar as apparitions, inspirations, oracles; by terrifying them with false prodigies, counterfeit miracles, sending storms, tempests, diseases, plagues (as of old in Athens there was Apollo Alexicacus, Apollo Λολυιος, *pestifer et malorum depulsor* [plague-bringer and plague-remover]), raising wars, seditions by spectrums, troubling their consciences, driving them to despair, terrors of mind, intolerable pains; by promises, rewards, benefits, and fair means, he raiseth such an opinion of his deity and greatness, that they dare not do otherwise than adore him, do as he will have them, they dare not offend him. And to compel them more to stand in awe of him, “he sends and cures diseases, disquiets their spirits” (as Cyprian saith), “torments and terrifies their souls, to make them adore him; and all his study, all his endeavour is to divert them from true religion to superstition; and because he is damned himself, and in an error, he would have all the world participate of his errors, and be damned with him.”⁵ The *primum mobile*, therefore, and first mover of all superstition, is the devil, that great enemy of mankind, the principal agent, who in a thousand several shapes, after divers fashions, with several engines,

illusions, and by several names hath deceived the inhabitants of the earth, in several places and countries, still rejoicing at their falls. "All the world over before Christ's time he freely domineered, and held the souls of men in most slavish subjection," saith Eusebius,¹ "in divers forms, ceremonies, and sacrifices, till Christ's coming," as if those devils of the air had shared the earth amongst them, which the Platonists held for gods (*Ludus deorum sumus* ² [we are the sport of the gods]), and were our governors and keepers. In several places, they had several rites, orders, names, of which read Wierus, *de præstigiis dæmonum*, lib. 1, cap. 5, Strozzius Cicogna, and others: ³ Adonided amongst the Syrians; Adramelech amongst the Capernaïtes; Asiniæ amongst the Emathites; Astarte with the Sidonians; Astaroth with the Palestines; Dagon with the Philistines; Tartary with the Hanæi; Milcom amongst the Ammonites; Bel, the Babylonians; Beelzebub and Baal with the Samaritans and Moabites; Apis, Isis, and Osiris amongst the Egyptians; Apollo Pythius at Delphi, Colophon, Ancyra, Cumæ, Erythræ; Jupiter in Crete, Venus at Cyprus, Juno at Carthage, Æsculapius at Epidaurus, Diana at Ephesus, Pallas at Athens, etc. And even in these our days, both in the East and West Indies, in Tartary, China, Japan, etc., what strange idols, in what prodigious forms, with what absurd ceremonies are they adored! What strange sacraments, like ours of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, what goodly temples, priests, sacrifices they had in America, when the Spaniards first landed there, let Acosta the Jesuit relate, lib. 5, cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., and how the devil imitated the Ark and the children of Israel's coming out of Egypt; with many such. For as Lipsius well discourseth out of the doctrine of the Stoics, *maxime cupiunt adorationem hominum*, now and of old, they still and most especially desire to be adored by men. See but what Vertomannus, lib. 5, cap. 2, Marcus Polus, Lerijs, Benzo, P. Martyr in his Ocean Decades, Acosta, and Mat. Riccius, *Expedit. Christ. in Sinas*, lib. 1, relate. Eusebius⁴ wonders how that wise city of Athens and flourishing kingdoms of Greece should be so besotted; and we in our times; how those witty Chinese, so perspicacious in all other things, should be so gulled, so tortured with superstition, so blind, as to worship stocks and stones. But it is no marvel, when we see all out as great effects amongst Christians themselves; how are those Anabaptists, Arians, and Papists above the rest, miserably infatuated! Mars, Jupiter, Apollo, and Æsculapius have resigned their interest, names, and offices to St. George

(*Maxime bellorum vector, quem nostra juvenus
Pro Mavorte colit*),¹

[O great lord of war, whom our youth worship in place
of Mars,]

St. Christopher, and a company of fictitious saints, Venus to the Lady of Loretto. And as those old Romans had several distinct gods for divers offices, persons, places, so have they saints, as Lavater well observes out of Lactantius,² *mutato nomine tantum* [only the name is changed], 'tis the same spirit or devil that deludes them still. The manner how, as I say, is by rewards, promises, terrors, affrights, punishments: in a word, fair and foul means, hope and fear. How often hath Jupiter, Apollo, Bacchus, and the rest, sent plagues in Greece and Italy, because their sacrifices were neglected!³

*Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperia mala luctuosæ*,⁴

[For her neglect of the gods Italy hath been made
grievously to mourn,]

to terrify them, to rouse them up, and the like: see but Livy, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Philostratus, Polybius,⁵ before the battle of Cannæ, *prodigiis, signis, ostentis, templa cuncta, privata etiam ædes scatebant* [all the temples, and even private houses, were full of signs and portents]. Ceneus reigned in Ætolia, and because he did not sacrifice to Diana with his other gods (see more in Libanius his *Diana*), she sent a wild boar, *insolitæ magnitudinis, qui terras et homines misere depascebatur*, to spoil both men and country, which was afterwards killed by Meleager. So Plutarch in the life of Lucullus relates, how Mithridates, King of Pontus, at the siege of Cyzicum, with all his navy, was overthrown by Proserpina, for neglecting of her holy day. She appeared in a vision to Aristagoras in the night, *Cras, inquit, tibicinem Libycum cum tibicine Pontico committam* ["To-morrow," said she, "I will cause a contest between a Libyan and a Pontic piper"], and the day following this enigma was understood; for with a great south wind which came from Libya, she quite overwhelmed Mithridates' army. What prodigies and miracles, dreams, visions, predictions, apparitions, oracles, have been of old at Delphi, Dodona, Trophonius' Den, at Thebes, and Lebadea,⁶ of Jupiter Ammon in Egypt, Amphiaraus in Attica, etc.! what strange cures performed by Apollo and Æsculapius! Juno's image and that of

Fortune spake,¹ Castor and Pollux fought in person for the Romans against Hannibal's army,² as Pallas, Mars, Juno, Venus, for Greeks and Trojans, etc. Amongst our pseudo-Catholics nothing so familiar as such miracles; how many cures done by our Lady of Loretto, at Sichem! of old at our St. Thomas' shrine, etc. St. Sabine was seen to fight for Arnulphus, Duke of Spoleto.³ St. George fought in person for John the Bastard of Portugal, against the Castilians;⁴ St. James for the Spaniards in America. In the battle of Bannockburn, where Edward the Second, our English king, was foiled by the Scots, St. Philanus' arm was seen to fight (if Hector Boethius doth not impose⁵), that was before shut up in a silver capcase; another time, in the same author, St. Magnus fought for them. Now for visions, revelations, miracles, not only out of the Legend, out of purgatory, but every day comes news from the Indies, and at home; read the Jesuits' letters, Ribadeneira, Thurselinus, Acosta, Lippomanus; Xaverius', Ignatius' Lives, etc., and tell me what difference?

His ordinary instruments or factors which he useth, as God Himself did good kings, lawful magistrates, patriarchs, prophets, to the establishing of His Church, are politicians,⁶ statesmen, priests, heretics, blind guides, impostors, pseudo-prophets, to propagate his superstition. And first to begin with politicians, it hath ever been a principal axiom with them to maintain religion or superstition, which they determine of, alter and vary upon all occasions, as to them seems best; they make religion mere policy, a cloak, a human invention; *nihil æque valet ad regendos vulgi animos ac superstitio* [nothing is so effective for keeping the masses under control as superstition], as Tacitus⁷ and Tully⁸ hold. Austin, *lib. 4 de Civitat. Dei, cap. 9*, censures Scævola saying and acknowledging *expedire civitates religione falli*, that it was a fit thing cities should be deceived by religion, according to the proverb, *Sí mundus vult decipi, decipiatur*, if the world will be gulled, let it be gulled, 'tis good howsoever to keep it in subjection. 'Tis that Aristotle⁹ and Plato¹⁰ inculcate in their Politics, "Religion neglected brings plagues to the city, opens a gap to all naughtiness." 'Tis that which all our late politicians ingeminate: Cromerus, *lib. 2 Pol. hist.*; Boterus, *lib. 3 de incrementis urbium*; Clapmarius, *lib. 2, cap. 9, de arcanis rerump.*; Arnisæus, *cap. 4, lib. 2, Polit.* Captain Machiavel will have a prince by all means to counterfeit religion, to be superstitious in show at least, to seem to be devout, frequent holy exercises, honour divines, love the Church, affect priests, as

Numa, Lycurgus, and such law-makers were and did, *non ut his fidem habeant, sed ut subditos religionis metu facilius in officio contineant* [not that he should believe in it, but in order that his subjects through religious scruples may be more easily kept in obedience], to keep people in obedience. *Nam naturaliter* (as Cardan writes) *lex Christiana lex est pietatis, justitiæ, fidei, simplicitatis*, etc.¹ [for by its nature Christianity is a religion of piety, justice, faith, simplicity, etc.]. But this error of his, Innocentius Gentilettus, a French lawyer, *theorem. 9, comment. 1, de relig.*, and Thomas Bozius in his book *de ruinis gentium et regnorum*, have copiously confuted. Many politicians, I dare not deny, maintain religion as a true means, and sincerely speak of it without hypocrisy, are truly zealous and religious themselves. Justice and religion are the two chief props and supporters of a well-governed commonwealth; but most of them are but Machiavellians, counterfeits only for political ends; for *solus rex* [despotism] (which Campanella, *cap. 18 Atheismi Triumphati*, observes), as amongst our modern Turks, *reipub. finis* [is the end of the State]; as knowing *magnum ejus in animos imperium*² [its great sway over men's minds]; and that, as Sabellicus delivers, "A man without religion is like a horse without a bridle."³ No way better to curb than superstition, to terrify men's consciences, and to keep them in awe: they make new laws, statutes, invent new religions, ceremonies, as so many stalking-horses, to their ends. *Hæc enim (religio) si falsa sit, dummodo vera credatur, animorum ferociam domat, libidines coerces, subditos principi obsequentes efficit*⁴ [a religion, even if false, as long as it is believed, moderates passion, checks sensual indulgence, and makes subjects obedient to their prince]. "Therefore" (saith Polybius⁵ of Lycurgus), "did he maintain ceremonies, not that he was superstitious himself, but that he perceived mortal men more apt to embrace paradoxes than aught else, and durst attempt no evil things for fear of the gods." This was Zamolxis' stratagem amongst the Thracians, Numa's plot, when he said he had conference with the nymph Egeria, and that of Sertorius with an hart: to get more credit to their decrees, by deriving them from the gods; or else they did all by divine instinct, which Nicholas Damascen well observes of Lycurgus, Solon, and Minos, they had their laws dictated, *monte sacro*, by Jupiter himself. So Mahomet referred his new laws to the angel Gabriel, by whose direction he gave out they were made.⁶ Caligula in Dion feigned himself to be familiar with Castor and Pollux, and many such, which kept those

Romans under (who, as Machiavel proves, *lib. 1 Disput. cap. 11 et 12*, were *religione maxime moti*, most superstitious): and did curb the people more by this means than by force of arms or severity of human laws. *Sola plebecula eam agnoscebat* (saith Vaninus, *dial. 1, lib. 4, de admirandis naturæ arcanis*, speaking of religion), *quæ facile decipitur* [only the common people, which is easily deceived, believed in it], *magnates vero et philosophi nequaquam*, your grandees and philosophers had no such conceit, *sed ad imperii confirmationem et amplificationem, quam sine prætextu religionis tueri non poterant* [save for the strengthening and extension of government, which was impossible save under the cloak of religion]; and many thousands in all ages have ever held as much, philosophers especially; *animadvertabant hi semper hæc esse fabellas* [they knew all along that these things were fables], *attamen ob metum publicæ potestatis silere cogebantur*, [but] they were still silent for fear of laws, etc. To this end that Syrian Pherecydes, Pythagoras his master, broached in the East amongst the heathens first the immortality of the soul, as Trismegistus did in Egypt, with a many of feigned gods. Those French and Briton Druids in the West first taught, saith Cæsar,¹ *non interire animas* [that souls did not die], but after death to go² from one to another, that so they might encourage them to virtue. 'Twas for a politic end, and to this purpose the old poets feigned those Elysian Fields, their Æacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus, their infernal judges, and those Stygian lakes, fiery Phlegethons, Pluto's kingdom, and variety of torments after death.³ Those that had done well went to the Elysian Fields, but evil-doers to Cocytus, and to that burning lake of hell, with fire and brimstone for ever to be tormented.⁴ 'Tis this which Plato labours for in his *Phædo*, *et 3 de Rep.*,⁵ the Turks in their Alcoran, when they set down rewards and several punishments for every particular virtue and vice, when they persuade men that they that die in battle shall go directly to heaven,⁶ but wicked livers to eternal torment, and all of all sorts (much like our papistical purgatory) for a set time shall be tortured in their graves, as appears by that tract which John Baptista Alfaqui, that Mauritanian priest, now turned Christian, hath written in his confutation of the Alcoran. After a man's death two black angels, Nunquir and Nequir (so they call them), come to him to his grave and punish him for his precedent sins; if he lived well, they torture him the less; if ill, *per indesinentes cruciatus ad diem judicii*, they incessantly punish him to the day of judgment. *Nemo viventium qui ad*

horum mentionem non totus horret et contremiscit, the thought of this crucifies them all their lives long, and makes them spend their days in fasting and prayer, *ne mala hæc contingant* [lest these ills befall them], etc. A Tartar prince, saith Marcus Polus, *lib. 1, cap. 28*, called *Senex de Montibus* [the Old Man of the Mountains], the better to establish his government amongst his subjects, and to keep them in awe, found a convenient place in a pleasant valley, environed with hills, in which "he made a delicious park full of odoriferous flowers and fruits, and a palace of all worldly contents" ¹ that could possibly be devised, music, pictures, variety of meats, etc., and chose out a certain young man, whom with a soporiferous potion he so benumbed that he perceived nothing; "and so, fast asleep as he was, caused him to be conveyed into this fair garden"; ² where after he had lived awhile in all such pleasures a sensual man could desire, "he cast him into a sleep again, and brought him forth, that when he awaked he might tell others he had been in Paradise." ³ The like he did for hell, and by this means brought his people to subjection. Because heaven and hell are mentioned in the Scriptures, and to be believed necessary by Christians; so cunningly can the devil and his ministers, in imitation of true religion, counterfeit and forge the like, to circumvent and delude his superstitious followers. Many such tricks and impostures are acted by politicians, in China especially, but with what effect I will discourse in the Symptoms.

Next to politicians, if I may distinguish them, are some of our priests (who make religion policy), if not far beyond them, for they domineer over princes and statesmen themselves. *Carnificinam exercent*, one saith, they tyrannize over men's consciences more than any other tormentors whatsoever, partly for their commodity and gain; *Religionum enim omnium abusus* (as Postellus holds ⁴), *quæstus scilicet sacrificum in causa est* [the cause of the abuse of all religions is the greed of the priests], for sovereignty, credit, to maintain their state and reputation, out of ambition and avarice, which are their chief supporters. What have they not made the common people believe? Impossibilities in nature, incredible things. What devices, traditions, ceremonies, have they not invented in all ages to keep men in obedience, to enrich themselves? *Quibus quæstui sunt capti superstitione animi* [who make their profit out of superstitious persons], as Livy saith. ⁵ Those Egyptian priests of old got all the sovereignty into their hands, and knowing, as Curtius insinuates, ⁶ *nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit quam*

superstitio; melius vatibus quam ducibus parent, vana religione capti, etiam impotentes feminæ: the common people will sooner obey priests than captains, and nothing so forcible as superstition, or better than blind zeal to rule a multitude; have so terrified and gulled them, that it is incredible to relate. All nations almost have been besotted in this kind; amongst our Britons and old Gauls the Druids; Magi in Persia; philosophers in Greece; Chaldeans amongst the Oriental; Brachmanni in India; Gymnosophists in Ethiopia; the Turdetanes in Spain; augurs in Rome, have insulted; Apollo's priests in Greece, Phœbades and Pythonissæ, by their oracles and phantasms; Amphiaraus and his companions; now Mahometan and pagan priests, what can they not effect? How do they not infatuate the world? *Adeo ubique* (as Scaliger writes of the Mahometan priests ¹), *tum gentium tum locorum, gens ista sacrorum ministra, vulgi secat spes, ad ea quæ ipsi fingunt somnia*, so cunningly can they gull the commons in all places and countries. But above all others, that high priest of Rome, the dam of that monstrous and superstitious brood, the bull-bellowing Pope which now rageth in the West, that three-headed Cerberus, hath played his part. "Whose religion at this day is mere policy, a state wholly composed of superstition and wit, and needs nothing but wit and superstition to maintain it, that useth colleges and religious houses to as good purpose as forts and castles, and doth more at this day"²—by a company of scribbling parasites, fiery-spirited friars, zealous anchorites, hypocritical confessors, and those prætorian soldiers, his janissary Jesuits, that dissociable society, as Langius terms it,³ *postremus diaboli conatus et sæculi excrementum* [the last effort of the devil and the off-scouring of the age], that now stand in the fore-front of the battle, will have a monopoly of, and engross all other learning, but domineer in divinity, *Excipiunt soli totius vulnera belli* ⁴ [alone they bear the brunt of the whole war], and fight alone almost (for the rest are but his dromedaries and asses)—than ever he could have done by garrisons and armies. What power of prince, or penal law, be it never so strict, could enforce men to do that which for conscience' sake they will voluntarily undergo? As to fast from all flesh, abstain from marriage, rise to their prayers at midnight, whip themselves, with stupend fasting and penance, abandon the world, wilful poverty, perform canonical and blind obedience, to prostrate their goods, fortunes, bodies, lives, and offer up themselves at their Superior's feet, at his command? What so powerful an engine as superstition? which

they right well perceiving, are of no religion at all themselves: *Primum enim* (as Calvin rightly suspects, the tenor and practice of their life proves) *arcanae illius theologiæ, quod apud eos regnat, caput est, nullum esse deum*, they hold there is no God, as Leo X did, Hildebrand the magician,¹ Alexander VI, Julius II, mere atheists, and which the common proverb amongst them approves: "The worst Christians of Italy are the Romans, of the Romans the priests are wildest, the lewdest priests are preferred to be cardinals, and the baddest man amongst the cardinals is chosen to be Pope,"² that is an epicure, as most part the Popes are, infidels and Lucianists, for so they think and believe; and what is said of Christ to be fables and impostures, of heaven and hell, day of judgment, paradise, immortality of the soul, are all

*Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,
Et par sollicito fabula somnio,*³

dreams, toys, and old wives' tales. Yet as so many whetstones to make other tools cut, but cut not themselves,⁴ though they be of no religion at all, they will make others most devout and superstitious, by promises and threats compel, enforce from, and lead them by the nose like so many bears in a line; whenas their end is not to propagate the Church, advance God's kingdom, seek His glory or common good, but to enrich themselves, to enlarge their territories, to domineer and compel them to stand in awe, to live in subjection to the See of Rome. For what otherwise care they? *Si mundus vult decipi, decipiat* [if the world wishes to be gulled, let it be gulled], 'tis fit it should be so. And [that] for which Austin⁵ cites Varro to maintain his Roman religion, we may better apply to them: *Multa vera, quæ vulgus scire non est utile; pleraque falsa, quæ tamen aliter existimare populum expedit*; some things are true, some false, which for their own ends they will not have the gullish commonalty take notice of. As well may witness their intolerable covetousness, strange forgeries, fopperies, fooleries, unrighteous subtleties, impostures, illusions, new doctrines, paradoxes, traditions, false miracles, which they have still forged to enthrall, circumvent, and subjugate them, to maintain their own estates.⁶ One while by bulls, pardons, indulgences, and their doctrine of good works, that they be meritorious, hope of heaven, by that means they have so fleeced the commonalty, and spurred on this free superstitious horse, that he runs himself blind, and is an ass to carry burdens. They have so amplified Peter's patrimony

that from a poor bishop he is become *Rex regum, Dominus dominantium*, a demigod, as his canonists make him (Felinus and the rest), above God Himself; and for his wealth and temporalities, is not inferior to many kings;¹ his cardinals, princes' companions;² and in every kingdom almost, abbots, priors, monks, friars, etc., and his clergy, have engrossed a third part, half, in some places all, into their hands.³ Three princes electors in Germany, bishops; besides Magdeburg, Spire, Salzburg, Bremen, Bamberg, etc. In France, as Bodine, *lib. de repub.*, gives us to understand, their revenues are twelve millions and three hundred thousand livres; and of twelve parts of the revenues in France the Church possesseth seven. The Jesuits, a new sect begun in this age, have, as Middendorpius⁴ and Pelargus⁵ reckon up, three or four hundred colleges in Europe, and more revenues than many princes. In France, as Arnoldus proves, in thirty years they have got *bis centum librarum millia annua*, £200,000 [annually]. I say nothing of the rest of their orders. We have had in England, as Armachanus demonstrates, above thirty thousand friars at once, and as Speed collects out of Leland and others,⁶ almost six hundred religious houses, and near £200,000 in revenues of the old rent belonging to them, besides images of gold, silver, plate, furniture, goods and ornaments, as Weever calculates,⁷ and esteems them, at the dissolution of abbeyes, worth a million of gold. How many towns in every kingdom hath superstition enriched! What a deal of money by musty relics, images, idolatry, have their mass-priests engrossed, and what sums have they scraped by their other tricks, Loretto in Italy, Walsingham in England, in those days, *ubi omnia auro nitent* [where everything shines with gold], saith Erasmus, St. Thomas' shrine, etc., may witness. Delphi, so renowned of old in Greece for Apollo's oracle;⁸ Delos, *commune conciliabulum et emporium sola religione munitum* [which became a great centre of trade and concourse solely through its religious associations]; Dodona, whose fame and wealth were sustained by religion,⁹ were not so rich, so famous. If they can get but a relic of some saint, the Virgin Mary's picture, idols or the like, that city is for ever made, it needs no other maintenance. Now if any of these their impostures or juggling tricks be controverted, or called in question; if a magnanimous or zealous Luther, an heroic Luther, as Dithmarus calls him,¹⁰ dare touch the monks' bellies, all is in a combustion, all is in an uproar: Demetrius and his associates are ready to pull him in pieces, to keep up their trades. "Great is Diana of the

Ephesians":¹ with a mighty shout of two hours long they will roar and not be pacified.

Now for their authority, what by auricular confession, satisfaction, penance, Peter's keys, thunderings, excommunications, etc., roaring bulls, this high priest of Rome, shaking his Gorgon's head, hath so terrified the soul of many a silly man, insulted over majesty itself, and swaggered generally over all Europe for many ages, and still doth to some, holding them as yet in slavish subjection, as never tyrannizing Spaniards did by their poor negroes, or Turks by their galley-slaves. "The Bishop of Rome" (saith Stapleton, a parasite of his, *de mag. Eccles. lib. 2, cap. 1*) "hath done that without arms, which those Roman emperors could never achieve with forty legions of soldiers,"² deposed kings, and crowned them again with his foot, made friends, and corrected at his pleasure, etc. "'Tis a wonder," saith Machiavel, *Florentinæ hist. lib. 1*, "what slavery King Henry the Second endured for the death of Th. Becket, what things he was enjoined by the Pope, and how he submitted himself to do that which in our times a private man would not endure,"³ and all through superstition. Henry the Fourth, deposed of his empire, stood barefooted with his wife at the gates of Canossa.⁴ Frederick the Emperor was trodden on by Alexander the Third;⁵ another held Adrian's stirrup; King John kissed the knees of Pandulph the Pope's legate, etc. What made so many thousand Christians travel from France, Britain, etc., into the Holy Land, spend such huge sums of money, go a pilgrimage so familiarly to Jerusalem, to creep and crouch, but slavish superstition? What makes them so freely venture their lives, to leave their native countries, to go seek martyrdom in the Indies, but superstition? to be assassinated, to meet death, murder kings, but a false persuasion of merit, of canonical or blind obedience which they instil into them, and animate them by strange illusions, hope of being martyrs and saints? Such pretty feats can the devil work by priests, and so well for their own advantage can they play their parts. And if it were not yet enough by priests and politicians to delude mankind and crucify the souls of men, he hath more actors in his tragedy, more irons in the fire, another scene of heretics, factious, ambitious wits, insolent spirits, schismatics, impostors, false prophets, blind guides, that out of pride, singularity, vainglory, blind zeal, cause much more madness yet, set all in an uproar by their new doctrines, paradoxes, figments, crotchets, make new divisions, subdivisions, new sects, oppose one superstition

to another, one kingdom to another, commit prince and subjects, brother against brother, father against son, to the ruin and destruction of a commonwealth, to the disturbance of peace, and to make a general confusion of all estates. How did those Arians rage of old! how many did they circumvent! Those Pelagians, Manichees, etc.! their names alone would make a just volume. How many silly souls have impostors still deluded, drawn away, and quite alienated from Christ! Lucian's Alexander; Simon Magus, whose statue was to be seen and adored in Rome, saith Justin Martyr, *Simoni deo sancto*, etc., after his decease; Apollonius Tyanæus,¹ Cynops, Eumo, who, by counterfeiting some new ceremonies and juggling tricks of that *Dea Syria* [Syrian Goddess], by spitting fire, and the like, got an army together of forty thousand men, and did much harm: with Eudo de Stellis, of whom Nubrigensis speaks, *lib. 1, cap. 19*, that in King Stephen's days imitated most of Christ's miracles, fed I know not how many people in the wilderness, and built castles in the air, etc., to the seducing of multitudes of poor souls. In Franconia, 1476, a base illiterate fellow took upon him to be a prophet and preach, John Beheim by name, a neat-herd at Nicholhausen; he seduced thirty thousand persons, and was taken by the commonalty to be a most holy man, come from heaven. "Tradesmen left their shops, women their distaffs, servants ran from their masters, children from their parents, scholars left their tutors, all to hear him, some for novelty, some for zeal. He was burnt at last by the Bishop of Wurtzburg, and so he and his heresy vanished together."² How many such impostors, false prophets, have lived in every king's reign! what chronicles will not afford such examples! that as so many *ignes fatui*, have led men out of the way, terrified some, deluded others, that are apt to be carried about by the blast of every wind, a rude inconstant multitude, a silly company of poor souls, that follow all, and are cluttered together like so many pebbles in a tide. What prodigious follies, madness, vexations, persecutions, absurdities, impossibilities, these impostors, heretics, etc., have thrust upon the world, what strange effects, shall be showed in the Symptoms.

Now the means by which, or advantages the devil and his infernal ministers take, so to delude and disquiet the world with such idle ceremonies, false doctrines, superstitious fopperies, are from themselves, innate fear, ignorance, simplicity, hope and fear, those two battering cannons and principal engines, with their objects, reward and punishment, purgatory, *limbus patrum*,³

etc., which now more than ever tyrannize; "for what province is free from atheism, superstition, idolatry, schism, heresy, impiety, their factors and followers?"¹ Thence they proceed, and from that same decayed image of God, which is yet remaining in us.

*Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri
Jussit.*

[He turned man's gaze upwards and bade him scan
the heavens.]

Our own conscience doth dictate so much unto us, we know there is a God, and nature doth inform us. *Nulla gens tam barbara* (saith Tully²) *cui non insideat hæc persuasio Deum esse; sed nec Scythæ, nec Græci, nec Persæ, nec Hyperboreus dissentiet* (as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist, *Ser. 1.*, farther adds), *nec continentis nec insularum habitator*, let him dwell where he will, in what coast soever, there is no nation so barbarous that is not persuaded there is a God. It is a wonder to read of that infinite superstition amongst the Indians in this kind, of their tenents in America: *Pro suo quisque libitu varias res venerabantur superstitiose, plantas, animalia, montes, etc., omne quod amabant aut horrebant* [they have a superstitious reverence for various things, each according to his taste—plants, animals, mountains, etc., anything that they have loved or feared] (some places excepted, as he grants, that had no God at all). So "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament declares his handiwork" (Ps. xix). Every creature will evince it:

Præsentemque refert quælibet herba deum.

[Every blade of grass testifies to the presence of God.]

Nolentes sciunt, fatentur inviti, as the said Tyrius proceeds; will or nill, they must acknowledge it. The philosophers, Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, Pythagoras, Trismegistus, Seneca, Epictetus, those Magi, Druids, etc., went as far as they could by the light of nature; *multa præclara de natura Dei scripta reliquerunt*,³ "writ many things well of the nature of God, but they had but a confused light, a glimpse."

*Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in silvis*,⁴

as he that walks by moonshine in a wood, they groped in the dark; they had a gross knowledge, as he in Euripides, *O Deus, quicquid es, sive cælum, sive terra, sive aliud quid* [O God, whatsoever thou beest, whether sky, earth, or anything else], and that of Aristotle, *Ens entium, miserere mei* [Being of beings, pity me]

And so of the immortality of the soul, and future happiness. *Immortalitatem animæ* (saith Hierome) *Pythagoras somniavit, Democritus non credidit, in consolationem damnationis suæ Socrates in carcere disputavit; Indus, Persa, Gothus, etc., philosophantur* [Pythagoras dreamed of the immortality of the soul; Democritus disbelieved it; Socrates under sentence of death found consolation in discussing it; the Indian, Persian, Goth, etc., philosophize about it]. So some said this, some that, as they conceived themselves, which the devil perceiving, led them farther out (as Lemnius observes¹) and made them worship him as their god with stocks and stones, and torture themselves to their own destruction, as he thought fit himself, inspired his priests and ministers with lies and fictions to prosecute the same, which they for their own ends were as willing to undergo, taking advantage of their simplicity, fear, and ignorance. For the common people are as a flock of sheep, a rude, illiterate rout, void many times of common sense, a mere beast, *bellua multorum capitum* [a beast of many heads], will go whithersoever they are led: as you lead a ram over a gap by the horns, all the rest will follow, *non qua eundum, sed qua itur*² [not where they should go but where they are led], they will do as they see others do, and as their prince will have them; let him be of what religion he will, they are for him. Now for those idolaters, Maxentius and Licinius, then for Constantine a Christian. *Qui Christum negant male pereant, acclamatum est decies* [the cry, "Perish those who deny Christ," was repeated ten times³], for two hours' space; *qui Christum non colunt, Augusti inimici sunt, acclamatum est ter decies*⁴ [the cry, "Those who do not worship Christ are enemies of Augustus," was repeated thirty times]; and by and by idolaters again under that apostate Julianus; all Arians under Constantius, good Catholics again under Jovinianus. "And little difference there is between the discretion of men and children in this case, especially of old folks and women," as Cardan discourseth,⁵ "whenas they are tossed with fear and superstition, and with other men's folly and dishonesty." So that I may say their ignorance is a cause of their superstition, a symptom, and madness itself: *Supplicii causa est, supplicium-que sui* [it is a cause of punishment and its own punishment]. Their own fear, folly, stupidity, to-be-deplored lethargy, is that which gives occasion to the other, and pulls these miseries on their own heads. For in all these religions and superstitions amongst our idolaters, you shall still find that the parties first affected are silly, rude, ignorant people, old folks, that are

naturally prone to superstition, weak women, or some poor, rude, illiterate persons, that are apt to be wrought upon and gulled in this kind, prone without either examination or due consideration (for they take up religion a-trust, as at mercers' they do their wares) to believe anything. And the best means they have to broach first, or to maintain it when they have done, is to keep them still in ignorance: for "ignorance is the mother of devotion," as all the world knows, and these times can amply witness. This hath been the devil's practice, and his infernal ministers', in all ages; not as our Saviour, by a few silly fishermen, to confound the wisdom of the world, to save publicans and sinners, but to make advantage of their ignorance, to convert them and their associates; and that they may better effect what they intend, they begin, as I say, with poor, stupid, illiterate persons.¹ So Mahomet did when he published his Alcoran, which is a piece of work (saith Bredenbachius²) "full of nonsense, barbarism, confusion, without rhyme, reason, or any good composition, first published to a company of rude rustics, hog-rubbers, that had no discretion, judgment, art, or understanding, and is so still maintained." For it is a part of their policy to let no man comment, dare to dispute or call in question to this day any part of it, be it never so absurd, incredible, ridiculous, fabulous as it is, it must be believed *implicite*, upon pain of death no man must dare to contradict it: "God and the emperor," etc. What else do our papists but, by keeping the people in ignorance, vent and broach all their new ceremonies and traditions, when they conceal the Scripture, read it in Latin, and to some few alone, feeding the slavish people in the meantime with tales out of legends, and such-like fabulous narrations? Whom do they begin with but collapsed ladies, some few tradesmen, superstitious old folks, illiterate persons, weak women, discontent, rude, silly companions, or sooner circumvent? So do all our schismatics and heretics. Marcus and Valentinian, heretics in Irenæus,³ seduced first I know not how many women, and made them believe they were prophets. Friar Cornelius of Dort seduced a company of silly women.⁴ What are all our Anabaptists, Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, but a company of rude, illiterate, capricious, base fellows? What are most of our papists, but stupid, ignorant and blind bayards? how should they otherwise be, when as they are brought up and kept still in darkness? "If their pastors" (saith Lavater) "have done their duties, and instructed their flocks as they ought in the principles of

Christian religion, or had not forbidden them the reading of Scriptures, they had not been as they are.”¹ But being so misled all their lives in superstition, and carried hoodwinked like hawks, how can they prove otherwise than blind idiots and superstitious asses? what else shall we expect at their hands? Neither is it sufficient to keep them blind, and in Cimmerian darkness, but withal, as a schoolmaster doth by his boys to make them follow their books, sometimes by good hope, promises and encouragements, but most of all by fear, strict discipline, severity, threats and punishment, do they colloque and soothe up their silly auditors, and so bring them into a fools’ paradise. *Rex eris, aiunt, si recte facies*, do well, thou shalt be crowned [say they]; but for the most part by threats, terrors, and affrights, they tyrannize and terrify their distressed souls: knowing that fear alone is the sole and only means to keep men in obedience, according to that *hemistichium* of Petronius, *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor* [fear first created gods in the world], the fear of some divine and supreme powers keeps men in obedience, makes the people do their duties: they play upon their consciences; which was practised of old in Egypt by their priests;² when there was an eclipse, they made the people believe God was angry, great miseries were to come; they take all opportunities of natural causes, to delude the people’s senses, and with fearful tales out of purgatory, feigned apparitions, earthquakes in Japonia or China, tragical examples of devils, possessions, obsessions, false miracles, counterfeit visions, etc. They do so insult over and restrain them, never hobby so dared a lark, that they will not offend the least tradition, tread, or scarce look awry.³ *Deus bone* (Lavater exclaims⁴), *quot hoc commentum de purgatorio misere afflixi!* good God, how many men have been miserably afflicted by this fiction of purgatory!

To these advantages of hope and fear, ignorance and simplicity, he hath several engines, traps, devices, to batter and enthrall, omitting no opportunities, according to men’s several inclinations, abilities, to circumvent and humour them, to maintain his superstitions, sometimes to stupefy, besot them; sometimes again by oppositions, factions, to set all at odds and in an uproar; sometimes he infects one man, and makes him a principal agent; sometimes whole cities, countries. If of meaner sort, by stupidity, canonical obedience, blind zeal, etc. If of better note, by pride, ambition, popularity, vainglory. If of the clergy and more eminent, of better parts than the rest, more learned, eloquent, he puffs them up with a vain conceit

of their own worth, *scientia inflati*, they begin to swell, and scorn all the world in respect of themselves, and thereupon turn heretics, schismatics, broach new doctrines, frame new crotchets and the like; or else out of too much learning become mad, or out of curiosity they will search into God's secrets, and eat of the forbidden fruit; or out of presumption of their holiness and good gifts, inspirations, become prophets, enthusiasts, and what not? Or else if they be displeased, discontent, and have not (as they suppose) preferment to their worth, have some disgrace, repulse, neglected, or not esteemed as they fondly value themselves, or out of emulation, they begin presently to rage and rave, *cælum terræ miscent*, they become so impatient in an instant, that a whole kingdom cannot contain them, they will set all in a combustion, all at variance, to be revenged of their adversaries. Donatus, when he saw Cecilianus preferred before him in the bishopric of Carthage, turned heretic,¹ and so did Arius, because Alexander was advanced: we have examples at home, and too many experiments of such persons. If they be laymen of better note, the same engines of pride, ambition, emulation, and jealousy take place, they will be gods themselves: Alexander in India, after his victories, became so insolent, he would be adored for a god:² and those Roman emperors came to that height of madness, they must have temples built to them, sacrifices to their deities, Divus Augustus, D. Claudius, D. Hadrianus: Heliogabalus "put out that vestal fire at Rome, expelled the virgins, and banished all other religions all over the world, and would be the sole God himself."³ Our Turks, China kings, Great Chams, and Mogors do little less, assuming divine and bombast titles to themselves; the meaner sort are too credulous, and led with blind zeal, blind obedience, to prosecute and maintain whatsoever their sottish leaders shall propose; what they in pride and singularity, revenge, vainglory, ambition, spleen, for gain, shall rashly maintain and broach, their disciples make a matter of conscience, of hell and damnation if they do it not, and will rather forsake wives, children, house and home, lands, goods, fortunes, life itself, than omit or abjure the least tittle of it, and to advance the common cause, undergo any miseries, turn traitors, assassinate, pseudo-martyrs, with full assurance and hope of reward in that other world, that they shall certainly merit by it, win heaven, be canonized for saints.

Now when they are truly possessed with blind zeal and misled with superstition, he hath many other baits to inveigle and

infatuate them farther yet, to make them quite mortified and mad, and that under colour of perfection, to merit by penance, going woolward, whipping, alms, fastings, etc. Anno 1320, there was a sect of whippers¹ in Germany, that, to the astonishment of the beholders, lashed and cruelly tortured themselves. I could give many other instances of each particular. But these works so done are meritorious, *ex opere operato, ex condigno*, for themselves and others, to make them macerate and consume their bodies, *specie virtutis et umbra* [with an outward show of virtue], those evangelical counsels are propounded, as our pseudo-Catholics call them, canonical obedience, wilful poverty, vows of chastity, monkery,² and a solitary life, which extend almost to all religions and superstitions, to Turks, Chinese, Gentiles, Abyssinians, Greeks, Latins, and all countries. Amongst the rest, fasting, contemplation, solitariness, are as it were certain rams by which the devil doth batter and work upon the strongest constitutions. *Nonnulli* (saith Peter Forestus) *ob longas inedias, studia et meditationes cœlestes, de rebus sacris et religione semper agitant*, [some] by fasting overmuch, and divine meditations, are overcome. Not that fasting is a thing of itself to be discommended, for it is an excellent means to keep the body in subjection, a preparative to devotion, the physic of the soul, by which chaste thoughts are engendered, true zeal, a divine spirit, whence wholesome counsels do proceed, concupiscence is restrained, vicious and predominant lusts and humours are expelled. The Fathers are very much in commendation of it, and, as Calvin notes, "sometimes immoderate. The mother of health, key of heaven, a spiritual wing to erear us, the chariot of the Holy Ghost, banner of faith," etc.³ And 'tis true they say of it, if it be moderately and seasonably used by such parties, as Moses, Elias, Daniel, Christ, and as his apostles⁴ made use of it; but when by this means they will supererogate, and as Erasmus well taxeth,⁵ *Cælum non sufficere putant suis meritis*, [think] heaven is too small a reward for it; they make choice of times and meats, buy and sell their merits, attribute more to them than to the Ten Commandments, and count it a greater sin to eat meat in Lent than to kill a man, and as one sayeth, *Plus respiciunt assum piscem quam Christum crucifixum, plus salmonem quam Salomonem, quibus in ore Christus, Epicurus in corde* [pay more respect to a broiled fish than to Christ crucified, more regard to salmon than to Solomon, have Christ on their lips but Epicurus in their hearts]; when some counterfeit, and some attribute more to such works

of theirs than to Christ's death and passion, the devil sets in a foot, strangely deludes them, and by that means makes them to overthrow the temperature of their bodies, and hazard their souls. Never any strange illusions of devils amongst hermits, anachorites, never any visions, phantasms, apparitions, enthusiasms, prophets, any revelations, but immoderate fasting, bad diet, sickness, melancholy, solitariness, or some such things were the precedent causes, the forerunners or concomitants of them. The best opportunity and sole occasion the devil takes to delude them. Marsilius Cognatus, *lib. 1 Cont. cap. 7*, hath many stories to this purpose, of such as after long fasting have been seduced by devils; and "'tis a miraculous thing to relate" (as Cardan writes¹) "what strange accidents proceed from fasting; dreams, superstition, contempt of torments, desire of death, prophecies, paradoxes, madness; fasting naturally prepares men to these things." Monks, anachorites, and the like, after much emptiness, become melancholy, vertiginous, they think they hear strange noises, confer with hobgoblins, devils, rivel up their bodies, *et dum hostem insequimur*, saith Gregory, *civem quem diligimus trucidamus* [in pursuing the enemy we kill our fellow-citizen and friends], they become bare skeletons, skin and bones: *carnibus abstinentes proprias carnes devorant, ut nil præter cutem et ossa sit reliquum*. Hilarion, as Hierome reports in his life² (and Athanasius of Antonius), was so bare with fasting "that the skin did scarce stick to the bones"; for want of vapours he could not sleep, and for want of sleep became idle-headed, "heard every night infants cry, oxen low, wolves howl, lions roar (as he thought), clattering of chains, strange voices, and the like illusions of devils." Such symptoms are common to those that fast long, are solitary, given to contemplation, overmuch solitariness and meditation. Not that these things (as I said of fasting) are to be discommended of themselves, but very behoveful in some cases and good: sobriety and contemplation join our souls to God, as that heathen Porphyry can tell us.³ "Ecstasis is a taste of future happiness, by which we are united unto God";⁴ "a divine melancholy, a spiritual wing," Bonaventure terms it, to lift us up to heaven; but as it is abused, a mere dotage, madness, a cause and symptom of religious melancholy. "If you shall at any time see" (saith Guaneri⁵) "a religious person over-superstitious, too solitary, or much given to fasting, that man will certainly be melancholy, thou mayest boldly say it, he will be so." P. Forestus hath almost the same words, and Cardan, *Subtil. lib. 18, et cap. 40*,

lib. 8, de rerum varietate, "Solitariness, fasting, and that melancholy humour, are the causes of all hermits' illusions." ¹ Lavater, *de spect. cap. 19, part. 1*, and *part. 1, cap. 10*, puts solitariness a main cause of such spectrums and apparitions; none, saith he, so melancholy as monks and hermits—the devil's bath; melancholy—"none so subject to visions and dotage in this kind, as such as live solitary lives, they hear and act strange things in their dotage." ² Polydore Virgil, *lib. 2 de prodigiis*, holds that "those prophecies and monks' revelations, nuns' dreams, which they suppose come from God, do proceed wholly *ab instinctu dæmonum*, by the devil's means"; ³ and so those enthusiasts, Anabaptists, pseudo-prophets from the same cause. Fracas-torius, *lib. 2 de intellect.*, will have all your pythonisses, sibyls, and pseudo-prophets to be mere melancholy: ⁴ so doth Wierus prove, *lib. 1, cap. 8, et lib. 3, cap. 7*, and Arculanus, in *9 Rhasis*, that melancholy is a sole cause, and the devil together, with fasting and solitariness, of such sibylline prophecies, if there were ever such, which with Casaubon ⁵ and others I justly except at; for it is not likely that the Spirit of God should ever reveal such manifest revelations and predictions of Christ, to those pythonissæ, witches, Apollo's priests, the devil's ministers (they were no better), and conceal them from his own prophets; for these sibyls set down all particular circumstances of Christ's coming, and many other future accidents, far more perspicuous and plain than ever any prophet did. But, howsoever there be no Phœbades or sibyls, I am assured there be other enthusiasts, prophets, *dii fatidici*, Magi (of which read Jo. Bois-sardus, who hath laboriously collected them into a great volume ⁶ of late, with elegant pictures, and epitomized their lives), etc., ever have been in all ages, and still proceeding from those causes, *qui visiones suas enarrant, somniant futura, prophetisant, et ejusmodi deliriis agitati, Spiritum Sanctum sibi communicari putant* ⁷ [who recount their visions, see the future in dreams, prophesy, and have various fantasies which they think are communicated to them by the Holy Spirit]. That which is written of Saint Francis' five wounds, and other such monastical effects, of him and others, may justly be referred to this our melancholy; and that which Matthew Paris relates of the monk of Evesham, who saw heaven and hell in a vision; ⁸ of Sir Owen, that went down into Saint Patrick's Purgatory in King Stephen's days, and saw as much; ⁹ Walsingham of him that was showed as much by Saint Julian; Beda, *lib. 5, cap. 13, 14, 15, et 20*, reports of King Sebba, *lib. 4, cap. 11, Eccles. hist.*,

that saw strange visions;¹ and Stumphius, *Helvet. Cornic.*, a cobbler of Basil, that beheld rare apparitions at Augsburg in Germany; Alexander ab Alexandro, *Gen. dier. lib. 6, cap. 21*, of an enthusiastical prisoner (all out as probable as that of Eris [the son of] Armenius, in Plato's tenth dialogue *de Repub.*, that revived again ten days after he was killed in a battle, and told strange wonders, like those tales Ulysses related to Alcinous in Homer, or Lucian's *Vera Historia* itself), was still after much solitariness, fasting, or long sickness, when their brains were addle, and their bellies as empty of meat as their heads of wit. Florilegus hath many such examples; *fol. 191*, one of Saint Guthlac of Crowland that fought with devils, but still after long fasting, overmuch solitariness; the devil persuaded him therefore to fast, as Moses and Elias did, the better to delude him.² In the same author is recorded Carolus Magnus' vision, *an. 785*, or ecstasis, wherein he saw heaven and hell after much fasting and meditation.³ So did the devil of old with Apollo's priests, Amphiaraus and his fellows, those Egyptians, still enjoin long fasting before he would give any oracles, *triduum a cibo et vino abstinere* [they were to abstain for three days from food and wine], before they gave any answers,⁴ as Volaterran, *lib. 13, cap. 4*, records, and Strabo, *Geog. lib. 14*, describes Charon's den, in the way between Tralles and Nysa, whither the priests led sick and fanatic men: but nothing performed without long fasting, no good to be done. That scoffing Lucian conducts his Menippus to hell by the directions of that Chaldean Mithrobarzanes, but after long fasting, and such-like idle preparation.⁵ Which the Jesuits right well perceiving of what force this fasting and solitary meditation is to alter men's minds, when they would make a man mad, ravish him, improve him beyond himself, to undertake some great business of moment, to kill a king, or the like, they bring him into a melancholy dark chamber, where he shall see no light for many days together, no company, little meat, ghastly pictures of devils all about him, and leave him to lie as he will himself, on the bare floor in this chamber of meditation, as they call it, on his back, side, belly, till by this strange usage they make him quite mad and beside himself.⁶ And then after some ten days, as they find him animated and resolved, they make use of him. The devil hath many such factors, many such engines, which what effect they produce, you shall hear in the following Symptoms.

SUBJECT. III.—*Symptoms general, love to their own sect, hate of all other religions, obstinacy, peevishness, ready to undergo any danger or cross for it; Martyrs, blind zeal, blind obedience, fastings, vows, belief of incredibilities, impossibilities: Particular of Gentiles, Mahometans, Jews, Christians, and in them, Heretics old and new, Schismatics, Schoolmen, Prophets, Enthusiasts, etc.*

Fleat Heraclitus, an rideat Democritus? in attempting to speak of these symptoms, shall I laugh with Democritus, or weep with Heraclitus? they are so ridiculous and absurd on the one side, so lamentable and tragical on the other: a mixed scene offers itself, so full of errors and a promiscuous variety of objects, that I know not in what strain to represent it. When I think of that Turkish paradise, those Jewish fables and pontifical rites, those pagan superstitions, their sacrifices, and ceremonies, as to make images of all matter, and adore them when they have done, to see them kiss the pyx, creep to the cross, etc., I cannot choose but laugh with Democritus: but when I see them whip and torture themselves, grind their souls for toys and trifles, desperate, and now ready to die, I cannot choose but weep with Heraclitus. When I see a priest say mass, with all those apish gestures, murmurings, etc., read the customs of the Jews' synagogue, or Mahometan meskites, I must needs laugh at their folly:¹ *Risum teneatis amici?* [Could you restrain your laughter, friends?]; but when I see them make matters of conscience of such toys and trifles, to adore the devil, to endanger their souls, to offer their children to their idols, etc., I must needs condole their misery. When I see two superstitious orders contend *pro aris et focis* [as for their very lives], with such have and hold, *de lana caprina* [about a goat's fleece], some write such great volumes to no purpose, take so much pains to so small effect, their satires, invectives, apologies, dull and gross fictions; when I see grave learned men rail and scold like butter-women, methinks 'tis pretty sport, and fit for Calphurnius and Democritus to laugh at.² But when I see so much blood spilt, so many murders and massacres, so many cruel battles fought, etc., 'tis a fitter subject for Heraclitus to lament. As Merlin³ when he sat by the lake-side with Vortigern, and had seen the white and red dragon fight, before he began to interpret or to speak, *in fletum prorupit*, fell a-weeping, and then proceeded to declare to the king what it meant; I should first pity and bewail this misery of humankind with some passionate preface,

wishing mine eyes a fountain of tears, as Jeremy did, and then to my task. For it is that great torture, that infernal plague of mortal men, *omnium pestium pestilentissima superstitio* [superstition, the direst of plagues], and able of itself alone to stand in opposition to all other plagues, miseries, and calamities whatsoever; far more cruel, more pestiferous, more grievous, more general, more violent, of a greater extent. Other fears and sorrows, grievances of body and mind, are troublesome for the time; but this is for ever, eternal damnation, hell itself, a plague, a fire: an inundation hurts one province alone, and the loss may be recovered; but this superstition involves all the world almost, and can never be remedied. Sickness and sorrows come and go, but a superstitious soul hath no rest; *superstitione imbutus animus nunquam quietus esse potest*,¹ no peace, no quietness. True religion and superstition are quite opposite, *longe diversa carnificina et pietas*, as Lactantius describes, the one erears, the other dejects; *illorum pietas, mera impietas* [the piety of those people is sheer impiety]; the one is an easy yoke, the other an intolerable burden, an absolute tyranny; the one a sure anchor, an haven; the other a tempestuous ocean; the one makes, the other mars; the one is wisdom, the other is folly, madness, indiscretion; the one unfeigned, the other a counterfeit; the one a diligent observer, the other an ape; one leads to heaven, the other to hell. But these differences will more evidently appear by their particular symptoms. What religion is, and of what parts it doth consist, every catechism will tell you, what symptoms it hath, and what effects it produceth: but for their superstitions, no tongue can tell them, no pen express, they are so many, so diverse, so uncertain, so unconstant, and so different from themselves. *Tot mundi superstitiones quot cælo stellæ*, one saith, there be as many superstitions in the world as there be stars in heaven, or devils themselves that are the first founders of them: with such ridiculous, absurd symptoms and signs, so many several rites, ceremonies, torments and vexations accompanying, as may well express and besee the devil to be the author and maintainer of them. I will only point at some of them, *ex ungue leonem*, guess at the rest, and those of the chief kinds of superstition, which beside us Christians now domineer and crucify the world, Gentiles, Mahometans, Jews, etc.

Of these symptoms some be general, some particular to each private sect; general to all are an extraordinary love and affection they bear and show to such as are of their own sect,

and more than Vatinian hate to such as are opposite in religion, as they call it, or disagree from them in their superstitious rites, blind zeal (which is as much a symptom as a cause), vain fears, blind obedience, needless works, incredibilities, impossibilities, monstrous rites and ceremonies, wilfulness, blindness, obstinacy, etc. For the first, which is love and hate, as Montanus saith,¹ *nulla firmior amicitia quam quæ contrahitur hinc; nulla discordia major, quam quæ a religione fit*: no greater concord, no greater discord than that which proceeds from religion. It is incredible to relate, did not our daily experience evince it, what factions, *quam teterrimæ factiones* (as Rich. Dinoth writes²), have been of late for matters of religion in France, and what hurly-burles all over Europe for these many years. *Nihil est quod tam impotenter rapiat homines, quam suscepta de salute opinio; siquidem pro ea omnes gentes corpora et animas devovere solent, et arctissimo necessitudinis vinculo se invicem colligare* [nothing so completely dominates men's minds as their religious beliefs: for this whole nations will sacrifice themselves body and soul, and enter into the closest bonds of friendship with one another]. We are all brethren in Christ, servants of one Lord, members of one body, and therefore are or should be at least dearly beloved, inseparably allied in the greatest bond of love and familiarity, united partakers not only of the same cross, but coadjutors, comforters, helpers, at all times, upon all occasions: as they did in the primitive Church (Acts iv), they sold their patrimonies, and laid them at the apostles' feet; and many such memorable examples of mutual love we have had under the ten general persecutions, many since. Examples on the other side of discord none like, as our Saviour saith, he came therefore into the world to set father against son, etc. In imitation of whom the devil belike (*nam superstitio irrepsit veræ religionis imitatrix*,³ superstition is still religion's ape, as in all other things, so in this) doth so combine and glue together his superstitious followers in love and affection, that they will live and die together: and what an innate hatred hath he still inspired to any other superstition opposite! How those old Romans were affected, those ten persecutions may be a witness, and that cruel executioner in Eusebius, *Aul lila aut morere*, sacrifice or die. No greater hate, more continue, bitter faction, wars, persecution in all ages, than for matters of religion; no such feral opposition, father against son, mother against daughter, husband against wife, city against city, kingdom against kingdom: as of old at Tentyra and Ombos:

*Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus,
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credit habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colit.*¹

Immortal hate it breeds, a wound past cure,
And fury to the commons still to endure:
Because one city t' other's gods as vain
Deride, and his alone as good maintain.

The Turks at this day count no better of us than of dogs, so they commonly call us *giaours*, infidels, miscreants, make that their main quarrel and cause of Christian persecution. If he will turn Turk, he shall be entertained as a brother, and had in good esteem, a Mussulman or a believer, which is a greater tie to them than any affinity or consanguinity. The Jews stick together like so many burrs; but as for the rest, whom they call Gentiles, they do hate and abhor, they cannot endure their Messias should be a common saviour to us all, and rather, as Luther writes,² "than they that now scoff at them, curse them, persecute and revile them, shall be coheirs and brethren with them, or have any part or fellowship with their Messias, they would crucify their Messias ten times over, and God Himself, His angels, and all His creatures, if it were possible, though they endure a thousand hells for it." Such is their malice towards us. Now for papists, what in a common cause for the advancement of their religion they will endure, our traitors and pseudo-Catholics will declare unto us; and how bitter on the other side to their adversaries, how violently bent, let those Marian times record, as those miserable slaughters at Merindol and Cabriers,³ the Spanish Inquisition, the Duke of Alva's tyranny in the Low Countries, the French massacres and civil wars.

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*⁴

[So great the evils to which religion could prompt.]

Not there only, but all over Europe, we read of bloody battles, racks and wheels, seditions, factions, oppositions,

*obvia signis
Signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.*⁵

[Standard against standard, lance facing lance.]

invectives and contentions. They had rather shake hands with a Jew, Turk, or, as the Spaniards do, suffer Moors to live amongst them, and Jews, than Protestants; "My name" (saith Luther⁶) "is more odious to them than any thief or

murderer." So it is with all heretics and schismatics whatsoever: and none so passionate, violent in their tenents, opinions, obstinate, wilful, refractory, peevish, factious, singular and stiff in defence of them; they do not only persecute and hate, but pity all other religions, account them damned, blind, as if they alone were the true Church, they are the true heirs, have the fee-simple of heaven by a peculiar donation, 'tis entailed on them and their posterities, their doctrine sound, *per funem aureum de cælo delapsa doctrina* [let down from heaven by a golden rope], they alone are to be saved. The Jews at this day are so incomprehensibly proud and churlish, said Luther,¹ that *soli salvari, soli domini terrarum saluari volunt* [they think that they alone are worthy to be saved, to be saluted as lords of the earth]. And as Buxtorfius adds,² "so ignorant and self-willed withal, that amongst their most understanding rabbins you shall find naught but gross dotage, horrible hardness of heart, and stupend obstinacy in all their actions, opinions, conversations: and yet so zealous withal, that no man living can be more, and vindicate themselves for the elect people of God." 'Tis so with all other superstitious sects, Mahometans, Gentiles in China and Tartary, our ignorant Papists, Anabaptists, Separatists, and peculiar churches of Amsterdam; they alone, and none but they, can be saved. "Zealous" (as Paul saith, Rom. x, 2) "without knowledge,"³ they will endure any misery, any trouble, suffer and do that which the sunbeams will not endure to see, *religionis acti furiis* [under the influence of religious frenzy], all extremities, losses and dangers, take any pains, fast, pray, vow chastity, wilful poverty, forsake all and follow their idols, die a thousand deaths, as some Jews did to Pilate's soldiers in like case, *exsertos præbentes jugulos, et manifeste præ se ferentes* (as Josephus hath it), *cariorem esse ritam sibi legis patriæ observationem* [stretching out their necks to the slayers, and giving plain proof that the observance of their ancestral law was dearer to them than life], rather than abjure or deny the least particle of that religion which their fathers profess and they themselves have been brought up in, be it never so absurd, ridiculous, they will embrace it, and without farther inquiry or examination of the truth, though it be prodigiously false, they will believe it; they will take much more pains to go to hell than we shall do to heaven. Single out the most ignorant of them, convince his understanding, show him his errors, grossness, and the absurdities of his sect, *non persuadebis etiansi persuaseris*, he will not be persuaded. As those pagans

told the Jesuits in Japan, they would do as their forefathers have done;¹ and with Rathold the Frisian prince, go to hell for company, if most of their friends went thither: they will not be moved, no persuasion, no torture can stir them. So that papists cannot brag of their vows, poverty, obedience, orders, merits, martyrdoms, fastings, alms, good works, pilgrimages: much and more than all this, I shall show you, is and hath been done by these superstitious Gentiles, pagans, idolaters and Jews: their blind zeal and idolatrous superstition in all kinds is much at one; little or no difference, and it is hard to say which is the greatest, which is the grossest. For if a man shall duly consider those superstitious rites amongst the ethnics in Japan, the Bannians in Guzerat, the Chinese idolaters, Americans of old,² in Mexico especially, Mahometan priests, he shall find the same government almost, the same orders and ceremonies, or so like that they may seem all apparently to be derived from some heathen spirit, and the Roman hierarchy no better than the rest. In a word, this is common to all superstition, there is nothing so mad and absurd, so ridiculous, impossible, incredible, which they will not believe, observe, and diligently perform, as much as in them lies; nothing so monstrous to conceive, or intolerable to put in practice, so cruel to suffer, which they will not willingly undertake. So powerful a thing is superstition. "O Egypt" (as Trismegistus exclaims), "thy religion is fables, and such as posterity will not believe."³ I know that in true religion itself, many mysteries are so apprehended alone by faith, as that of the Trinity, which Turks especially deride, Christ's incarnation, resurrection of the body at the last day, *quod ideo credendum* (saith Tertullian) *quod incredibile* [which is to be believed just because it is incredible], etc., many miracles not to be controverted or disputed of. *Mirari non rimari sapientia vera est* [true wisdom is to admire and not to inquire], saith Gerhardus;⁴ *et in divinis* (as a good Father informs us) *quædam credenda, quædam admiranda*, etc. some things are to be believed, embraced, followed with all submission and obedience, some again admired. Though Julian the Apostate scoff at Christians in this point, *quod captivemus intellectum in obsequium fidei*, saying, that the Christian creed is like the Pythagorean *Ipse dixit*, we make our will and understanding too slavishly subject to our faith, without farther examination of the truth; yet, as Saint Gregory truly answers, our creed is *altioris præstantiæ* [of a higher excellence], and much more divine; and as Thomas will, *pie consideranti semper suppetunt*

rationes, ostendentes credibilitatem in mysteriis supernaturalibus, we do absolutely believe it, and upon good reasons, for, as Gregory well informeth us, *Fides non habet meritum, ubi humana ratio quærit experimentum*: that faith hath no merit, is not worth the name of faith, that will not apprehend without a certain demonstration: we must and will believe God's word; and if we be mistaken or err in our general belief, as Richardus de Sancto Victore vows he will say to Christ Himself at the day of judgment; "Lord, if we be deceived, Thou alone hast deceived us":¹ thus we plead. But for the rest I will not justify that pontifical consubstantiation, that which Mahometans² and Jews justly except at, as Campanella confesseth, *Atheismi triumphat. cap. 12, fol. 125, difficillimum dogma esse, nec aliud subjectum magis hæreticorum blasphemias, et stultis irrisionibus politicorum reperiri* [it is a most difficult dogma, and particularly exposed to the blasphemies of the heretics and the scoffing of men of the world]. They hold it impossible, *Deum in pane manducari* [that God should be eaten in bread]; and besides they scoff at it; *Vide gentem comedentem Deum suum, inquit quidam Maurus* [See the people that eat their own God, saith a certain Moor]. *Hunc Deum³ muscæ et vermes irridunt, quum ipsum polluant et devorant; subditus est igni, aquæ, et latrones furantur; pyxidem auream humi prosternunt, et se tamen non defendit hic Deus. Qui fieri potest, ut sit integer in singulis hostiæ particulis, idem corpus numero, tam multis locis, cælo, terra, etc.?* [This God is the sport of worms and flies, when they pollute and consume Him; He is subject to the ravages of fire and water, and the depredations of thieves. They cast the golden pyx on the ground, and yet this God does not defend Himself. How is it possible that He should remain whole when the Host is divided into so many particles, that the same body should be in so many places, in the sky, the earth, etc.?] But he that shall read the Turks' Alcoran, the Jews' Talmud, and papists' Golden Legend,⁴ in the meantime will swear that such gross fictions, fables, vain traditions, prodigious paradoxes and ceremonies, could never proceed from any other spirit than that of the devil himself, which is the author of confusion and lies; and wonder withal how such wise men as have been of the Jews, such learned understanding men as Averroes, Avicenna, or those heathen philosophers, could ever be persuaded to believe or to subscribe to the least part of them, *aut fraudem non delegere* [or at least did not expose the deceit]; but that, as Vaninus answers,⁵ *ob publicæ potestatis formidinem allatrare*

philosophi non audebant, they durst not speak for fear of the law. But I will descend to particulars: read their several symptoms and then guess.

Of such symptoms as properly belong to superstition, or that irreligious religion, I may say as of the rest, some are ridiculous, some again feral to relate. Of those ridiculous, there can be no better testimony than the multitude of their gods, those absurd names, actions, offices they put upon them, their feasts, holy days, sacrifices, adorations, and the like. The Egyptians that pretended so great antiquity, three hundred kings before Amasis and, as Mela writes, thirteen thousand years from the beginning of their chronicles, that bragged so much of their knowledge of old, for they invented arithmetic, astronomy, geometry; of their wealth and power, that vaunted of twenty thousand cities; and yet at the same time their idolatry and superstition was most gross: they worshipped, as Diodorus Siculus records, sun and moon under the name of Isis and Osiris, and after, such men as were beneficial to them, or any creature that did them good. In the city of Bubastis they adored a cat, saith Herodotus, ibises and storks, an ox (saith Pliny), leeks and onions,¹ Macrobius:

*Porrum et cæpe deos imponere nubibus ausi,
Hos tu, Nile, deos colis.*²

[They did not shrink from making the leek and the onion lords of heaven. These are thy gods, O Egypt!]

Scoffing Lucian in his *Vera Historia*, which, as he confesseth himself, was not persuasively written as a truth, but in comical fashion to glance at the monstrous fictions and gross absurdities of writers and nations, to deride without doubt this prodigious Egyptian idolatry, feigns this story of himself: that when he had seen the Elysian Fields, and was now coming away, Rhadamanthus gave him a mallow root, and bade him pray to that when he was in any peril or extremity; which he did accordingly; for when he came to Hydramardia in the Island of Treacherous Women, he made his prayers to his root, and was instantly delivered. The Syrians, Chaldeans, had as many proper gods of their own invention; see the said Lucian, *de Dea Syria*; Mornay, *cap. 22 de veritat. relig.*; Guliel. Stuckius, *Sacrorum Sacrificiorumque Gentil. descript.*; ³ Peter Faber, *Semester. lib. 3, cap. 1, 2, 3*; Selden, *de diis Syris*, Purchas' Pilgrimage, Rosinus of the Romans,⁴ and Lilius Giralduus of the

Greeks. The Romans borrowed from all, besides their own gods, which were *majorum* and *minorum gentium*, as Varro holds, certain and uncertain; some celestial, select, and great ones, others Indigetes and *semi-dei*, Lares Lemures, Dioscuri, Soteres, and Parastatæ, *dii tutelares* [tutelar deities] amongst the Greeks: gods of all sorts, for all functions; some for the land, some for sea; some for heaven, some for hell; some for passions, diseases, some for birth, some for weddings, husbandry, woods, waters, gardens, orchards, etc.; all actions and offices: Pax, Quies, Salus, Libertas, Felicitas, Strenua, Stimula, Horta, Pan, Sylvanus, Priapus, Flora, Cloacina, Stercutius, Febris, Pallor, Invidia, Protervia, Risus, Angerona, Volupia, Vacuna, Viriplaca, Veneranda, Pales, Neptunia Doris; kings, emperors, valiant men that had done any good offices for them, they did likewise canonize and adore for gods, and it was usually done, *usitatum apud antiquos*, as Jac. Boissardus well observes,¹ *deificare homines qui beneficiis mortales juvarent* [to deify men who had conferred benefits on mankind], and the devil was still ready to second their intents, *statim se ingessit illorum sepulchris, statuis, templis, aris*, etc., he crept into their temples, statues, tombs, altars, and was ready to give oracles, cure diseases, do miracles, etc., as by Jupiter, Æsculapius, Tiresias, Apollo, Mopsus, Amphiarus, etc., *dii et semi-dii* [gods and demi-gods]. For so they were *semi-dii*, demi-gods, some *medii inter deos et homines* [intermediate between men and gods], as Max. Tyrius, the Platonist, *Ser. 26 et 27*, maintains and justifies in many words.² "When a good man dies, his body is buried, but his soul *ex homine dæmon evadit*, becomes forthwith a demi-god, nothing disparaged with malignity of air or variety of forms, rejoiceth, exults and sees that perfect beauty with his eyes. Now being deified, in commiseration he helps his poor friends here on earth, his kindred and allies, informs, succours, etc., punisheth those that are bad and do amiss, as a good genius to protect and govern mortal men, appointed by the gods; so they will have it, ordaining some for provinces, some for private men, some for one office, some for another. Hector and Achilles assist soldiers to this day; Æsculapius all sick men, the Dioscuri seafaring men, etc., and sometimes upon occasion they show themselves." The Dioscuri, Hercules, and Æsculapius he saw himself (or the devil in his likeness), *non somnians sed vigilans ipse vidit* [I saw not in a dream but waking]. So far Tyrius. And not good men only do they thus adore, but tyrants, monsters, devils, (as Stuckius inveighs³) Neros, Domitians, Heliogables, beastly

women, and arrant whores amongst the rest. For all intents, places, creatures, they assign gods:

*Et domibus, tectis, thermis, et equis soleatis
Assignare solent genios,*

[They are wont to assign protecting spirits to houses, buildings, baths, and horses,]

saith Prudentius. Cuna for cradles, Diverra for sweeping houses, Nodina knots, Prema, Premunda, Hymen, Hymenæus, for weddings; Comus the god of good fellows, gods of silence, of comfort, Hebe goddess of youth, Mena *menstruarum*, etc., male and female gods, of all ages, sexes and dimensions, with beards, without beards, married, unmarried, begot, not born at all, but as Minerva start out of Jupiter's head. Hesiod reckons up at least thirty thousand gods, Varro three hundred Jupiters. As Jeremy told them, their gods were [according] to the multitude of cities.¹

*Quicquid humus, pelagus, cælum miserabile gignit,
Id dixere deos, colles, freta, flumina, flammæ.*

Whatever heavens, sea, and land begat.
Hills, seas, and rivers, God was this and that.

And which was most absurd, they made gods upon such ridiculous occasions; "As children make babies" (so saith Mornæus²), "their poets make gods," *et quos adorant in templis, ludunt in theatris* [the gods whom they worship in their temples they laugh at in their theatres], as Lactantius scoffs. Saturn, a man, gelded himself, did eat his own children, a cruel tyrant driven out of his kingdom by his son Jupiter, as good a god as himself, a wicked lascivious paltry king of Crete, of whose rapes, lusts, murders, villainies, a whole volume is too little to relate. Venus, a notorious strumpet, as common as a barber's chair, Mars', Adonis', Anchises' whore, is a great she-goddess as well as the rest, as much renowned by their poets; with many such; and these gods, so fabulously and foolishly made, *cærimoniis, hymnis, et canticis celebrant* [they honour with ceremonies, hymns, and chants]; their errors, *luctus et gaudia, amores, iras, nuptias et liberorum procreationes* (as Eusebius well taxeth³), weddings, mirth and mournings, loves, angers, and quarrelling they did celebrate in hymns, and sing of in their ordinary songs, as it were publishing their villainies. But see more of their originals. When Romulus was made away by the sedition of the senators, to pacify the people, Julius Proculus gave out that

Romulus was taken up by Jupiter into heaven, and therefore to be ever after adored for a god amongst the Romans.¹ Syrophanes of Egypt had one only son, whom he dearly loved; he erected his statue in his house, which his servants did adorn with crowns and garlands, to pacify their master's wrath when he was angry, so by little and little he was adored for a god. This did Semiramis for her husband Belus, and Hadrian the emperor by his minion Antinous. Flora was a rich harlot in Rome, and for that she made the commonwealth her heir, her birthday was solemnized long after; and to make it a more plausible holiday, they made her goddess of flowers, and sacrificed to her amongst the rest. The matrons of Rome, as Dionysius Halicarnasseus relates, because at their entreaty Coriolanus desisted from his wars, consecrated a church *Fortunæ muliebri* [to the Good Fortune of women]; and Venus Barbata had a temple erected, for that somewhat was amiss about hair,² and so the rest.³ The citizens of Alabanda, a small town in Asia Minor, to curry favour with the Romans (who then warred in Greece with Perseus of Macedon, and were formidable to these parts), consecrated a temple to the City of Rome, and made her a goddess, with annual games and sacrifices; so a town of houses was deified, with shameful flattery of the one side to give, and intolerable arrogance on the other to accept, upon so vile and absurd an occasion. Tully writes to Atticus, that his daughter Tulliola might be made a goddess, and adored as Juno and Minerva, and as well she deserved it. Their holy days and adorations were all out as ridiculous; those Lupercals of Pan, Florals of Flora, Bona Dea, Anna Perenna, Saturnals, etc., as how they were celebrated, with what lascivious and wanton gestures, bald ceremonies, by what bawdy priests,⁴ how they hang their noses over the smoke of sacrifices, saith Lucian,⁵ and lick blood like flies that was spilled about the altars. Their carved idols, gilt images of wood, iron, ivory, silver, brass, stone (*Olim truncus eram* [once I was a stock], etc.), were most absurd, as being their own workmanship: for as Seneca notes, *adorant ligneos deos, et fabros interim qui fecerunt, contemnunt*, they adore [the] work, condemn the workman; and as Tertullian follows it, *Si homines non essent diis propitii, non essent dii*, had it not been for men, they had never been gods, but blocks still, and stupid statues, in which mice, swallows, birds made their nests, spiders their webs, and in their very mouths laid their excrements. Those images, I say, were all out as gross as the shapes in which they did represent them:

Jupiter with a ram's head, Mercury a dog's, Pan like a goat, Hecate with three heads, one with a beard, another without; see more in Carterius and Verdurius¹ of their monstrous forms and ugly pictures: and, which was absurder yet, they told them these images came from heaven, as that of Minerva in her temple at Athens, *quod e cælo cecidisse credebant accolæ* [which the inhabitants believed to have fallen from heaven], saith Pausanias. They formed some like storks, apes, bulls, and yet seriously believed; and that which was impious and abominable, they made their gods notorious whoremasters, incestuous sodomites (as commonly they were all, as well as Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Neptune, etc.), thieves, slaves, drudges (for Apollo and Neptune made tiles in Phrygia), kept sheep, Hercules emptied stables, Vulcan a blacksmith, unfit to dwell upon the earth for their villainies, much less in heaven, as Mornay well saith,² and yet they gave them out to be such; so weak and brutish, some to whine, lament, and roar, as Isis for her son and Cynocephalus, as also all her weeping priests; Mars in Homer to be wounded, vexed; Venus run away crying, and the like; than which what can be more ridiculous? *Nonne ridiculum lugere quod colas, vel colere quod lugeas?* (which Minucius objects³) *Si dii, cur plangitis? si mortui, cur adoratis?* [Is it not absurd to mourn over that which you worship or worship that which you mourn over? If they are gods, why do you lament them? If men, why do you worship them?]; that it is no marvel if Lucian,⁴ that adamantine persecutor of superstition, and Pliny could so scoff at them and their horrible idolatry as they did; if Diagoras took Hercules' image, and put it under his pot to seethe his pottage, which was, as he said, his thirteenth labour. But see more of their fopperies in Cypr., 4 *tract. de Idol. varietat.*; Chrysostom, *advers. Gentil.*; Arnobius, *adv. Gentes.*; Austin, *de Civ. Dei*; Theodoret, *de curat. Græc. affect.*; Clemens Alexandrinus, Minucius Felix, Eusebius, Lactantius, Stuckius, etc. Lamentable, tragical, and fearful those symptoms are, that they should be so far forth affrighted with their fictitious gods, as to spend the goods, lives, fortunes, precious time, best days in their honour, to sacrifice unto them, to their inestimable loss, such hecatombs,⁵ so many thousand sheep, oxen with gilded horns, goats, as Cræsus, King of Lydia,⁶ Marcus Julianus,⁷ surnamed *ob crebras hostias Victimarius, et Tauricremus* [Victimarius and Tauricremas (bull-burner)], on account of the number of his offerings], and the rest of the Roman emperors usually did with such labour and

cost; and not emperors only and great ones, *pro communi bono* [for the general good], were at this charge, but private men for their ordinary occasions. Pythagoras offered an hundred oxen for the invention of a geometrical problem, and it was an ordinary thing to sacrifice in Lucian's time, "a heifer for their good health, four oxen for wealth, an hundred for a kingdom, nine bulls for their safe return from Troy to Pylos," etc.¹ Every god almost had a peculiar sacrifice: the Sun horses, Vulcan fire, Diana a white hart, Venus a turtle, Ceres a hog, Proserpine a black lamb, Neptune a bull (read more in Stuckius at large ²), besides sheep, cocks, corals, frankincense, to their undoings, as if their gods were affected with blood or smoke. "And surely" (saith he) "if one should but repeat the fopperies of mortal men, in their sacrifices, feasts, worshipping their gods, their rites and ceremonies, what they think of them, of their diet, houses, orders, etc., what prayers and vows they make; if one should but observe their absurdity and madness, he would burst out a-laughing, and pity their folly."³ For what can be more absurd than their ordinary prayers, petitions, requests,⁴ sacrifices, oracles, devotions? of which we have a taste in Maximus Tyrius, *Serm.* 1, Plato's *Alcibiades Secundus*, Persius, *Sat.* 2, Juvenal, *Sat.* 10, there likewise exploded. *Mactant opimas et pingues hostias deo quasi esurienti, profundunt vina tanquam sitiienti, lumina accendunt velut in tenebris agenti* (Lactantius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 6): as if their gods were hungry, athirst, in the dark, they light candles, offer meat and drink. And what so base as to reveal their counsels and give oracles *e viscerum sterquiliniis*, out of the bowels and excremental parts of beasts? *Sordidos deos* [filthy gods] Varro truly calls them therefore, and well he might. I say nothing of their magnificent and sumptuous temples, those majestical structures: to the roof of Apollo Didymæus' temple *ad Branchidas*, as Strabo writes,⁵ a thousand oaks did not suffice. Who can relate the glorious splendour, and stupend magnificence, the sumptuous building of Diana at Ephesus, Jupiter Ammon's temple in Africa, the Pantheon at Rome, the Capitol, the Serapeum at Alexandria, Apollo's temple at Daphne in the suburbs of Antioch? the great temple at Mexico, so richly adorned, and so capacious (for 10,000 men might stand in it at once), that fair Pantheon of Cusco, described by Acosta in his Indian History, which eclipse both Jews and Christians? There were in old Jerusalem, as some write, 408 synagogues; but new Cairo reckons up (if Radzivilius may be believed ⁶) 6,800 meskites; Fez 400, whereof 50 are most

magnificent, like St. Paul's in London. Helena built 300 fair churches in the Holy Land, but one bassa hath built 400 meskites. The Mahometans have 1000 monks in a monastery; the like saith Acosta of Americans; Riccius of the Chinese, for men and women, fairly built; and more richly endowed, some of them, than Arras in Artois, Fulda in Germany, or St. Edmundsbury in England with us: who can describe those curious and costly statues, idols, images, so frequently mentioned in Pausanias? I conceal their donaries, pendants, other offerings, presents, to these their fictitious gods daily consecrated. Alexander, the son of Amyntas, King of Macedonia, sent two statues of pure gold to Apollo at Delphi;¹ Cræsus, King of Lydia, dedicated an hundred golden tiles in the same place with a golden altar:² no man came empty-handed to their shrines. But these are base offerings in respect; they offered men themselves alive. The Leucadians, as Strabo writes, sacrificed every year a man, *averruncandæ deorum iræ causa*, to pacify their gods, *de montis præcipitio dejecerunt* [they cast him down a precipice], etc., and they did voluntarily undergo it. The Decii did so sacrifice *diis manibus* [to the gods of the Lower World]; Curtius did leap into the gulf. Were they not all strangely deluded to go so far to their oracles, to be so gulled by them, both in war and peace, as Polybius relates (which their augurs, priests, vestal virgins can witness), to be so superstitious, that they would rather lose goods and lives than omit any ceremonies or offend their heathen gods? Nicias, that generous and valiant captain of the Greeks, overthrew the Athenian navy, by reason of his too much superstition, because the augurs told him it was ominous to set sail from the haven of Syracuse whilst the moon was eclipsed; he tarried so long till his enemies besieged him, he and all his army were overthrown.³ The Parthians of old were so sottish in this kind, they would rather lose a victory, nay, lose their own lives, than fight in the night, 'twas against their religion.⁴ The Jews would make no resistance on the Sabbath, when Pompeius besieged Jerusalem; and some Jewish Christians in Africa, set upon by the Goths, suffered themselves upon the same occasion to be utterly vanquished. The superstition of the Dibrenses, a bordering town in Epirus, besieged by the Turks, is miraculous almost to report. Because a dead dog was flung into the only fountain which the city had, would die of thirst all, rather than drink of that unclean water,⁵ and yield up the city upon any conditions. Though the prætor and chief citizens began to drink first, using all good persuasions,

their superstition was such, no saying would serve, they must all forthwith die or yield up the city. *Vix ausim ipse credere* (saith Barletius¹) *tantam superstitionem, vel affirmare levissimam hanc causam tantæ rei vel magis ridiculam, quum non dubitem risum potius quam admirationem posteris excitaturam* [I could scarce believe such superstition possible, and hesitate to assign so trivial a cause, or one even more ridiculous, to so great an event, for fear of exciting laughter rather than wonder]. The story was too ridiculous, he was ashamed to report it, because he thought nobody would believe it. It is stupend to relate what strange effects this idolatry and superstition hath brought forth of the latter years in the Indies and those bordering parts: in what feral shapes the devil is adored,² *ne quid mali intentent* [lest they should plot any harm], as they say;³ for in the mountains betwixt Scanderoon and Aleppo at this day there are dwelling a certain kind of people called Coords, coming of the race of the ancient Parthians, who worship the devil, and allege this reason in so doing: God is a good man and will do no harm, but the devil is bad and must be pleased, lest he hurt them. It is wonderful to tell how the devil deludes them, how he terrifies them, how they offer men and women sacrifices unto him, an hundred at once, as they did infants in Crete to Saturn of old, the finest children, like Agamemnon's Iphigenia, etc. At Mexico,⁴ when the Spaniards first overcame them, they daily sacrificed *viva hominum corda e viventium corporibus extracta*, the hearts of men yet living, 20,000 in a year (Acosta, *lib. 5, cap. 20*) to their idols made of flour and men's blood, and every year 6,000 infants of both sexes: and as prodigious to relate how they bury their wives with husbands deceased,⁵ 'tis fearful to report and harder to believe,

*Nam certamen habent leti quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori.*⁶

[They vie with one another who shall follow him to the grave, and feel disgraced if not allowed to die,]

and burn them alive, best goods, servants, horses, when a grandee dies, twelve thousand at once amongst the Tartars when a Great Cham departs,⁷ or an emperor in America: how they plague themselves, which abstain from all that hath life, like those old Pythagoreans, with immoderate fastings, as the Bannians about Surat, they of China, that for superstition's sake never eat flesh nor fish all their lives, never marry, but live in deserts and by-places, and some pray to their idols twenty-four hours

together without any intermission, biting off their tongues when they have done, for devotion's sake.¹ Some again are brought to that madness by their superstitious priests (that tell them such vain stories of immortality, and the joys of heaven in that other life), that many thousands voluntarily break their own necks, as Cleombrotus Ambraciotes' auditors of old, precipitate themselves, that they may participate of that unspeakable happiness in the other world.² One poisons, another strangles himself, and the King of China had done as much, deluded with this vain hope, had he not been detained by his servant. But who can sufficiently tell of their several superstitions, vexations, follies, torments? I may conclude with Possevinus,³ *Religio facit asperos miles, homines e feris; superstitio ex hominibus feras*, religion makes wild beasts civil, superstition makes wise men beasts and fools; and the discreetest that are, if they give way to it, are no better than dizzards; nay more, if that of Plotinus be true, *is unus religionis scopus, ut ei quem colimus similes fiamus*, that 's the drift of religion, to make us like him whom we worship, what shall be the end of idolaters, but to degenerate into stocks and stones? of such as worship these heathen gods, for *dii gentium dæmonia* [the gods of the heathen are devils], but to become devils themselves?⁴ 'Tis therefore *exitiosus error, et maxime periculosus*, a most perilous and dangerous error of all others, as Plutarch holds,⁵ *turbulenta passio hominem consternans*, a pestilent, a troublesome passion, that utterly undoeth men. Unhappy superstition, Pliny calls it, *morte non finitur*,⁶ death takes away life, but not superstition. Impious and ignorant are far more happy than they which are superstitious, no torture like to it, none so continue, so general, so destructive, so violent.

In this superstitious row, Jews for antiquity may go next to Gentiles: what of old they have done, what idolatries they have committed in their groves and high places, what their Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, Essæi, and such sectaries have maintained, I will not so much as mention: for the present, I presume no nation under heaven can be more sottish, ignorant, blind, superstitious, wilful, obstinate, and peevish, tiring themselves with vain ceremonies to no purpose; he that shall but read their rabbins' ridiculous comments, their strange interpretation of scriptures, their absurd ceremonies, fables, childish tales, which they steadfastly believe, will think they be scarce rational creatures; their foolish customs,⁷ when they rise in the morning, and how they prepare themselves to prayer, to

meat, with what superstitious washings, how to their Sabbath, to their other feasts, weddings, burials, etc. Last of all, the expectation of their Messiah, and those figments, miracles, vain pomp that shall attend him, as how he shall terrify the Gentiles, and overcome them by new diseases; how Michael the archangel shall sound his trumpet, how he shall gather all the scattered Jews into the Holy Land, and there make them a great banquet, "wherein shall be all the birds, beasts, fishes, that ever God made, a cup of wine that grew in Paradise, and that hath been kept in Adam's cellar ever since."¹ At the first course shall be served in that great ox in Job xli, 1, "that every day feeds on a thousand hills" (Ps. l, 10), that great Leviathan, and a great bird, that laid an egg so big, "that by chance tumbling out of the nest, it knocked down three hundred tall cedars, and breaking as it fell, drowned an hundred and sixty villages";² this bird stood up to the knees in the sea, and the sea was so deep that a hatchet would not fall to the bottom in seven years: of their Messias' wives and children;³ Adam and Eve, etc.; and that one stupend fiction amongst the rest: when a Roman prince asked of Rabbi Jehosua ben Hanania, why the Jews' God was compared to a lion, he made answer, he compared himself to no ordinary lion, but to one in the wood Ela, which when he desired to see, the rabbin prayed to God he might, and forthwith the lion set forward. "But when he was four hundred miles from Rome, he so roared that all the great-bellied women in Rome made abortions, the city walls fell down, and when he came an hundred miles nearer, and roared the second time, their teeth fell out of their heads, the emperor himself fell down dead, and so the lion went back."⁴ With an infinite number of such lies and forgeries, which they verily believe, feed themselves with vain hope, and in the meantime will by no persuasions be diverted, but still crucify their souls with a company of idle ceremonies, live like slaves and vagabonds, will not be relieved or reconciled.

Mahometans are a compound of Gentiles, Jews, and Christians, and so absurd in their ceremonies, as if they had taken that which is most sottish out of every one of them, full of idle fables in their superstitious law; their Alcoran itself a gallimaufry of lies, tales, ceremonies, traditions, precepts, stolen from other sects, and confusedly heaped up to delude a company of rude and barbarous clowns. As how birds, beasts, stones, saluted Mahomet when he came from Mecca, the moon came down from heaven to visit him, how God sent for him, spake to him, etc.,⁵

with a company of stupend figments of the angels, sun, moon, and stars, etc., of the day of judgment, and three sounds to prepare to it, which must last fifty thousand years, of Paradise, which wholly consists in *coeundi et comedendi voluptate* [carnal and material pleasures], and *pecorinis hominibus scriptum, bestialis beatitudo* [an animal felicity, fit for men like cattle], is so ridiculous, that Virgil, Dante, Lucian, nor any poet can be more fabulous. Their rites and ceremonies are most vain and superstitious; wine and swine's flesh are utterly forbidden by their law, they must pray five times a day, and still towards the south,¹ wash before and after all their bodies over, with many such. For fasting, vows, religious orders, peregrinations, they go far beyond any papists, they fast a month together many times, and must not eat a bit till sun be set.² Their kalenders, dervises, and torlachers, etc., are more abstemious,³ some of them, than Carthusians, Franciscans, anachorites, forsake all, live solitary, fare hard, go naked, etc. Their pilgrimages are as far as to the river Ganges⁴ (which the Gentiles of those tracts likewise do), to wash themselves, for that river, as they hold, hath a sovereign virtue to purge them of all sins, and no man can be saved that hath not been washed in it.⁵ For which reason they come far and near from the Indies; *maximus gentium omnium confluentus est* [there is a great concourse from all nations], and infinite numbers yearly resort to it. Others go as far as Mecca to Mahomet's tomb, which journey is both miraculous and meritorious. The ceremonies of flinging stones to stone the devil, of eating a camel at Cairo by the way; their fastings, their running till they sweat, their long prayers, Mahomet's temple, tomb, and building of it, would ask a whole volume to dilate: and for their pains taken in this holy pilgrimage, all their sins are forgiven, and they reputed for so many saints. And divers of them with hot bricks, when they return, will put out their eyes, "that they never after see any profane thing," bite out their tongues," etc. They look for their prophet Mahomet as Jews do for their Messiah. Read more of their customs, rites, ceremonies, in Lonicerus, *Turcic. hist. tom. 1*, from the tenth to the twenty-fourth chapter; Bredembachius, *cap. 4, 5, 6*; Leo Afer, *lib. 1*; Busbequius; Sabellicus; Purchas, *lib. 3, cap. 3, et 4, 5*; Theodorus Bibliander, etc. Many foolish ceremonies you shall find in them; and which is most to be lamented, the people are generally so curious in observing of them, that if the least circumstance be omitted, they think they shall be damned, 'tis an irremissible offence, and can hardly

be forgiven. "I kept in my house amongst my followers" (saith Busbequius, sometime the Turk's orator in Constantinople) "a Turkey boy, that by chance did eat shell-fish, a meat forbidden by their law, but the next day when he knew what he had done, he was not only sick to cast and vomit, but very much troubled in mind, would weep and grieve many days after, torment himself for his foul offence."¹ Another Turk, being to drink a cup of wine in his cellar, first made a huge noise and filthy faces, "to warn his soul, as he said, that it should not be guilty of that foul fact which he was to commit."² With such toys as these are men kept in awe, and so cowed that they dare not resist, or offend the least circumstance of their law, for conscience' sake, misled by superstition, which no human edict otherwise, no force of arms, could have enforced.

In the last place are pseudo-Christians, in describing of whose superstitious symptoms as a mixture of the rest, I may say that which St. Benedict once saw in a vision, one devil in the market-place, but ten in a monastery, because there was more work; in populous cities they would swear and forswear, lie, falsify, deceive fast enough of themselves, one devil could circumvent a thousand; but in their religious houses a thousand devils could scarce tempt one silly monk. All the principal devils, I think, busy themselves in subverting Christians; Jews, Gentiles, and Mahometans are *extra callem*, out of the fold, and need no such attendance, they make no resistance, *eos enim pulsare negligit, quos quieto jure possidere se sentit*³ [he is at no pains to drive those whom he thinks he can take over without effort], they are his own already: but Christians have that shield of faith, sword of the Spirit to resist, and must have a great deal of battery before they can be overcome. That the devil is most busy amongst us that are of the true Church, appears by those several oppositions, heresies, schisms, which in all ages he hath raised to subvert it, and in that of Rome especially, wherein Antichrist himself now sits and plays his prize. This mystery of iniquity began to work even in the Apostles' time, many Antichrists and heretics were abroad, many sprung up since, many now present, and will be to the world's end, to dementate men's minds, to seduce and captivate their souls. Their symptoms I know not how better to express than in that twofold division, of such as lead, and are led. Such as lead are heretics, schismatics, false prophets, impostors, and their ministers: they have some common symptoms, some peculiar. Common, as madness, folly, pride, insolency, arrogancy,

singularity, peevishness, obstinacy, impudence, scorn and contempt of all other sects, *Nullius addicti jurare in verba magistri* [binding themselves to follow the teaching of no master]; they will approve of naught but what they first invent themselves, no interpretation good but what their infallible spirit dictates: none shall be *in secundis*, no, not *in tertiis*, they are only wise, only learned in the truth, all damned but they and their followers; *Cædem scripturarum faciunt ad materiam suam*, saith Tertullian, they make a slaughter of Scriptures, and turn it as a nose of wax to their own ends. So irrefragable in the meantime, that what they have once said, they must and will maintain, in whole tomes, duplications, triplications, never yield to death, so self-conceited, say what you can. As Bernard¹ (erroneously some say) speaks of P. Aliardus, *Omnes patres sic, atque ego sic*. Though all the Fathers, councils, the whole world contradict it, they care not, they are all one: and as Gregory well notes "of such as are vertiginous, they think all turns round and moves, all err; whenas the error is wholly in their own brains."² Magallianus the Jesuit, in his Comment on 1 Tim. vi, 20, and Alphonsus de Castro, *lib. 1 adversus hæreses*, gives two more eminent notes or probable conjectures to know such men by (they might have taken themselves by the noses when they said it): "First, they affect novelties and toys, and prefer falsehood before truth;³ secondly, they care not what they say, that which rashness and folly hath brought out, pride afterward, peevishness and contumacy shall maintain to the last gasp."⁴ Peculiar symptoms are prodigious paradoxes, new doctrines, vain phantasms, which are many and diverse as they themselves. Nicholaites of old would have wives in common;⁵ Montanists will not marry at all, nor Tatians, forbidding all flesh, Severians wine; Adamians go naked, because Adam did so in Paradise;⁶ and some barefoot all their lives, because God (Exod. iii and Joshua v) bid Moses [and Joshua] so to do, and Isaiah (xx) was bid to put off his shoes;⁷ Manichees hold that Pythagorean transmigration of souls from men to beasts; the Circumcellions in Africa, "with a mad cruelty made away themselves, some by fire, water, breaking their necks, and seduced others to do the like, threatening some if they did not,"⁸ with a thousand such; as you may read in Austin⁹ (for there were fourscore and eleven heresies in his times, besides schisms and smaller factions), Epiphanius, Alphonsus de Castro, Danæus, Gab. Prateolus, etc. Of prophets, enthusiasts and impostors, our ecclesiastical stories afford many examples; of Eliases and Christs, as our

Eudo de Stellis,¹ a Briton in King Stephen's time, that went invisible, translated himself from one to another in a moment, fed thousands with good cheer in the wilderness, and many such; nothing so common as miracles, visions, revelations, prophecies. Now what these brainsick heretics once broach, and impostors set on foot, be it never so absurd, false, and prodigious, the common people will follow and believe. It will run along like murrain in cattle, scab in sheep! *Nulla scabies*, as he said,² *superstitione scabiosior* [no scab festers worse than superstition]: as he that is bitten with a mad dog bites others, and all in the end become mad; either out of affection of novelty, simplicity, blind zeal, hope and fear, the giddy-headed multitude will embrace it, and without farther examination approve it.

Sed vetera querimur, these are old, *hæc prius fuere* [things of the past]. In our days we have a new scene of superstitious impostors and heretics, a new company of actors, of Antichrists, that great Antichrist himself: a rope of popes, that by their greatness and authority bear down all before them: who from that time they proclaimed themselves universal bishops, to establish their own kingdom, sovereignty, greatness, and to enrich themselves, brought in such a company of human traditions, purgatory, *limbus patrum, infantum*, and all that subterranean geography, mass, adoration of saints, alms, fastings, bulls, indulgencies, orders, friars, images, shrines, musty relics, excommunications, confessions, satisfactions, blind obediences, vows, pilgrimages, peregrinations, with many such curious toys, intricate subtleties, gross errors, obscure questions, to vindicate the better and set a gloss upon them, that the light of the Gospel was quite eclipsed, darkness over all, the Scriptures concealed, legends brought in, religion banished, hypocritical superstition exalted, and the Church itself obscured and persecuted:³ Christ and His members crucified more, saith Benzo, by a few necromantical, atheistical popes, than ever it was by Julian the Apostate, Porphyrius the Platonist, Celsus the physician, Libanius the Sophister;⁴ by those heathen emperors, Huns, Goths, and Vandals. What each of them did, by what means, at what times, *quibus auxiliis* [by what assistance], superstition climbed to this height, traditions increased, and Antichrist himself came to his estate, let Magdeburgenses, Kemnisius, Osiander, Bale, Mornay, Foxe, Usher, and many others relate. In the meantime, he that shall but see their profane rites and foolish customs, how superstitiously kept,

how strictly observed, their multitude of saints, images, that rabble of Romish deities, for trades, professions, diseases, persons, offices, countries, places: St. George for England; St. Denis for France; Patrick, Ireland; Andrew, Scotland; Jago, Spain, etc.; Gregory for students; Luke for painters; Cosmas and Damian for philosophers; Crispin, shoemakers; Katherine, spinners, etc.; Anthony for pigs; Gallus, geese; Wenceslaus, sheep; Pelagius, oxen; Sebastian, the plague; Valentine, falling sickness; Apollonia, toothache; Petronella for agues; and the Virgin Mary for sea and land, for all parties, offices: he that shall observe these things, their shrines, images, oblations, pendants, adorations, pilgrimages they make to them, what creeping to crosses, our Lady of Loretto's rich gowns,¹ her donaries, the cost bestowed on images, and number of suitors; St. Nicholas' burg in France; our St. Thomas' shrine of old at Canterbury; those relics at Rome, Jerusalem, Genoa, Lyons, Pratum,² St. Denis; and how many thousands come yearly to offer to them, with what cost, trouble, anxiety, superstition (for forty several masses are daily said in some of their churches,³ and they rise at all hours of the night to mass, come barefoot, etc.), how they spend themselves, times, goods, lives, fortunes, in such ridiculous observations; their tales and figments, false miracles, buying and selling of pardons, indulgences for 40,000 years to come, their processions on set days, their strict fastings, monks, anachorites, friar mendicants, Franciscans, Carthusians, etc.; their vigils and fasts, their ceremonies at Christmas, Shrove-tide, Candlemas, Palm-Sunday, St. Blaise, St. Martin, St. Nicholas' day; their adorations, exorcisms, etc., will think all those Grecian, pagan, Mahometan superstitions, gods, idols, and ceremonies, the name, time and place, habit only altered, to have degenerated into Christians. Whilst they prefer traditions before Scriptures; those evangelical councils, poverty, obedience, vows, alms, fasting, supererogations, before God's commandments; their own ordinances instead of His precepts, and keep them in ignorance, blindness, they have brought the common people into such a case by their cunning conveyances, strict discipline, and servile education, that upon pain of damnation they dare not break the least ceremony, tradition, edict; hold it a greater sin to eat a bit of meat in Lent than kill a man: their consciences are so terrified that they are ready to despair if a small ceremony be omitted; and will accuse their own father, mother, brother, sister, nearest and dearest friends of heresy if they do not as they do, will be their chief executioners, and

help first to bring a faggot to burn them. What mulct, what penance soever is enjoined, they dare not but do it, tumble with St. Francis in the mire amongst hogs, if they be appointed, go woolward, whip themselves, build hospitals, abbeys, etc., go to the East or West Indies, kill a king, or run upon a sword-point: they perform all, without any muttering or hesitation, believe all.

*Ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia athena
Vivere, et esse homines, et sic isti omnia jcta
Vera putant, credunt signis cor inesse athenis.*¹

As children think their babies live to be,
Do they these brazen images they sec.

And whilst the ruder sort are so carried headlong with blind zeal, are so gulled and tortured by their superstitions, their own too credulous simplicity and ignorance, their epicurean popes and hypocritical cardinals laugh in their sleeves, and are merry in their chambers with their punks, they do *indulgere genio* [enjoy themselves], and make much of themselves. The middle sort, some for private gain, hope of ecclesiastical preferment (*Quis expedit psittaco suum Χαίρε ?* [Who made the parrot so ready with its "Good day?"]), popularity, base flattery, must and will believe all their paradoxes and absurd tenents, without exception, and as obstinately maintain and put in practice all their traditions and idolatrous ceremonies (for their religion is half a trade) to the death; they will defend all, the Golden Legend itself, with all the lies and tales in it: as that of St. George, St. Christopher, St. Winifred, St. Denis, etc. It is a wonder to see how Nic. Harpsfield, that pharisaical impostor, amongst the rest, *Ecclesiast. Hist. cap. 22, sæc. prim. sex*, puzzles himself to vindicate that ridiculous fable of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, as when they lived,² how they came to Cologne, by whom martyred, etc.; though he can say nothing for it, yet he must and will approve it: *Nobilitavit (inquit) hoc sæculum Ursula cum comitibus, cujus historia utnam tam mihi esset expedita et certa, quam in animo meo certum ac expeditum est, eam esse cum sodalibus beatam in cælis virginem* [This age, saith he, hath been ennobled by Ursula and her companions, and I wish I could be as sure of the authenticity of the story as I am that she and her companions are enjoying heavenly bliss]. They must and will (I say) either out of blind zeal believe, vary their compass with the rest as the latitude of religion varies, apply themselves to the times and seasons, and

for fear and flattery are content to subscribe and do all that in them lies to maintain and defend their present government and slavish religious schoolmen, canonists, Jesuits, friars, priests, orators, sophisters, luxuriant wits who either for that they had nothing else to do, knew not otherwise how to busy themselves in those idle times, for the Church then had few or no open adversaries, or better to defend their lies, fictions, miracles, transubstantiations, traditions, popes' pardons, purgatories, masses, impossibilities, etc., with glorious shows, fair pretences, big words, and plausible wits, have coined a thousand idle questions, nice distinctions, subtleties, obs and sols,¹ such tropological, allegorical expositions, to salve all appearances, objections, such quirks and quiddities, "quodlibetaries," as Bale saith of Ferribrigge and Strode, instances, ampliatiions, decrees, glosses, canons, that instead of sound commentaries, good preachers, are come in a company of mad sophisters, *primo secundo secundarii*, sectaries, canonists, Sorbonists, Minorites, with a rabble of idle controversies and questions: *An Papa sit Deus, an quasi Deus? An participet utramque Christi naturam?* [Whether the Pope is God or a kind of God? Whether he partakes of each nature of Christ?] Whether it be as possible for God to be an humble-bee or a gourd, as a man? ² Whether He can produce respect without a foundation or term? make a whore a virgin? fetch Trajan's soul from hell, and how? with a rabble of questions about hell-fire: whether it be a greater sin to kill a man, or to clout shoes upon a Sunday? whether God can make another God like unto Himself? Such, saith Kemnisius, are most of your schoolmen (mere alchemists), 200 commentators on Peter Lombard (Pitseus, *Catal. scriptorum Anglic.*, reckons up 180 English commentators alone, on the matter of the Sentences), Scotists, Thomists, Reals, Nominals, etc., and so perhaps that of St. Austin ³ may be verified, *Indocti rapiunt cælum, docti interim descendunt ad infernum* [the ignorant attain heaven, the learned meanwhile descend to hell]. Thus they continued in such error, blindness, decrees, sophisms, superstitions; idle ceremonies and traditions were the sum of their new-coined holiness and religion, and by these knaveries and stratagems they were able to involve multitudes, to deceive the most sanctified souls, and, if it were possible, the very elect. In the meantime the true Church, as wine and water mixed, lay hid and obscure to speak of, till Luther's time, who began upon a sudden to defecate, and as another sun to drive away those foggy mists of superstition, to restore it to that purity

of the primitive Church. And after him many good and godly men, divine spirits, have done their endeavours, and still do.

And what their ignorance esteemed so holy,
Our wiser ages do account as folly.¹

But see the devil, that will never suffer the Church to be quiet or at rest: no garden so well tilled but some noxious weeds grow up in it, no wheat but it hath some tares: we have a mad giddy company of precisians, schismatics, and some heretics, even in our own bosoms in another extreme (*Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt* [fools in avoiding one fault rush into the opposite]); that out of too much zeal in opposition to Anti-christ, human traditions, those Romish rites and superstitions, will quite demolish all, they will admit of no ceremonies at all, no fasting days, no cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, no church music, etc., no bishops' courts, no church government, rail at all our church discipline, will not hold their tongues, and all for the peace of thee, O Sion! No, not so much as degrees some of them will tolerate, or universities; all human learning ('tis *cloaca diaboli* [the devil's sewer]), hoods, habits, cap and surplice, such as are things indifferent in themselves, and wholly for ornament, decency, or distinction' sake, they abhor, hate, and snuff at, as a stone-horse when he meets a bear: they make matters of conscience of them, and will rather forsake their livings than subscribe to them. They will admit of no holidays, or honest recreations, as of hawking, hunting, etc., no churches, no bells some of them, because papists use them; no discipline, no ceremonies but what they invent themselves; no interpretations of Scriptures, no comments of Fathers, no councils, but such as their own phantastical spirits dictate, or *recta ratio* [right reason], as Socinians; by which spirit misled, many times they broach as prodigious paradoxes as papists themselves. Some of them turn prophets, have secret revelations, will be of privy council with God Himself, and know all His secrets, *per capillos Spiritum Sanctum tenent, et omnia sciunt cum sint asini omnium obstinatissimi*² [they hold the Holy Spirit by the hair, and pretend to know everything though they are but a pack of obstinate asses]. A company of giddy heads will take upon them to define how many shall be saved and who damned in a parish, where they shall sit in heaven, interpret apocalypses (*commentatores præcipientes et vertiginosos* [headstrong and scatter-brain commentators]), one calls them, as well he might) and those hidden mysteries to private persons, times, places, as

their own spirit informs them, private revelations shall suggest, and precisely set down when the world shall come to an end, what year, what month, what day. Some of them again have such strong faith, so presumptuous, they will go into infected houses, expel devils, and fast forty days, as Christ Himself did; some call God and His attributes into question, as Vorstius and Socinus; some princes, civil magistrates, and their authorities, as Anabaptists, will do all their own private spirit dictates, and nothing else. Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, and those Amsterdamian sects and sectaries, are led all by so many private spirits. It is a wonder to reveal what passages Sleidan relates in his Commentaries, of Cretink, Knipperdoling, and their associates, those madmen of Munster in Germany; what strange enthusiasms, sottish revelations they had, how absurdly they carried themselves, deluded others; and as profane Machiavel in his Political Disputations holds of Christian religion, in general it doth enervate, debilitate, take away men's spirits and courage from them, *simpliciores reddit homines* [makes men more simple], breeds nothing so courageous soldiers as that Roman: we may say of these peculiar sects, their religion takes away not spirits only, but wit and judgment, and deprives them of their understanding; for some of them are so far gone with their private enthusiasms and revelations, that they are quite mad, out of their wits. What greater madness can there be than for a man to take upon him to be a god, as some do? to be the Holy Ghost, Elias, and what not? In Poland, 1518, in the reign of King Sigismund, one said he was Christ, and got him twelve apostles, came to judge the world, and strangely deluded the commons.¹ One David George, an illiterate painter, not many years since, did as much in Holland, took upon him to be the Messiah, and had many followers.² Benedictus Victorinus Faventinus, *consil.* 15, writes as much of one Honorius, that thought he was not only inspired as a prophet, but that he was a god himself, and had familiar conference with God and His angels.³ Lavater, *de spect. cap.* 2, *part.* 8, hath a story of one John Sartorius, that thought he was the prophet Elias, and, *cap.* 7, of divers others that had conference with angels, were saints, prophets. Wierus, *lib.* 3 *de lamiis*, *cap.* 7, makes mention of a prophet of Groningen that said he was God the Father; of an Italian and Spanish prophet that held as much. We need not rove so far abroad, we have familiar examples at home: Hacket that said he was Christ; Coppinger and Arthington his disciples; Burchet and Hovatus, burned at Norwich.

We are never likely seven years together without some such new prophets that have several inspirations, some to convert the Jews, some fast forty days, go with Daniel to the lions' den; some foretell strange things, some for one thing, some for another. Great precisians of mean conditions and very illiterate, most part by a preposterous zeal, fasting, meditation, melancholy, are brought into those gross errors and inconveniences. Of those men I may conclude generally, that howsoever they may seem to be discreet, and men of understanding in other matters, discourse well, *læsam habent imaginationem* [they have a diseased imagination], they are like comets, round in all places but only where they blaze, *cætera sani* [sane in other respects], they have impregnable wits many of them, and discreet otherwise, but in this their madness and folly breaks out beyond measure, *in infinitum erumpit stultitia*. They are certainly far gone with melancholy, if not quite mad, and have more need of physic than many a man that keeps his bed, more need of hellebore than those that are in Bedlam.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Prognostics of Religious Melancholy*

You may guess at the prognostics by the symptoms. What can these signs foretell otherwise than folly, dotage, madness, gross ignorance, despair, obstinacy, a reprobate sense, a bad end?¹ What else can superstition, heresy produce, but wars, tumults, uproars, torture of souls, and despair, a desolate land, as Jeremy teacheth, *cap. vii, 34*, when they commit idolatry, and walk after their own ways? how should it be otherwise with them? what can they expect but "blasting, famine, dearth," and all the plagues of Egypt, as Amos denounceth, *cap. iv, vers. 9, 10*; to be led into captivity? If our hopes be frustrate, "we sow much and bring in little, eat and have not enough, drink and are not filled, clothe and be not warm," etc. (*Haggai i, 6*); "we look for much and it comes to little, whence is it? His house was waste, they came to their own houses" (*vers. 9*); "therefore the heaven stayed his dew, the earth his fruit." Because we are superstitious, irreligious, we do not serve God as we ought, all these plagues and miseries come upon us; what can we look for else but mutual wars, slaughters, fearful ends in this life, and in the life to come eternal damnation? What is it that hath caused so many feral battles to be fought, so much Christian blood shed, but superstition? That Spanish

Inquisition, racks, wheels, tortures, torments, whence do they proceed? from superstition. Bodine the Frenchman in his *Method. hist.*¹ accounts Englishmen barbarians, for their civil wars: but let him read those Pharsalian fields fought of late in France for religion,² their massacres, wherein by their own relations in twenty-four years I know not how many millions have been consumed, whole families and cities, and he shall find ours to be but velitations to theirs. But it hath ever been the custom of heretics and idolaters, when they are plagued for their sins, and God's just judgments come upon them, not to acknowledge any fault in themselves, but still impute it unto others. In Cyprian's time it was much controverted between him and Demetrius an idolater, who should be the cause of those present calamities. Demetrius laid all the fault on Christians (and so they did ever in the primitive Church, as appears by the first book of Arnobius³), "that there were not such ordinary showers in winter, the ripening heat in summer, so seasonable springs, fruitful autumns, no marble mines in the mountains, less gold and silver than of old; that husbandmen, seamen, soldiers, all were scanted, justice, friendship, skill in arts, all was decayed,"⁴ and that through Christians' default, and all their other miseries from them, *quod dii nostri a vobis non colantur*, because they did not worship their gods. But Cyprian retorts all upon him again, as appears by his tract against him. 'Tis true the world is miserably tormented and shaken with wars, dearth, famine, fire, inundations, plagues, and many feral diseases rage amongst us, *sed non ut tu quereris, ista accidunt quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur, sed quod a vobis non colatur Deus, a quibus nec queritur, nec timetur*, [but] not as thou complainest, that we do not worship your gods, but because you are idolaters, and do not serve the true God, neither seek Him, nor fear Him as you ought. Our papists object as much to us, and account us heretics, we them; the Turks esteem of both as infidels, and we them as a company of pagans; Jews against all; when indeed there is a general fault in us all, and something in the very best, which may justly deserve God's wrath, and pull these miseries upon our heads. I will say nothing here of those vain cares, torments, needless works, penance, pilgrimages, pseudomartyrdom, etc. We heap upon ourselves unnecessary troubles, observations; we punish our bodies, as in Turkey (saith Busbequius, *Leg. Turcic. ep. 3*)⁵ "one did, that was much affected with music, and to hear boys sing, but very superstitious; an old sibyl coming to his

house, or an holy woman" (as that place yields many), "took him down for it, and told him that in that other world he should suffer for it; thereupon he flung his rich and costly instruments which he had bedecked with jewels, all at once into the fire. He was served in silver plate, and had goodly household stuff: a little after, another religious man reprehended him [in like sort, and from thenceforth he was served in earthen vessels. Last of all a decree came forth, because Turks might not drink wine themselves, that neither Jew nor Christian then living in Constantinople might drink any wine at all." In like sort amongst papists, fasting at first was generally proposed as a good thing; after, from such meats at set times, and then last of all so rigorously proposed, to bind the consciences upon pain of damnation. "First Friday," saith Erasmus, "then Saturday, *et nunc periclitatur dies Mercurii*," and Wednesday now is in danger of a fast. "And for such-like toys some so miserably afflict themselves, to despair and death itself, rather than offend, and think themselves good Christians in it, whenas indeed they are superstitious Jews."¹ So saith Leonardus Fuchsius, a great physician in his time. "We are tortured in Germany with these popish edicts, our bodies so taken down, our goods so diminished, that if God had not sent Luther, a worthy man, in time, to redress these mischiefs, we should have eaten hay with our horses before this."² As in fasting,³ so in all other superstitious edicts, we crucify one another without a cause, barring ourselves of many good and lawful things, honest disports, pleasures and recreations; for wherefore did God create them but for our use? Feasts, mirth, music, hawking, hunting, singing, dancing, etc., *non tam necessitatibus nostris Deus inservit, sed in delicias amamur* [were given by God not to serve our necessities, but, out of His great love, for our delectation], as Seneca notes, God would have it so. And as Plato, 2 *de legibus*, gives out, *Deos laboriosam hominum vitam miseratos*, the gods in commiseration of human estate sent Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses, *qui cum voluptate tripudia et saltationes nobis ducant*, to be merry with mortals, to sing and dance with us; so that he that will not rejoice and enjoy himself, making good use of such things as are lawfully permitted, *non est temperatus* [is not temperate], as he will, *sed superstitiosus* [but superstitious]. "There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour" (Eccles. ii, 24). And as one said of hawking and hunting,⁴ *Tot solatia in hac ægri orbis*

calamitate mortalibus tædiis Deus objecit, I say of all honest recreations, God hath therefore indulged them to refresh, ease, solace and comfort us. But we are some of us too stern, too rigid, too precise, too grossly superstitious, and whilst we make a conscience of every toy, with touch not, taste not, etc., as those Pythagoreans of old, and some Indians now, that will eat no flesh, or suffer any living creature to be killed, the Bannians about Guzerat; we tyrannize over our brother's soul, lose the right use of many good gifts, honest sports, games and pleasant recreations,¹ punish ourselves without a cause,² lose our liberties, and sometimes our lives. Anno 1270, at Magdeburg in Germany, a Jew fell into a privy upon a Saturday, and without help could not possibly get out; he called to his fellows for succour, but they denied it, because it was their Sabbath, *non licebat opus manuum exercere* [no manual labour was permitted]; the bishop hearing of it, the next day forbade him to be pulled out, because it was our Sunday: in the meantime the wretch died before Monday.³ We have myriads of examples in this kind amongst those rigid sabbatarians, and therefore not without good cause, *intolerabilem perturbationem* Seneca calls it,⁴ as well he might, an intolerable perturbation, that causeth such dire events, folly, madness, sickness, despair, death of body and soul, and hell itself.

SUBJECT. V.—*Cure of Religious Melancholy*

To purge the world of idolatry and superstition will require some monster-taming Hercules, a divine Æsculapius, or Christ Himself to come in His own person, to reign a thousand years on earth before the end, as the millenaries will have Him. They are generally so refractory, self-conceited, obstinate, so firmly addicted to that religion in which they have been bred and brought up, that no persuasion, no terror, no persecution can divert them. The consideration of which hath induced many commonwealths to suffer them to enjoy their consciences as they will themselves. A toleration of Jews is in most provinces of Europe; in Asia they have their synagogues; Spaniards permit Moors to live amongst them; the Mogullians Gentiles; the Turks all religions. In Europe, Poland and Amsterdam are the common sanctuaries. Some are of opinion that no man ought to be compelled for conscience' sake, but let him be of what religion he will, he may be saved, as Cornelius was formerly accepted, Jew, Turk, Anabaptists, etc., if he be an honest man, live soberly and civilly in his profession (Volkeliuss, Crellius, and the rest of

the Socinians, that now nestle themselves about Cracow and Rakow in Poland, have renewed this opinion), serve his own God with that fear and reverence as he ought. *Sua cuique civitati (Læli) religio sit, nostra nobis*; Tully thought fit every city should be free in this behalf, adore their own *custodes et topicos deos*, tutelar and local gods, as Symmachus calls them. Isocrates adviseth Demonicus, "when he came to a strange city, to worship by all means the gods of the place,"¹ *et unumquemque topicum deum sic coli oportere, quomodo ipse præceperit* [every local deity should be worshipped in the manner he has himself prescribed]: which Cæcilius in Minucius² labours, and would have every nation *sacrorum ritus gentiles habere et deos colere municipales*, keep their own ceremonies, worship their peculiar gods, which Pomponius Mela reports of the Africans, *Deos suos patrio more venerantur*, they worship their own gods according to their own ordination. For why should any one nation, as he there pleads, challenge that universality of God, *Deum suum quem nec ostendunt, nec vident, discurrentem scilicet et ubique præsentem, in omnium mores, actus, et occultas cogitationes inquirentem* [their own God whom they neither show nor see, who is supposed to run all ways and be everywhere, and to survey the character, actions, and hidden thoughts of all], etc., as Christians do? let every province enjoy their liberty in this behalf, worship one God, or all as they will, and are informed. The Romans built altars *diis Asiæ, Europæ, Libyæ, diis ignotis et peregrinis* [to the gods of Asia, Europe, Libya, to unknown and foreign gods]: others otherwise, etc. Plinius Secundus, as appears by his epistle to Trajan, would not have the Christians so persecuted, and in some time of the reign of Maximinus, as we find it registered in Eusebius, *lib. 9, cap. 9*, there was a decree made to this purpose, *Nullus cogatur invitus ad hunc vel illum deorum cultum* [let no one be compelled against his will to worship any particular deity], and by Constantine in the nineteenth year of his reign, as Baronius informeth us,³ *Nemo alteri exhibeat molestiam, quod cujusque animus vult, hoc quisque transigat* [let no one interfere with any one else, let each act as he will]; new gods, new lawgivers, new priests, will have new ceremonies, customs and religions, to which every wise man as a good formalist should accommodate himself.

Saturnus perit, perierunt et sua jura,

*Sub Jove nunc mundus, jussa sequare Jovis.*⁴

[Saturn is gone, and ended is his sway;

Jove now is lord, the word of Jove obey.]

The said Constantine the emperor, as Eusebius writes, flung down and demolished all the heathen gods, silver, gold statues, altars, images and temples, and turned them all to Christian churches, *infestus gentilium monumentis ludibrio exposuit* [he hated the monuments of the Gentiles, and subjected them to insult]; the Turk now converts them again to Mahometan meskites. The like edict came forth in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius. Symmachus the orator,¹ in his days, to procure a general toleration, used this argument: "Because God is immense and infinite, and His nature cannot perfectly be known, it is convenient He should be as diversely worshipped as every man shall perceive or understand."² It was impossible, he thought, for one religion to be universal: you see that one small province can hardly be ruled by one law, civil or spiritual; and "how shall so many distinct and vast empires of the world be united into one? It never was, never will be." Besides, if there be infinite planetary and firmamental worlds, as some will,³ there be infinite genii or commanding spirits belonging to each of them; and so, *per consequens* (for they will be all adored), infinite religions. And therefore let every territory keep their proper rites and ceremonies, as their *dii tutelares* will, so Tyrius calls them, "and according to the quarter they hold," their own institutions, revelations, orders, oracles, which they dictate from time to time, or teach their priests or ministers. This tenent was stiffly maintained in Turkey not long since, as you may read in the third epistle of Busbequius, "that all those should participate of eternal happiness, that lived an holy and innocent life, what religion soever they professed."⁴ Rustan Bassa was a great patron of it; though Mahomet himself was sent *virtute gladii* [by dint of the sword] to enforce all, as he writes in his Alcoran, to follow him. Some again will approve of this for Jews, Gentiles, infidels, that are out of the fold, they can be content to give them all respect and favour, but by no means to such as are within the precincts of our own Church, and called Christians, to no heretics, schismatics, or the like; let the Spanish Inquisition, that fourth Fury, speak of some of them, the civil wars and massacres in France, our Marian times. Magallianus the Jesuit⁵ will not admit of conference with an heretic, but severity and rigour to be used, *non illis verba reddere, sed furcas figere oportet* [we should not argue with them, but erect gallows for them]; and Theodosius is commended in Nicephorus, *lib. 12, cap. 15*, "that he put all heretics to silence."⁶ Bernard, *Epist. 190*, will have club-law, fire and

sword for heretics, "compel them, stop their mouths, not with disputations, or refute them with reasons, but with fists";¹ and this is their ordinary practice. Another company are as mild on the other side; to avoid all heart-burning and contentious wars and uproars, they would have a general toleration in every kingdom, no mulct at all, no man for religion or conscience be put to death, which Thuanus the French historian much favours,² our late Socinians defend, Vaticanus against Calvin, in a large treatise in behalf of Servetus, vindicates; Castalio, etc., Martin Bellius, and his companions maintained this opinion not long since in France, whose error is confuted by Beza in a just volume. The medium is best, and that which Paul prescribes (Gal. vi, 1): "If any man shall fall by occasion, to restore such a one with the spirit of meekness, by all fair means, gentle admonitions"; but if that will not take place, *Post unam et alteram admonitionem hæreticum devota* [after the second admonition, avoid a heretic], he must be excommunicate, as Paul did by Hymenæus, delivered over to Satan. *Immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum est* [an incurable limb must be amputated]. As Hippocrates said in physic, I may well say in divinity, *Quæ ferro non curantur, ignis curat* [what is not cured by the sword is cured by fire]. For the vulgar, restrain them by laws, mulcts, burn their books, forbid their conventicles; for when the cause is taken away, the effect will soon cease. Now for prophets, dreamers, and such rude silly fellows, that through fasting, too much meditation, preciseness, or by melancholy are distempered, the best means to reduce them *ad sanam mentem* [to their senses] is to alter their course of life, and with conference, threats, promises, persuasions, to intermix physic. Hercules de Saxonia had such a prophet committed to his charge in Venice, that thought he was Elias, and would fast as he did; he dressed a fellow in angel's attire, that said he came from heaven to bring him divine food, and by that means stayed his fast, administered his physic; so by the mediation of this forged angel he was cured. Rhasis, an Arabian, *Cont. lib. 1, cap. 9*, speaks of a fellow that in like case complained to him, and desired his help: "I asked him" (saith he) "what the matter was; he replied, I am continually meditating of heaven and hell, and methinks I see and talk with fiery spirits, smell brimstone, etc., and am so carried away with these conceits that I can neither eat, nor sleep, nor go about my business. I cured him" (saith Rhasis) "partly by persuasion, partly by physic, and so have I done by many others."³ We have

frequently such prophets and dreamers amongst us, whom we persecute with fire and fagot; I think the most compendious cure, for some of them at least, had been in Bedlam. *Sed de his satis* [but enough of this].

MEMB. II.

SUBJECT. I.—*Religious Melancholy in Defect; Parties affected, Epicures, Atheists, Hypocrites, Worldly Secure, Carnalists, all Impious Persons, Impenitent Sinners, etc.*

In that other extreme, or defect of this love of God, knowledge, faith, fear, hope, etc., are such as err both in doctrine and manners, Sadducees, Herodians, libertines, politicians; all manner of atheists, epicures, infidels, that are secure, in a reprobate sense, fear not God at all, and such are too distrustful and timorous, as desperate persons be. That grand sin of atheism or impiety, Melancthon¹ calls it, *monstrosam melancholiam*, monstrous melancholy; or *venenatam melancholiam*, poisoned melancholy. A company of Cyclopes or giants, that war with the gods, as the poets feigned, antipodes to Christians, that scoff at all religion, at God Himself, deny Him and all His attributes, His wisdom, power, providence, His mercy and judgment.

*Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna,
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque una transire vadum tot millia cymba,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.*²

[That there are shades and an underworld, and such things as Charon's pole and black frogs in the Stygian pool, and thousands crossing the strait in a single skiff—these tales are not believed even by boys, save those who are not yet in their teens.]

That there is either heaven or hell, resurrection of the dead, pain, happiness, or world to come, *credat Judæus Apella* [tell it to the marines]; for their parts they esteem them as so many poet's tales, bugbears; Lucian's Alexander, Moses, Mahomet, and Christ are all as one in their creed. When those bloody wars in France for matters of religion (saith Richard Dinoth³) were so violently pursued between Huguenots and papists, there was a company of good fellows laughed them all to scorn

for being such superstitious fools to lose their wives and fortunes, accounting faith, religion, immortality of the soul, mere fopperies and illusions. Such loose atheistical spirits are too predominant in all kingdoms.¹ Let them contend, pray, tremble, trouble themselves that will, for their parts, they fear neither God nor devil; but with that Cyclops in Euripides,

*Haud ulla numina expavescunt cœlitum,
Sed victimas uni deorum maximo,
Ventre offerunt, deos ignorant cæteros.*

They fear no god but one,
They sacrifice to none
But belly, and him adore,
For gods they know no more.

“Their god is their belly,” as Paul saith, *Sancta mater saturitas; quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est* [their Holy Mother is satiety; they live only for eating]. The idol which they worship and adore is their mistress; with him in Plautus, *Mallam hæc mulier me amet quam dii*, they had rather have her favour than the gods’. Satan is their guide, the flesh is their instructor, hypocrisy their counsellor, vanity their fellow-soldier, their will their law, ambition their captain, custom their rule; temerity, boldness, impudence their art, toys their trading, damnation their end. All their endeavours are to satisfy their lust and appetite, how to please their genius, and to be merry for the present:

Ede, lude, bibe, post mortem nulla voluptas.

[Eat, drink, and be merry—after death there is no pleasure.]

“The same condition is of men and of beasts; as the one dieth, so dieth the other” (Eccles. iii, 19). The world goes round:

*Truditur dies die,
Novæque pergunt interire lunæ.²*

[Day treads on the heels of day, and fresh moons rise and wane.]

They did eat and drink of old, marry, bury, bought, sold, planted, built, and will do still.³ “Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no recovery, neither was any man known that hath returned from the grave; for we are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been; for the breath is as smoke in our nostrils, etc., and the spirit vanisheth as the soft air.⁴ Come let us enjoy the pleasures that are present,⁵ let us cheerfully use the creatures

as in youth, let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, let not the flower of our life pass by us, let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they are withered," etc. *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus*¹ [my Lesbia, let us live and love], etc. "Come let us take our fill of love, and pleasure in dalliance, for this is our portion, this is our lot."²

Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis.

[Time glides on, and we age insensibly with the years.]

For the rest of heaven and hell, let children and superstitious fools believe it: for their parts, they are so far from trembling at the dreadful day of judgment that they wish with Nero, *Me vivo fiat*, let it come in their times: so secure, so desperate, so immoderate in lust and pleasure, so prone to revenge, that, as Paterculus said of some caitiffs in his time in Rome, *quod nequiter ausi, fortiter executi*: it shall not be so wickedly attempted, but as desperately performed, whate'er they take in hand. Were it not for God's restraining grace, fear and shame, temporal punishment, and their own infamy, they would Lycaon-like³ exenterate, as so many cannibals eat up, or [as] Cadmus' soldiers consume one another. These are most impious, and commonly professed atheists, that never use the name of God but to swear by it; that express naught else but Epicurism in their carriage, or hypocrisy; with Pentheus they neglect and condemn these rites and religious ceremonies of the gods; they will be gods themselves, or at least *socii deorum* [colleagues of the gods]. *Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet* [Cæsar divides the empire with Jove]. Apries, an Egyptian tyrant, grew, saith Herodotus,⁴ to that height of pride, insolency and impiety, to that contempt of gods and men, that he held his kingdom so sure, *ut a nemine deorum aut hominum sibi eripi posset*, neither god nor men could take it from him. A certain blasphemous king of Spain⁵ (as Lausius reports⁶) made an edict, that no subject of his, for ten years' space, should believe in, call on, or worship any god. And as Jovius relates of Mahomet the Second, that sacked Constantinople, "he so behaved himself, that he believed neither Christ nor Mahomet; and thence it came to pass that he kept his word and promise no farther than for his advantage, neither did he care to commit any offence to satisfy his lust."⁷ I could say the like of many princes, many private men (our stories are full of them) in times past, this present age, that love, fear, obey, and perform all civil duties as they shall find them expedient

or behoveful to their own ends. *Securi adversus deos, securi adversus homines, votis non est opus*, which Tacitus reports of some Germans,¹ they need not pray, fear, hope, for they are secure, to their thinking, both from God and men. Bulco Opiliensis, sometime Duke of Silesia, was such a one to an hair; he lived (saith Æneas Sylvius²) at Uratislavia,³ "and was so mad to satisfy his lust, that he believed neither heaven nor hell, or that the soul was immortal, but married wives, and turned them up as he thought fit, did murder and mischief, and what he list himself."⁴ This duke hath too many followers in our days: say what you can, dehort, exhort, persuade to the contrary, they are no more moved, *quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*, than so many stocks and stones; tell them of heaven and hell, 'tis to no purpose, *laterem lavas* [you are washing a brick (i.e. wasting your labour)], they answer as Ataliba, that Indian prince, did Friar Vincent, "when he brought him a book, and told him all the mysteries of salvation, heaven and hell, were contained in it: he looked upon it, and said he saw no such matter, asking withal how he knew it";⁵ they will but scoff at it, or wholly reject it. Petronius in Tacitus, when he was now by Nero's command bleeding to death, *audiebat amicos nihil referentes de immortalitate animæ, aut sapientum placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus*, instead of good counsel and divine meditations, he made his friends sing him bawdy verses and scurrile songs. Let them take heaven, paradise, and that future happiness that will, *bonum est esse hic*, it is good being here: there is no talking to such, no hope of their conversion, they are in a reprobate sense, mere carnalists, fleshly-minded men, which howsoever they may be applauded in this life by some few parasites, and held for wordly wise men, "They seem to me" (saith Melancthon) "to be as mad as Hercules was when he raved and killed his wife and children."⁶ A milder sort of these atheistical spirits there are that profess religion, but *timide et hæsitanter* [timidly and with hesitation], tempted thereunto out of that horrible consideration of diversity of religions, which are and have been in the world (which argument Campanella, *Atheismi Triumphati* cap. 9, both urgeth and answers), besides the covetousness, imposture, and knavery of priests, *quæ faciunt* (as Postellus observes⁷) *ut rebus sacris minus faciant fidem* [which cause religion to be less believed in], and those religions some of them so phantastical, exorbitant, so violently maintained with equal constancy and assurance; whence they infer, that if there be so many religious sects, and

denied by the rest, why may they not be all false? or why should this or that be preferred before the rest? The sceptics urge this, and amongst others it is the conclusion of Sextus Empiricus, *lib. 8 advers. Mathematicos*: after many philosophical arguments and reasons pro and con that there are gods, and again that there are no gods, he so concludes, *cum tot inter se pugnent*, etc., *una tantum potest esse vera* [there are so many diverse opinions, and yet one only can be true], as Tully likewise disputes: Christians say they alone worship the true God, pity all other sects, lament their case; and yet those old Greeks and Romans that worshipped the devil, as the Chinese now do, *aut deos topicos*, [or] their own gods, as Julian the Apostate, Cæcilius in Minucius,¹ Celsus, and Porphyrius the philosopher object, and as Machiavel contends, were much more noble, generous, victorious, had a more flourishing commonwealth, better cities, better soldiers, better scholars, better wits; their gods often overcame our gods, did as many miracles, etc. Saint Cyril, Arnobius, Minucius, with many other ancients, of late Lessius, Mornæus, Grotius *de verit. relig. Christianæ*, Savonarola *de verit. fidei Christianæ*, well defend; but Zanchius, Campanella,² Marinus Marcennus, Bozius, and Gentilettus answer all these atheistical arguments at large. But this again troubles many as of old, wicked men generally thrive, professed atheists thrive:

*Nullos esse deos, inane cælum,
Affirmat Selius : probatque, quod se
Factum, dum negat hæc, videt beatum.*³

There are no gods, heavens are toys,
Selius in public justifies;
Because that whilst he thus denies
Their deities, he better thrives.

This is a prime argument: and most part your most sincere, upright, honest, and good men are depressed.⁴ "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong" (Eccles. ix, 11), "nor yet bread to the wise, favour nor riches to men of understanding, but time and chance comes to all." There was a great plague in Athens (as Thucydides, *lib. 2*, relates), in which at last every man, with great licentiousness, did what he list, not caring at all for God's or men's laws. "Neither the fear of God nor laws of men" (saith he) "awed any man, because the plague swept all away alike, good and bad; they thence concluded it was alike to worship or not worship the gods, since they perished all alike." Some cavil and make doubts of Scripture itself: it cannot stand with God's mercy, that so many

should be damned, so many bad, so few good, such have and hold about religions, all stiff on their side, factious alike, thrive alike, and yet bitterly persecuting and damning each other. "It cannot stand with God's goodness, protection, and providence" (as St. Chrysostom¹ in the dialect of such discontented persons) "to see and suffer one man to be lame, another mad, a third poor and miserable all the days of his life, a fourth grievously tormented with sickness and aches," to his last hour. "Are these signs and works of God's providence, to let one man be deaf, another dumb? A poor honest fellow lives in disgrace, woe and want, wretched he is; whenas a wicked caitiff abounds in superfluity of wealth, keeps whores, parasites, and what he will himself." *Audis, Jupiter, hæc?* [Hearest thou this, O Jupiter?] *Talia multa connectentes, longum reprehensionis sermonem erga Dei providentiam contextunt* [they bring many such instances together, and weave out of them a long screed against the providence of God]. Thus they mutter and object (see the rest of their arguments in Marcennus *in Genesin*, and in Campanella, amply confuted), with many such vain cavils, well known, not worthy the recapitulation or answering: whatsoever they pretend, they are *interim* of little or no religion.

Cousin-germans to these men are many of our great philosophers and deists, who, though they be more temperate in this life, give many good moral precepts, honest, upright, and sober in their conversation, yet in effect they are the same (accounting no man a good scholar that is not an atheist), *nimis altum sapiunt*, too much learning makes them mad. Whiles they attribute all to natural causes, contingency of all things, as Melancthon calls them,² *pertinax hominum genus*, a peevish generation of men, that misled by philosophy and the devil's suggestion, their own innate blindness, deny God as much as the rest, hold all religion a fiction, opposite to reason and philosophy, though for fear of magistrates, saith Vaninus,³ they durst not publicly profess it. Ask one of them of what religion he is, he scoffingly replies, a philosopher, a Galenist, an Averroist,⁴ and with Rabelais a physician, a Peripatetic, an Epicure. In spiritual things God must demonstrate all to sense, leave a pawn with them, or else seek some other creditor. They will acknowledge nature and fortune, yet not God; though in effect they grant both: for, as Scaliger defines, Nature signifies God's ordinary power; or, as Calvin writes, Nature is God's order, and so things extraordinary may be called unnatural: Fortune His unrevealed will; and so we call things changeable that are

beside reason and expectation. To this purpose Minucius, in *Octaviano*,¹ and Seneca well discourseth with them, *lib. 4 de beneficiis*, cap. 5, 6, 7.² "They do not understand what they say; what is Nature but God? call him what thou wilt, Nature, Jupiter, he hath as many names as offices: it comes all to one pass, God is the fountain of all, the first Giver and Preserver, from whom all things depend," *a quo, et per quem omnia*,³

Nam quodcunque vides Deus est, quocunque moveris,

God is all in all, God is everywhere, in every place. And yet this Seneca, that could confute and blame them, is all out as much to be blamed and confuted himself, as mad himself; for he holds *fatum Stoicum*, that inevitable necessity in the other extreme, as those Chaldean astrologers of old did, against whom the prophet Jeremy so often thunders, and those heathen mathematicians, Nigidius Figulus, magicians, and Priscillianists, whom St. Austin so eagerly confutes, those Arabian questionaries, *Novem Judices* [the Nine Judges], Albumazar, Dorotheus, etc., and our countryman Estuidus,⁴ that take upon them to define out of those great conjunctions of stars, with Ptolemæus, the periods of kingdoms, or religions, of all future accidents, wars, plagues, schisms, heresies, and what not? all from stars, and such things, saith Maginus, *quæ sibi et intelligentiis suis reservavit Deus*, which God hath reserved to Himself and His angels, they will take upon them to foretell, as if stars were immediate, inevitable causes of all future accidents. Cæsar Vaninus, in his book *de admirandis naturæ arcanis*, dial. 52, *de oraculis*, is more free, copious, and open in the explication of this astrological tenent of Ptolemy than any of our modern writers, Cardan excepted, a true disciple of his master Pomponatius; according to the doctrine of Peripatetics, he refers all apparitions, prodigies, miracles, oracles, accidents, alterations of religions, kingdoms, etc. (for which he is soundly lashed by Marinus Marcennus, as well he deserves), to natural causes (for spirits he will not acknowledge), to that light, motion, influences of heavens and stars, and to the intelligences that move the orbs: *Intelligentia quæ movet orbem mediante cælo*, etc. Intelligences do all: and after a long discourse of miracles done of old, *Si hæc dæmones possint, cur non et intelligentiæ cælorum motrices?* [If demons can do this, why not the intelligences that move the heavens?] And as these great conjunctions, aspects of planets, begin or end, vary, are vertical and predominant, so have religions, rites, ceremonies, and kingdoms their beginning,

progress, periods. *In urbibus, regibus, religionibus, ac in particularibus hominibus, hæc vera ac manifesta sunt, ut Aristoteles innuere videtur, et quotidiana docet experientia, ut historias perlegens videbit; quid olim in Gentili lege Jove sanctius et illustrius? quid nunc vile magis et execrandum? Ita cælestia corpora pro mortalium beneficio religiones ædificant, et cum cessat influxus, cessat lex* [The fact is patent in respect of cities, kings, and religions, and also of ordinary individuals, as Aristotle seems to hint and daily experience teaches, as any one will see who reads history. What is more sacred and noble in the religion of the Gentiles than Jove? What is now more despised and execrated? Thus the heavenly bodies build up religions for the good of mankind, and when their influence ceases, the religion also passes away], etc. And because, according to their tenents, the world is eternal, intelligences eternal, influences of stars eternal, kingdoms, religions, alterations shall be likewise eternal, and run round after many ages; *Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles; renascentur religiones et cærimonix, res humanæ in idem recident, nihil nunc quod non olim fuit, et post sæculorum revolutiones alias est, erit, etc., idem specie*, saith Vaninus, *non individuo quod Plato significavit* ["Once more to Troy shall great Achilles be sent"; old religions and ceremonies shall be resuscitated; history shall repeat itself, there is nothing now which was not already once on a time, and with the revolution of time shall be again . . . the same in kind but not in the individual, as Plato said]. These (saith mine author¹), these are the decree of Peripatetics, which though I recite, *in obsequium Christianæ fidei detestor*, as I am a Christian I detest and hate. Thus Peripatetics and astrologians held in former times, and to this effect of old in Rome, saith Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *lib. 7*, when those meteors and prodigies appeared in the air after the banishment of Coriolanus, "men were diversely affected: some said they were God's just judgments for the execution of that good man, some referred all to natural causes, some to stars, some thought they came by chance, some by necessity"² decreed *ab initio*, and could not be altered. The two last opinions of necessity and chance were, it seems, of greater note than the rest.

*Sunt qui in Fortunæ jam casibus omnia ponunt,
Et mundum credunt nullo rectore moveri,
Natura volvente vices, etc.*³

[Some ascribe everything to chance, and believe that the world has no ruler, but that it goes on by nature.]

For the first, of chance, as Sallust likewise informeth us,¹ those old Romans generally received. "They supposed fortune alone gave kingdoms and empires, wealth, honours, offices; and that for two causes: first, because every wicked, base, unworthy wretch was preferred, rich, potent, etc.; secondly, because of their uncertainty, though never so good, scarce any one enjoyed them long; but after, they began upon better advice to think otherwise, that every man made his own fortune." The last of necessity was Seneca's tenent, that God was *alligatus causis secundis*, so tied to second causes, to that inexorable necessity, that He could alter nothing of that which was once decreed; *sic erat in fatis*, it cannot be altered, *semel jussit, semper paret Deus, nulla vis rumpit, nullæ preces, nec ipsum fulmen*, God hath once said it, and it must for ever stand good, no prayers, no threats, nor power, nor thunder itself can alter it. Zeno, Chrysippus, and those other Stoics, as you may read in Tully, *2 de divinatione*, Gellius, *lib. 6, cap. 2*, etc., maintained as much. In all ages, there have been such that either deny God in all or in part; some deride Him, they could have made a better world and rule it more orderly themselves, blaspheme Him, derogate at their pleasure from Him. 'Twas so in Plato's time, "Some say there be no gods, others that they care not for men, a middle sort grant both."² *Si non sit Deus, unde bona? si sit Deus, unde mala?* [If there is no God, whence comes good? if there is, whence evil?] So Cotta argues in Tully; why made He not all good, or at least tenders not the welfare of such as are good? As the woman told Alexander, if He be not at leisure to hear causes, and redress them, why doth He reign? Sextus Empiricus hath many such arguments.³ Thus perverse men cavil. So it will ever be, some of all sorts, good, bad, indifferent, true, false, zealous, ambidexters, neutralists, lukewarm, libertines, atheists, etc. They will see these religious sectaries agree amongst themselves, be reconciled all, before they will participate with, or believe any: they think in the meantime (which Celsus objects, and whom Origen confutes⁴): "We Christians adore a person put to death⁵ with no more reason than the barbarous Getes worshipped Zamolxis, the Cilicians Mopsus, the Thebans Amphiaraus, and the Lebadeans Trophonius; one religion is as true as another, new-fangled devices, all for human respects"; great-witted Aristotle's works are as much authentical to them as Scriptures, subtle Seneca's Epistles as canonical as St. Paul's, Pindarus' Odes as good as the Prophet David's Psalms, Epictetus' Enchiridion equivalent to wise Solomon's

Proverbs. They do openly and boldly speak this and more, some of them, in all places and companies. "Claudius the emperor was angry with Heaven, because it thundered, and challenged Jupiter into the field; with what madness!" saith Seneca; "he thought Jupiter could not hurt him, but he could hurt Jupiter."¹ Diagoras, Demonax, Epicurus, Pliny, Lucian, Lucretius,

Contemptorque deum Mezentius,

[And Mezentius, despiser of the gods,]

professed atheists all in their times: though not simple atheists neither, as Cicogna proves, *lib. 1, cap. 1*; they scoffed only at those pagan gods, their plurality, base and fictitious offices. Gilbertus Cognatus labours much, and so doth Erasmus, to vindicate Lucian from scandal, and there be those that apologize for Epicurus, but all in vain; Lucian scoffs at all, Epicurus he denies all, and Lucretius his scholar defends him in it:

*Humana ante oculos fæde cum vita jaceret,
In terris oppressa gravi cum religione,
Quæ caput a cæli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans, etc.,²*

When human kind was drench'd in superstition,
With ghastly looks aloft, which frightened mortal men, etc.,

he alone, as another Hercules, did vindicate the world from that monster. Uncle Pliny, *lib. 2, cap. 7, Nat. Hist.*, and *lib. 7, cap. 55*, in express words denies the immortality of the soul.³ Seneca doth little less, *lib. 7, epist. 55 ad Lucilium, et lib. de consol. ad Marciam*, or rather more.⁴ Some Greek commentators would put as much upon Job, that he should deny resurrection, etc., whom Pineda copiously confutes, in *cap. vii, Job, vers. 9*. Aristotle is hardly censured of some, both divines and philosophers—St. Justin, in *Parænetica ad Gentes*, Greg. Nazianzen, in *Disput. adversus Eun.*, Theodoret, *lib. 5 de curat. Græc. affec.*, Origen, *lib. de principiis*. Pomponatius justifies in his tract (so styled at least) *de immortalitate animæ*, Scaliger (who would forswear himself at any time, saith Patricius, in defence of his great master Aristotle), and Dandinus, *lib. 3 de anima*, acknowledge as much. Averroes oppugns all spirits and supreme powers; of late Brunus (*infelix Brunus* [unhappy Brunus], Kepler calls him⁵), Machiavel, Cæsar Vaninus, lately burned⁶ at Toulouse in France, and Pet. Aretine, have publicly maintained such atheistical paradoxes, with that Italian Boccace with his

fable of three rings,¹ etc., *ex quo infert haud posse internosci quæ sit verior religio, Judaica, Mahometana, an Christiana, quoniam eadem signa*,² etc. [from which he infers that it cannot be distinguished which is the true religion, Judaism, Mahomedanism, or Christianity, since the same signs, etc.]. Marinus Marcennus³ suspects Cardan for his Subtleties, Campanella, and Charron's Book of Wisdom, with some other tracts, to savour of atheism:⁴ but amongst the rest that pestilent book *de tribus mundi impostoribus, quem sine horrore (inquit) non legas, et Mundi Cymbalum dialogis quatuor contentum, anno 1538, auctore Perierio, Parisiis excusum* [about the three impostors of the world, not to be read without shuddering, and the Cymbal of the World, in four dialogues, by Perierius (i.e. Despériers), printed in Paris in 1538], etc.⁵ And as there have been in all ages such blasphemous spirits, so there have not been wanting their patrons, protectors, disciples and adherents. Never so many atheists in Italy and Germany, saith Colerus,⁶ as in this age: the like complaint Marcennus makes in France, 50,000 in that one city of Paris. Frederick the emperor, as Matthew Paris records,⁷ *licet non sit recitabile* [though it is not fit to be repeated] (I use his own words) is reported to have said, *Tres præstigiatores, Moses, Christus, et Mahomet, uti mundo dominarentur, totum populum sibi contemporaneum seduxisse* [three swindlers, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, seduced all their contemporaries, in order that they might rule over the world]. (Henry, the Landgrave of Hesse, heard him speak it.) *Si principes imperii institutioni meæ adhærerent, ego multo meliorem modum credendi et vivendi ordinarem* [if the princes of the empire were willing to follow my advice, I could lay down a much better system of belief and conduct].

To these professed atheists we may well add that impious and carnal crew of worldly-minded men, impenitent sinners, that go to hell in a lethargy, or in a dream; who though they be professed Christians, yet they will *nulla palleſcere culpa*, make a conscience of nothing they do, they have cauterized consciences, and are indeed in a reprobate sense, "past all feeling, have given themselves over to wantonness, to work all manner of uncleanness even with greediness" (Ephes. iv, 19). They do know there is a God, a day of judgment to come, and yet for all that, as Hugo saith, *ita comedunt ac dormiunt, ac si diem judicii evasissent; ita ludunt ac rident, ac si in cælis cum Deo regnarent*: they are as merry for all the sorrow, as if they had escaped all dangers, and were in heaven already:

*Metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.*¹

[He has placed himself above fear, he rides roughshod
over inexorable fate and the roar of greedy Acheron.]

Those rude idiots and ignorant persons, that neglect and condemn the means of their salvation, may march on with these; but above all others, those Herodian temporizing statesmen, political Machiavellians and hypocrites, that make a show of religion, but in their hearts laugh at it. *Simulata sanctitas duplex iniquitas*; they are in a double fault, "that fashion themselves to this world," which Paul forbids,² and like Mercury the planet, are good with good, bad with bad. When they are at Rome, they do there as they see done, puritans with puritans, papists with papists; *omnium horarum homines* [time-servers], formalists, ambidexters, lukewarm Laodiceans. All their study is to please,³ and their god is their commodity, their labour to satisfy their lusts, and their endeavours to their own ends. Whatsoever they pretend, or in public seem to do, "With the fool in their hearts, they say there is no God."⁴ *Heus tu! de Jove quid sentis?* [Hallo, there! what do you think about Jupiter?] Their words are as soft as oil, but bitterness is in their hearts; like Alexander the Sixth,⁵ so cunning dissemblers, that what they think they never speak. Many of them are so close, you can hardly discern it, or take any just exceptions at them; they are not factious, oppressors as most are, no bribers, no simoniacal contractors, no such ambitious, lascivious persons as some others are, no drunkards, *sobrii solem vident orientem, sobrii vident occidentem*, they rise sober, and go sober to bed, plain-dealing, upright, honest men, they do wrong to no man, and are so reputed in the world's esteem at least, very zealous in religion, very charitable, meek, humble, peace-makers, keep all duties, very devout, honest, well spoken of, beloved of all men; but he that knows better how to judge, he that examines the heart, saith they are hypocrites, *Cor dolo plenum; sonant vitium percussa maligne* [their hearts are full of guile; when struck they sound hollow], they are not sound within. As it is with writers⁶ oftentimes, *plus sanctimonie in libello, quam libelli auctore*, more holiness is in the book than in the author of it; so 'tis with them: many come to church with great Bibles, whom Cardan said he could not choose but laugh at, and will now and then *dare operam Augustino*, read Austin, frequent sermons, and yet professed usurers, mere gripes, *tota vitæ ratio epicurea est*; all their life is epicurism and atheism, come to

church all day, and lie with a courtesan at night. *Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt*, they have Esau's hands, and Jacob's voice; yea, and many of those holy friars, sanctified men, *cappam*, saith Hierome, *et cilicium induunt, sed intus latronem tegunt*. They are wolves in sheep's clothing, *Introrsum turpes, speciosi pelle decora*, fair without, and most foul within. *Latet plerumque sub tristi amictu lascivia, et deformis horror vili veste tegitur*:¹ oft-times under a mourning weed lies lust itself, and horrible vices under a poor coat. But who can examine all those kinds of hypocrites, or dive into their hearts? If we may guess at the tree by the fruit, never so many as in these days; show me a plain-dealing true honest man; *Et pudor, et probitas, et timor omnis abest* [there is no self-respect, honesty, or fear of any kind]. He that shall but look into their lives, and see such enormous vices, men so immoderate in lust, unspeakable in malice, furious in their rage, flattering and dissembling (all for their own ends), will surely think they are not truly religious, but of an obdurate heart, most part in a reprobate sense, as in this age. But let them carry it as they will for the present, dissemble as they can, a time will come when they shall be called to an account, their melancholy is at hand, they pull a plague and curse upon their own heads, *thesaurisant iram Dei* [they are storing up the anger of God]. Besides all such as are *in deos contumeliosi*, blaspheme, contemn, neglect God, or scoff at Him, as the poets feign of Salmoneus, that would in derision imitate Jupiter's thunder, he was precipitated for his pains, Jupiter *intonuit contra* [thundered against him], etc., so shall they certainly rue it in the end, (*in se spuit, qui in cælum spuit*)² [he spits on himself who spits at the sky]), their doom's at hand, and hell is ready to receive them.

Some are of opinion that it is in vain to dispute with such atheistical spirits in the meantime, 'tis not the best way to reclaim them. Atheism, idolatry, heresy, hypocrisy, though they have one common root, that is indulgence to corrupt affection, yet their growth is different, they have divers symptoms, occasions, and must have several cures and remedies. 'Tis true some deny there is any God; some confess, yet believe it not; a third sort confess and believe, but will not live after His laws, worship and obey Him; others allow God and gods subordinate, but not one God, no such general God, *non talem deum*, but several topic gods for several places, and those not to persecute one another for any difference, as Socinus will, but rather love and cherish.

To describe them in particular, to produce their arguments and reasons, would require a just volume; I refer them therefore that expect a more ample satisfaction to those subtle and elaborate treatises, devout and famous tracts of our learned divines (schoolmen amongst the rest, and casuists) that have abundance of reasons to prove there is a God, the immortality of the soul, etc., out of the strength of wit and philosophy bring irrefragable arguments to such as are ingenuous and well disposed; at the least, answer all cavils and objections to confute their folly and madness, and to reduce them, *si fieri posset* [if possible], *ad sanam mentem*, to a better mind, though to small purpose many times. Amongst others consult with Julius Cæsar La Galla, professor of philosophy in Rome, who hath written a large volume of late to confute atheists; of the immortality of the soul, Hierome; Montanus *de immortalitate animæ*; Lelius Vincentius of the same subject; Thomas Giaminus, and Franciscus Collius *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, a famous doctor of the Ambrosian College in Milan. Bishop Fotherby in his *Atheomastix*, Doctor Dove, Doctor Jackson, Abernethy, Corderoy, have written well of this subject in our mother tongue: in Latin, Colerus, Zanchius, Palcarius, Illyricus, Philippus,¹ Faber Faventinus, etc. But *instar omnium*, the most copious confuter of atheists, is Marinus Marcennus in his *Commentaries on Genesis*, with Campanella's *Atheismus Triumphatus*.² He sets down at large the causes of this brutish passion (seventeen in number I take it), answers all their arguments and sophisms, which he reduceth to twenty-six heads, proving withal his own assertion: "There is a God, such a God, the true and sole God," by thirty-five reasons. His colophon is how to resist and repress atheism, and to that purpose he adds four especial means or ways, which whoso will may profitably peruse.

SUBSECT. II.—*Despair. Despairs, Equivocations, Definitions, Parties and Parts affected*

There be many kinds of desperation, whereof some be holy, some unholy, as one distinguisheth;³ that unholy he defines out of Tully to be *ægritudinem animi sine ulla rerum expectatione meliore*, a sickness of the soul without any hope or expectation of amendment, which commonly succeeds fear; for whilst evil is expected, we fear; but when it is certain, we despair. Accord-

ing to Thomas, 2, 2æ, *distinct.* 40, art. 4, it is *recessus a re desiderata, propter impossibilitatem existimatam*, a restraint from the thing desired, for some impossibility supposed. Because they cannot obtain what they would, they become desperate, and many times either yield to the passion by death itself, or else attempt impossibilities, not to be performed by men. In some cases, this desperate humour is not much to be discommended, as in wars it is a cause many times of extraordinary valour; as Josephus, *lib. i de bello Jud. cap. 14*, L. Danæus, in *Aphoris. polit. pag. 226*, and many politicians hold. It makes them improve their worth beyond itself, and of a forlorn impotent company become conquerors in a moment. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem* [the only hope for the conquered is despair]. In such courses when they see no remedy but that they must either kill or be killed, they take courage, and oftentimes *præter spem*, beyond all hope, vindicate themselves. Fifteen thousand Locrenses fought against an hundred thousand Crotonienses, and seeing now no way but one, they must all die, thought they would not depart unrevenged,¹ and thereupon desperately giving an assault, conquered their enemies. *Nec alia causa victoriæ* (saith Justin, mine author) *quam quod desperaverant* [their victory was due entirely to their despair]. William the Conqueror, when he first landed in England, sent back his ships, that his soldiers might have no hope of retiring back. Bodine² excuseth his countrymen's overthrow at that famous battle at Agincourt, in Henry the Fifth his time (*cui simile*, saith Froissart, *tota historia producere non possit*, which no history can parallel almost, wherein one handful of Englishmen overthrew a royal army of Frenchmen), with this refuge of despair, *pauci desperati*, a few desperate fellows being compassed in by their enemies, past all hope of life, fought like so many devils; and gives a caution, that no soldiers hereafter set upon desperate persons, which after Frontinus and Vegetius, Guicciardine likewise admonisheth, *Hypomnes. part. 2, pag. 25*, not to stop an enemy that is going his way.³ Many such kinds there are of desperation, when men are past hope of obtaining any suit, or in despair of better fortune; *Desperatio facit monachum* [despair makes the monk], as the saying is, and desperation causeth death itself; how many thousands in such distress have made away themselves, and many others! For he that cares not for his own, is master of another man's life. A Tuscan soothsayer, as Paterculus tells the story,⁴ perceiving himself and Fulvius Flaccus, his dear friend, now both carried to prison

by Opimius, and in despair of pardon, seeing the young man weep, *Quin tu potius hoc inquit facis*, [said,] "Do as I do"; and with that knocked out his brains against the door-cheek as he was entering into prison, *protinusque illiso capite in carceris januam effuso cerebro expiravit*, and so desperately died. But these are equivocal, unproper. "When I speak of despair," saith Zanchius,¹ "I speak not of every kind, but of that alone which concerns God. It is opposite to hope, and a most pernicious sin, wherewith the devil seeks to entrap men." Musculus makes four kinds of desperation, of God, ourselves, our neighbour, or anything to be done; but this division of his may be reduced easily to the former: all kinds are opposite to hope, that sweet moderator of passions, as Simonides calls it; I do not mean that vain hope which phantastical fellows feign to themselves, which according to Aristotle is *insomnium vigilantium*, a waking dream; but this divine hope which proceeds from confidence, and is an anchor to a floating soul; *spes alit agricolas* [hope sustains the farmers], even in our temporal affairs hope revives us, but in spiritual it further animateth; and were it not for hope, "we of all others were the most miserable," as Paul saith, in this life; were it not for hope, the heart would break; "for though they be punished in the sight of men" (Wisdom iii, 4), "yet is their hope full of immortality"; yet doth it not so rear, as despair doth deject; this violent and sour passion of despair is of all perturbations most grievous, as Patricius holds.² Some divide it into final and temporal; final is incurable, which befalleth reprobates;² temporal is a rejection of hope and comfort for a time, which may befall the best of God's children, and it commonly proceeds "from weakness of faith,"³ as in David, when he was oppressed he cried out, "O Lord, thou hast forsaken me," but this for a time. This ebbs and flows with hope and fear; it is a grievous sin howsoever: although some kind of despair be not amiss, when, saith Zanchius, we despair of our own means, and rely wholly upon God: but that species is not here meant. This pernicious kind of desperation is the subject of our discourse, *homicida animæ*, the murderer of the soul, as Austin terms it, a fearful passion, wherein the party oppressed thinks he can get no ease but by death, and is fully resolved to offer violence unto himself; so sensible of his burthen, and impatient of his cross, that he hopes by death alone to be freed of his calamity (though it prove otherwise), and chooseth with Job (vi, 8, 9; vii, 15) "rather to be strangled and die than to be in his bonds."

The part affected is the whole soul, and all the faculties of it;¹ there is a privation of joy, hope, trust, confidence, of present and future good, and in their place succeed fear, sorrow, etc., as in the Symptoms shall be showed. The heart is grieved, the conscience wounded, the mind eclipsed with black fumes arising from those perpetual terrors.

SUBJECT. III.—*Causes of Despair, the Devil, Melancholy, Meditation, Distrust, Weakness of Faith, Rigid Ministers, Misunderstanding Scriptures, Guilty Consciences, etc.*

The principal agent and procurer of this mischief is the devil; those whom God forsakes, the devil by His permission lays hold on. Sometimes he persecutes them with that worm of conscience, as he did Judas, Saul,² and others. The poets call it Nemesis, but it is indeed God's just judgment, *sero sed serio*, He strikes home at last, and setteth upon them "as a thief in the night" (1 Thess. v, 2). This temporary passion made David cry out,³ "Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thine heavy displeasure; for thine arrows have light upon me, etc., there is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger." Again, "I roar for the very grief of my heart" and (Psalm xxii), "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, and art so far from my health, and the words of my crying? I am like to water poured out, my bones are out of joint, mine heart is like wax, that is molten in the midst of my bowels." So Psalm lxxxvii, vers. 15 and 16, and Psalm cii: "I am in misery at the point of death, from my youth I suffer thy terrors, doubting for my life; thine indignations have gone over me, and thy fear hath cut me off." Job doth often complain in this kind; and those God doth not assist, the devil is ready to try and torment, "still seeking whom he may devour." If he find them merry, saith Gregory, "he tempts them forthwith to some dissolute act; if pensive and sad, to a desperate end." *Aut suadendo blanditur, aut minando terret*, sometimes by fair means, sometimes again by foul, as he perceives men severally inclined. His ordinary engine by which he produceth this effect, is the melancholy humour itself, which is *balneum diaboli*, the devil's bath; and as in Saul, those evil spirits get in, as it were, and take possession of us.⁴ Black choler is a shoeing-horn, a bait to allure them, insomuch that many writers make melancholy an ordinary cause and a symptom of despair, for

that such men are most apt, by reason of their ill-disposed temper, to distrust, fear, grief, mistake, and amplify whatsoever they preposterously conceive or falsely apprehend. *Conscientia scrupulosa nascitur ex vitio naturali complexionē melancholica* [an over-scrupulous conscience springs from a natural defect, from a melancholic disposition] (saith Navarrus, *cap. 27, num. 282, tom. 2, Cas. conscient.*). The body works upon the mind, by obfuscating the spirits and corrupted instruments, which Perkins¹ illustrates by simile of an artificer that hath a bad tool; his skill is good, ability correspondent, by reason of ill tools his work must needs be lame and unperfect. But melancholy and despair, though often, do not always concur; there is much difference: melancholy fears without a cause, this upon great occasion; melancholy is caused by fear and grief, but this torment procures them and all extremity of bitterness; much melancholy is without affliction of conscience, as Bright² and Perkins illustrate by four reasons; and yet melancholy alone again may be sometimes a sufficient cause of this terror of conscience. Felix Plater so found it in his Observations,³ *E melancholicis alii damnatos se putant, Deo curæ non sunt, nec prædestinati*, etc., "they think they are not predestinate, God hath forsaken them"; and yet otherwise very zealous and religious; and 'tis common to be seen, "melancholy for fear of God's judgment and hell-fire, drives men to desperation; fear and sorrow, if they be immoderate, end often with it." Intolerable pain and anguish, long sickness, captivity, misery, loss of goods, loss of friends, and those lesser griefs, do sometimes effect it, or such dismal accidents. *Si non statim relevantur*, saith Marcennus,⁴ *dubitant an sit Deus*, if they be not eased forthwith, they doubt whether there be any God, they rave, curse, "and are desperately mad because good men are oppressed, wicked men flourish, they have not as they think to their desert," and through impatience of calamities are so misaffected. Democritus put out his eyes, *ne malorum civium prosperos videret successus*, because he could not abide to see wicked men prosper, and was therefore ready to make away himself, as A. Gellius writes of him.⁵ Felix Plater hath a memorable example in this kind, of a painter's wife in Basil, that was melancholy for her son's death, and for melancholy became desperate; she thought God would not pardon her sins, "and for four months still raved that she was in hell-fire, already damned."⁶ When the humour is stirred up, every small object aggravates and incenseth it, as the parties are addicted. The

same author hath an example of a merchant-man, that for the loss of a little wheat, which he had overlong kept, was troubled in conscience,¹ for that he had not sold it sooner or given it to the poor, yet a good scholar and a great divine; no persuasion would serve to the contrary, but that for this fact he was damned: in other matters very judicious and discreet. Solitariness, much fasting, divine meditations, and contemplations of God's judgments, most part accompany this melancholy, and are main causes, as Navarrus holds;² to converse with such kind of persons so troubled is sufficient occasion of trouble to some men. *Nonnulli ob longas inedia, studia et meditationes caelestes, de rebus sacris et religione semper agitant*, etc.: Many (saith P. Forestus) through long fasting, serious meditations of heavenly things, fall into such fits; and as Lemnius adds, *lib. 4, cap. 21*, "if they be solitary given, superstitious, precise, or very devout; seldom shall you find a merchant, a soldier, an innkeeper, a bawd, an host, a usurer so troubled in mind, they have cheverel consciences that will stretch, they are seldom moved in this kind or molested: young men and middle age are more wild and less apprehensive; but old folks, most part, such as are timorous and religiously given."³ Pet. Forestus, *Observat. lib. 10, cap. 12, de morbis cerebri*, hath a fearful example of a minister, that through precise fasting in Lent, and overmuch meditation, contracted this mischief, and in the end became desperate, thought he saw devils in his chamber, and that he could not be saved; he smelled nothing, as he said, but fire and brimstone, was already in hell, and would ask them still if they did not smell as much.⁴ "I told him he was melancholy, but he laughed me to scorn, and replied that he saw devils, talked with them in good earnest, would spit in my face and ask me if I did not smell brimstone"; but at last he was by him cured. Such another story I find in Plater, *Observat. lib. 1*. A poor fellow had done some foul offence, and for fourteen days would eat no meat, in the end became desperate, the divines about him could not ease him, but so he died.⁵ Continual meditation of God's judgments troubles many; *Multi ob timorem futuri judicii*, saith Guatinerius, *cap. 5, tract. 15, et suspicionem desperabundi sunt* [many fall into despair through fear of the last judgment]. David himself complains that God's judgments terrified his soul, Psalm cxix, part. 15, vers. 8: "My flesh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy judgments." *Quoties diem illum cogito* (saith Hierome⁶) *toto corpore contremisco*, I tremble as often as I think of it. The terrible

meditation of hell-fire and eternal punishment much torments a sinful silly soul. What's a thousand years to eternity? *Ubi mæror, ubi fletus, ubi dolor sempiternus; mors sine morte, finis sine fine* [the home of sorrow, weeping, eternal pain; death undying, end unending]; a finger burnt by chance we may not endure, the pain is so grievous, we may not abide an hour, a night is intolerable; and what shall this unspeakable fire then be that burns for ever, innumerable infinite millions of years, *in omne ævum, in æternum!* O eternity!

*Æternitas est illa vox,
Vox illa fulminatrix,
Tonitruis minacior,
Fragoribusque cæli,
Æternitas est illa vox, . . .
Meta carens et ortu, etc.
Tormenta nulla terrent,
Quæ finiuntur annis;
Æternitas, æternitas
Versat coquitque pectus.
Augēt hæc pœnas indies,
Centuplicatque flammæ, etc.¹*

[Eternity is the dreadful word of doom, more terrifying than thunder and the crashes of the sky. Eternity is the dread word, without end or beginning. Those torments affright us not which are bounded by a span of years, but Eternity, Eternity agitates and torments the breast; daily it makes the sufferings more dire, and increases the flames a hundredfold.]

This meditation terrifies these poor distressed souls, especially if their bodies be predisposed by melancholy, they religiously given, and have tender consciences, every small object affrights them, the very inconsiderate reading of Scripture itself, and misinterpretation of some places of it, as: "Many are called, few are chosen." "Not every one that saith Lord. . . ." "Fear not, little flock." "He that stands, let him take heed lest he fall." "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling." "That night two shall be in a bed, one received, the other left." "Strait is the way that leads to heaven, and few there are that enter therein." The Parable of the Seed and of the Sower, "Some fell on barren ground, some was choked." "Whom he hath predestinated, he hath chosen." "He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy." *Non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei* ["It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy"]. These and the like places terrify the souls of many; election, predestination,

reprobation, preposterously conceived, offend divers, with a deal of foolish presumption, curiosity, needless speculation, contemplation, solicitude, wherein they trouble and puzzle themselves about those questions of grace, free will, perseverance, God's secrets; they will know more than is revealed of God in His Word, human capacity or ignorance can apprehend, and too importunate inquiry after that which is revealed; mysteries, ceremonies, observation of Sabbaths, laws, duties, etc., with many such which the casuists discuss, and schoolmen broach, which divers mistake, misconster, misapply to themselves to their own undoing, and so fall into this gulf. "They doubt of their election, how they shall know it, by what signs; and so far forth," saith Luther, "with such nice points, torture and crucify themselves, that they are almost mad, and all they get by it is this, they lay open a gap to the devil by desperation to carry them to hell." But the greatest harm of all proceeds from those thundering ministers, a most frequent cause they are of this malady; "and do more harm in the Church" (saith Erasmus¹) "than they that flatter; great danger on both sides, the one lulls them asleep in carnal security, the other drives them to despair." Whereas St. Bernard well adviseth,² "We should not meddle with the one without the other, nor speak of judgment without mercy; the one alone brings desperation, the other security." But these men are wholly for judgment; of a rigid disposition themselves, there is no mercy with them, no salvation, no balsam for their diseased souls, they can speak of nothing but reprobation, hell-fire, and damnation; as they did (Luke xi, 46) lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, which they themselves touch not with a finger. 'Tis familiar with our papists to terrify men's souls with purgatory, tales, visions, apparitions, to daunt even the most generous spirits, "to require charity," as Brentius observes,³ "of others, bounty, meekness, love, patience, when they themselves breathe naught but lust, envy, covetousness." They teach others to fast, give alms, do penance, and crucify their mind with superstitious observations, bread and water, haircloths, whips, and the like, when they themselves have all the dainties the world can afford, lie on a down-bed with a courtesan in their arms. *Heu quantum patimur pro Christo!* as he⁴ said; what a cruel tyranny is this, so to insult over and terrify men's souls! Our indiscreet pastors, many of them, come not far behind, whilst in their ordinary sermons they speak so much of election, predestination, reprobation *ab æterno* [from the beginning of the

world], subtraction of grace, preterition, voluntary permission, etc., by what signs and tokens they shall discern and try themselves, whether they be God's true children elect, *an sint reprobi, prædestinati*, etc., with such scrupulous points, they still aggravate sin, thunder out God's judgments without respect, intemperately rail at and pronounce them damned in all auditories, for giving so much to sports and honest recreations, making every small fault and thing indifferent an irremissible offence, they so rent, tear and wound men's consciences, that they are almost mad, and at their wits' end.

"These bitter potions" (saith Erasmus¹) "are still in their mouths, nothing but gall and horror, and a mad noise, they make all their auditors desperate": many are wounded by this means, and they commonly that are most devout and precise, have been formerly presumptuous, and certain of their salvation; they that have tender consciences, that follow sermons, frequent lectures, that have indeed least cause, they are most apt to mistake, and fall into these miseries. I have heard some complain of Parsons' Resolution, and other books of like nature (good otherwise), they are too tragical, too much dejecting men, aggravating offences: great care and choice, much discretion is required in this kind.

The last and greatest cause of this malady is our own conscience, sense of our sins, and God's anger justly deserved, a guilty conscience for some foul offence formerly committed.

O miser Oreste, quid morbi te perdit?
Or. Conscientia, sum enim mihi conscius de malis
perpetratis.²

[Hapless Orestes, say, what ill consumes thee?
Or. Conscience, which pricks me for my evil deeds.]

"A good conscience is a continual feast," but a galled conscience is as great a torment as can possibly happen, a still baking oven (so Pierius in his *Hieroglyph.* compares it), another hell. Our conscience, which is a great ledger-book, wherein are written all our offences, a register to lay them up (which those Egyptians in their hieroglyphics expressed by a mill, as well for the continuance as for the torture of it³), grinds our souls with the remembrance of some precedent sins, makes us reflect upon, accuse and condemn our own selves. "Sin lies at door," etc.⁴ I know there be many other causes assigned by Zanchius, Musculus,⁵ and the rest; as incredulity, infidelity, presumption, ignorance, blindness, ingratitude, discontent, those five grand

miseries in Aristotle, ignominy, need, sickness, enmity, death, etc.; but this of conscience is the greatest, *instar ulceris corpus jugiter percellens*¹ [torturing the body like an ulcer]: this scrupulous conscience (as Peter Forestus calls it) which tortures so many, that either out of a deep apprehension of their unworthiness, and consideration of their own dissolute life, "accuse themselves and aggravate every small offence, when there is no such cause, misdoubting in the meantime God's mercies, they fall into these inconveniences."² The poets call them Furies, Diræ,³ but it is the conscience alone which is a thousand witnesses to accuse us,

*Nocte dieque suum gestant in pectore testem.*⁴

[Night and day they carry the accusing witness in their own breast.]

A continual testor to give in evidence, to empanel a jury to examine us, to cry guilty, a persecutor with hue and cry to follow, an apparitor to summon us, a bailiff to carry us, a serjeant to arrest, an attorney to plead against us, a gaoler to torment, a judge to condemn, still accusing, denouncing, torturing and molesting. And as the statue of Juno in that holy city near Euphrates in Assyria⁵ will look still towards you, sit where you will in her temple, she stares full upon you, if you go by, she follows with her eye, in all sites, places, conventicles, actions, our conscience will be still ready to accuse us. After many pleasant days and fortunate adventures, merry tides, this conscience at last doth arrest us. Well he may escape temporal punishment, bribe a corrupt judge,⁶ and avoid the censure of law, and flourish for a time; for "who ever saw" (saith Chrysostom) "a covetous man troubled in mind when he is telling of his money, an adulterer mourn with his mistress in his arms? we are then drunk with pleasure, and perceive nothing":⁷ yet as the prodigal son had dainty fare, sweet music at first, merry company, jovial entertainment, but a cruel reckoning in the end, as bitter as wormwood, a fearful visitation commonly follows. And the devil that then told thee that it was a light sin, or no sin at all, now aggravates on the other side, and telleth thee that it is a most irremissible offence, as he did by Cain and Judas, to bring them to despair; every small circumstance before neglected and contemned will now amplify itself, rise up in judgment, and accuse the dust of their shoes, dumb creatures, as to Lucian's tyrant *lectus et candela*, the bed and candle, did bear witness, to torment their

souls for their sins past. Tragical examples in this kind are too familiar and common: Hadrian, Galba, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Caracalla, were in such horror of conscience for their offences committed, murders, rapes, extortions, injuries, that they were weary of their lives, and could get nobody to kill them. Kenneth, King of Scotland,¹ when he had murdered his nephew Malcolm, King Duff's son, Prince of Cumberland, and with counterfeit tears and protestations dissembled the matter a long time, "at last his conscience accused him, his unquiet soul could not rest day or night, he was terrified with fearful dreams, visions, and so miserably tormented all his life."² It is strange to read what Comineus³ hath written of Louis XI, that French king; of Charles VIII; of Alphonsus, King of Naples; in the fury of his passion how he came into Sicily, and what pranks he played. Guicciardine, a man most unapt to believe lies, relates how that Ferdinand his father's ghost, who before had died for grief, came and told him that he could not resist the French king, he thought every man cried France, France; the reason of it (saith Comineus) was because he was a vile tyrant, a murderer, an oppressor of his subjects, he bought up all commodities, and sold them at his own price, sold abbeys to Jews and falconers; both Ferdinand his father and he himself never made conscience of any committed sin; and to conclude, saith he, it was impossible to do worse than they did. Why was Pausanias, the Spartan tyrant, Nero, Otho, Galba, so persecuted with spirits in every house they came, but for their murders which they had committed?⁴ Why doth the devil haunt many men's houses after their deaths, appear to them living, and take possession of their habitations, as it were, of their palaces, but because of their several villainies? Why had Richard the Third such fearful dreams, saith Polydore, but for his frequent murders? Why was Herod so tortured in his mind? because he had made away Mariamne his wife. Why was Theodoricus, the King of the Goths, so suspicious, and so affrighted with a fish-head alone, but that he had murdered Symmachus, and Boethius his son-in-law, those worthy Romans? (Cælius, *lib. 27, cap. 22*). See more in Plutarch, in his tract *de his qui sero a Numine puniuntur*, and in his book *de tranquillitate animi*, etc. Yea, and sometimes God Himself hath a hand in it, to show His power, humiliate, exercise, and to try their faith (divine temptation, Perkins calls it, *Cas. Cons. lib. 1, cap. 8, sect. 1*), to punish them for their sins; God the avenger, as David terms Him,⁵ *ultor a tergo Deus*; His wrath is

apprehended of a guilty soul, as by Saul and Judas, which the poets expressed by Adrastea, or Nemesis:

*Assequitur Nemesisque virum vestigia servat,
Ne male quid facias.*

[Nemesis follows in the track of man, therefore sin not.]

And she is, as Ammianus, *lib.* 14, describes her,¹ "the queen of causes, and moderator of things," now she pulls down the proud, now she rears and encourageth those that are good; he gives instance in his Eusebius; Nicephorus, *lib.* 10, *cap.* 35, *Eccles. Hist.*, in Maximinus and Julian. Fearful examples of God's just judgment, wrath and vengeance, are to be found in all histories, of some that have been eaten to death with rats and mice, as Popelius the second King of Poland, *anno* 830, his wife and children;² the like story is of Hatto, Archbishop of Mentz, *anno* 969, so devoured by these vermin, which howsoever Serrarius the Jesuit, *Mogunt. rerum lib.* 4, *cap.* 5, impugn by twenty-two arguments, Trithemius, Munster, Magdeburgenses,³ and many others relate for a truth. Such another example I find in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb. lib.* 2, *cap.* 2, and where not?

And yet for all these terrors of conscience, affrighting punishments which are so frequent, or whatsoever else may cause or aggravate this fearful malady in other religions, I see no reason at all why a papist at any time should despair, or be troubled for his sins; for let him be never so dissolute a caitiff, so notorious a villain, so monstrous a sinner, out of that treasure of indulgences and merits of which the Pope is dispensator he may have free pardon and plenary remission of all his sins. There be so many general pardons for ages to come, forty thousand years to come, so many jubilees, so frequent gaol-deliveries out of purgatory for all souls now living, or after dissolution of the body so many particular masses daily said in several churches, so many altars consecrated to this purpose, that if a man have either money or friends, or will take any pains to come to such an altar, hear a mass, say so many paternosters, undergo such and such penance, he cannot do amiss, it is impossible his mind should be troubled, or he have any scruple to molest him. Besides that *Taxa Camerae Apostolicæ* [tax of the Apostolic Chamber], which was first published to get money in the days of Leo Decimus, that sharking pope, and since divulged to the same ends, sets down such easy rates and dispensations for all offences, for perjury, murder, incest, adultery, etc., for so many grosses

or dollars (able to invite any man to sin, and provoke him to offend, methinks, that otherwise would not), such comfortable remission, so gentle and parable a pardon, so ready at hand, with so small cost and suit obtained, that I cannot see how he that hath any friends amongst them (as I say), or money in his purse, or will at least to ease himself, can anyway miscarry or be misaffected, how he should be desperate, in danger of damnation, or troubled in mind. Their ghostly fathers can so readily apply remedies, so cunningly string and unstring, wind and unwind their devotions, play upon their consciences with plausible speeches and terrible threats, for their best advantage settle and remove, erect with such facility and deject, let in and out, that I cannot perceive how any man amongst them should much or often labour of this disease, or finally miscarry. The causes above named must more frequently therefore take hold in others.

SUBJECT. IV.—*Symptoms of Despair, Fear, Sorrow, Suspicion, Anxiety, Horror of Conscience, Fearful Dreams and Visions*

As shoemakers do when they bring home shoes, still cry leather is dearer and dearer, may I justly say of those melancholy symptoms: these of despair are most violent, tragical, and grievous, far beyond the rest, not to be expressed but negatively, as it is privation of all happiness, not to be endured; "for a wounded spirit who can bear it?" (Prov. xviii, 14). What, therefore, Timanthes did in his picture of Iphigenia,¹ now ready to be sacrificed, when he had painted Calchas mourning, Ulysses sad, but most sorrowful Menelaus, and showed all his art in expressing variety of affections, he covered the maid's father Agamemnon's head with a veil, and left it to every spectator to conceive what he would himself; for that true passion and sorrow in *summo gradu*,² such as his was, could not by any art be deciphered: what he did in his picture, I will do in describing the symptoms of despair; imagine what thou canst, fear, sorrow, furies, grief, pain, terror, anger, dismal, ghastly, tedious, irksome, etc., it is not sufficient, it comes far short, no tongue can tell, no heart conceive it. 'Tis an epitome of hell, an extract, a quintessence, a compound, a mixture of all feral maladies, tyrannical tortures, plagues, and perplexities. There is no sickness almost but physic provideth a remedy for it; to every sore chirurgery will provide a salve; friendship

helps poverty; hope of liberty easeth imprisonment; suit and favour revoke banishment; authority and time wear away reproach: but what physic, what chirurgery, what wealth, favour, authority can relieve, bear out, assuage, or expel a troubled conscience? A quiet mind cureth all them, but all they cannot comfort a distressed soul: who can put to silence the voice of desperation? All that is single in other melancholy, *horribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum* [horrible, terrible, loathsome, cruel, barbarous], concur in this, it is more than melancholy in the highest degree; a burning fever of the soul; so mad, saith Jacchinus,¹ by this misery; fear, sorrow, and despair he puts for ordinary symptoms of melancholy. They are in great pain and horror of mind, distraction of soul, restless, full of continual fears, cares, torments, anxieties, they can neither eat, drink, nor sleep for them, take no rest:

*Perpetua impietas, nec mensæ tempore cessat,
Exagitat vesana quies, somnique furentes.*²

Neither at bed, nor yet at board,
Will any rest despair afford.

Fear takes away their content, and dries the blood, wasteth the marrow, alters their countenance, "even in their greatest delights, singing, dancing, dalliance," they are still (saith Lemnius³) tortured in their souls. It consumes them to naught: "I am like a pelican in the wilderness" (saith David of himself, temporally afflicted), "an owl, because of thine indignation" (Ps. cii, 6, 10); and (Ps. lv, 4), "My heart trembleth within me, and the terrors of death have come upon me; fear and trembling are come upon me," etc.; "at death's door" (Ps. cvii, 18) "their soul abhors all manner of meats." Their sleep is (if it be any) unquiet, subject to fearful dreams and terrors.⁴ Peter in his bonds slept secure, for he knew God protected him; and Tully makes it an argument of Roscius Amerinus' innocency, that he killed not his father, because he so securely slept. Those martyrs in the primitive Church were most cheerful and merry in the midst of their persecutions;⁵ but it is far otherwise with these men, tossed in a sea, and that continually without rest or intermission; they can think of naught that is pleasant, "their conscience will not let them be quiet,"⁶ in perpetual fear, anxiety, if they be not yet apprehended, they are in doubt still they shall be ready to betray themselves, as Cain did, he thinks every man will kill him; "and roar for the grief of heart" (Ps. xxxviii, 8), as David did; as Job did (iii, 20, 21, 22, etc.):

"Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life to them that have heavy hearts? which long for death, and if it come not, search it more than treasures, and rejoice when they can find the grave." They are generally weary of their lives, a trembling heart they have, a sorrowful mind, and little or no rest: *Terror ubique tremor, timor undique et undique terror*, fears, terrors, and affrights in all places, at all times and seasons. *Cibum et potum pertinaciter aversantur multi, nodum in scirpo quarilantes, et culpam imaginantes ubi nulla est*, as Wierus writes, *de laniis*, lib. 3, cap. 7, they refuse many of them meat and drink, cannot rest, aggravating still and supposing grievous offences where there are none. God's heavy wrath is kindled in their souls, and notwithstanding their continual prayers and supplications to Christ Jesus, they have no release or ease at all, but a most intolerable torment, and insufferable anguish of conscience, and that makes them, through impatience, to murmur against God many times, to rave, to blaspheme, turn atheists, and seek to offer violence to themselves. Deut. xxviii, 65, 66, 67: "In the morning they wish for evening, and for morning in the evening, for the sight of their eyes which they see, and fear of hearts." Marinus Marcennus, in his Comment on Genesis,¹ makes mention of a desperate friend of his, whom, amongst others, he came to visit and exhort to patience, that broke out into most blasphemous atheistical speeches, too fearful to relate, when they wished him to trust in God. *Quis est ille Deus (inquit) ut serviam illi, quid proderit si oraverim; si præsens est, cur non succurrit? cur non me carcere, inedia, squalore confectum liberat? quid ego feci? etc. Absit a me hujusmodi Deus.* [Who is that God that I should serve Him, what will it help me if I pray to Him? If He exists, why does He not help me? Why does He not rescue me from prison, starvation, and misery? What have I done? Far be from me such a God.] Another of his acquaintance broke out into like atheistical blasphemies upon his wife's death, raved, cursed, said and did he cared not what. And so for the most part it is with them all; many of them in their extremity think they hear and see visions, outcries, confer with devils, that they are tormented, possessed, and in hell-fire, already damned, quite forsaken of God, they have no sense or feeling of mercy or grace, hope of salvation, their sentence of condemnation is already past and not to be revoked, the devil will certainly have them. Never was any living creature in such torment before, in such a miserable estate, in such distress of mind, no hope, no faith,

past cure, reprobate, continually tempted to make away themselves. Something talks with them, they spit fire and brimstone, they cannot but blaspheme, they cannot repent, believe, or think a good thought, so far carried, *ut cogantur ad impia cogitandum etiam contra voluntatem* [they are constrained to harbour impious thoughts against their will], said Felix Plater,¹ *ad blasphemiam erga Deum, ad multa horrenda perpetranda, ad manus violentas sibi inferendas* [to blaspheming God, doing horrible things, laying violent hands upon themselves], etc., and in their distracted fits and desperate humours to offer violence to others, their familiar and dear friends sometimes, or to mere strangers, upon very small or no occasion; for he that cares not for his own is master of another man's life. They think evil against their wills, that which they abhor themselves, they must needs think, do, and speak. He gives instance in a patient of his, that when he would pray, had such evil thoughts still suggested to him, and wicked meditations.² Another instance he hath, of a woman that was often tempted to curse God, to blaspheme and kill herself. Sometimes the devil (as they say) stands without and talks with them, sometimes he is within them, as they think, and there speaks and talks as to such as are possessed: so Apollodorus, in Plutarch, thought his heart spake within him. There is a most memorable example of Francis Spira,³ an advocate of Padua, *anno* 1545, that being desperate, by no counsel of learned men could be comforted: he felt (as he said) the pains of hell in his soul; in all other things he discoursed aright, but in this most mad. Frisimelica, Bullovat, and some other excellent physicians, could neither make him eat, drink, nor sleep, no persuasion could ease him. Never pleaded any man so well for himself as this man did against himself, and so he desperately died. Springer, a lawyer, hath written his life. Cardinal Crescence died so likewise desperate at Verona; still he thought a black dog followed him to his death-bed, no man could drive the dog away (Sleidan, *Com. cap.* 23, *lib.* 3). "Whilst I was writing this treatise," saith Montaltus, *cap.* 2 *de mel.*, "a nun came to me for help, well for all other matters, but troubled in conscience for five years last past; she is almost mad, and not able to resist, thinks she hath offended God, and is certainly damned."⁴ Felix Plater hath store of instances of such as thought themselves damned, forsaken of God, etc.;⁵ one amongst the rest, that durst not go to church, or come near the Rhine, for fear to make away himself, because then he was most especially tempted. These and

such-like symptoms are intended and remitted, as the malady itself is more or less; some will hear good counsel, some will not; some desire help, some reject all, and will not be eased.

SUBJECT. V.—*Prognostics of Despair, Atheism, Blasphemy, Violent Death, etc.*

Most part, these kind of persons make away themselves;¹ some are mad, blaspheme, curse, deny God, but most offer violence to their own persons, and sometimes to others: "A wounded spirit who can bear?" (Prov. xviii, 14); as Cain, Saul, Achitophel, Judas, blasphemed and died. Bede saith, Pilate died desperate, eight years after Christ. Felix Plater hath collected many examples.² "A merchant's wife, that was long troubled with such temptations,"³ in the night rose from her bed, and out of the window broke her neck into the street; another drowned himself, desperate as he was, in the Rhine; some cut their throats, many hang themselves. But this needs no illustration. It is controverted by some, whether a man so offering violence to himself, dying desperate, may be saved, ay or no? If they die so obstinately and suddenly that they cannot so much as wish for mercy, the worst is to be suspected. because they die impenitent. If their death had been a little more lingering, wherein they might have some leisure in their hearts to cry for mercy, charity may judge the best;⁴ divers have been recovered out of the very act of hanging and drowning themselves, and so brought *ad sanam mentem* [to their senses], they have been very penitent, much abhorred their former act, confessed that they have repented in an instant, and cried for mercy in their hearts. If a man put desperate hands upon himself by occasion of madness or melancholy, if he have given testimony before of his regeneration, in regard he doth this not so much out of his will as *ex vi morbi* [on account of his disease], we must make the best construction of it, as Turks do, that think all fools and madmen go directly to heaven.⁵

SUBJECT. VI.—*Cure of Despair by Physic, Good Counsel, Comforts, etc.*

Experience teacheth us, that though many die obstinate and wilful in this malady, yet multitudes again are able to resist and overcome, seek for help and find comfort, are taken e

faucibus Erebi, from the chops of hell, and out of the devil's paws, though they have by obligation given themselves to him.¹ Some out of their own strength, and God's assistance—"Though He kill me" (saith Job), "yet will I trust in Him"—out of good counsel, advice and physic. Bellovacus cured a monk by altering his habit and course of life;² Plater many by physic alone. But for the most part they must concur; and they take a wrong course that think to overcome this feral passion by sole physic; and they are as much out, that think to work this effect by good advice alone; though both be forcible in themselves, yet *vis unita fortior* [their combined force is greater], they must go hand in hand to this disease: *Alterius sic altera poscit opem* [one requires the assistance of the other]. For physic, the like course is to be taken with this as in other melancholy: diet, air, exercise; all those passions and perturbations of the mind, etc., are to be rectified by the same means. They must not be left solitary, or to themselves, never idle, never out of company. Counsel, good comfort is to be applied, as they shall see the parties inclined, or to the causes, whether it be loss, fear, grief, discontent, or some such feral accident, a guilty conscience, or otherwise by frequent meditation, too grievous an apprehension, and consideration of his former life; by hearing, reading of Scriptures, good divines, good advice and conference, applying God's Word to their distressed souls, it must be corrected and counterpoised. Many excellent exhortations, parænetical discourses, are extant to this purpose, for such as are anyway troubled in mind: Perkins, Greenham, Hayward, Bright, Abernethy, Bolton, Culmannus, Hemmingius, Cælius Secundus, Nicholas Laurentius, are copious on this subject; Azorius, Navarrus, Sayrus, etc., and such as have written cases of conscience amongst our pontifical writers. But because these men's works are not to all parties at hand, so parable at all times, I will for the benefit and ease of such as are afflicted, at the request of some friends,³ recollect out of their voluminous treatises some few such comfortable speeches, exhortations, arguments, advice, tending to this subject, and out of God's Word, knowing, as Culmannus saith upon the like occasion, "how unavailable and vain men's counsels are to comfort an afflicted conscience, except God's Word concur and be annexed, from which comes life, ease, repentance,"⁴ etc. Presupposing first that which Beza, Greenham, Perkins, Bolton, give in charge, the parties to whom counsel is given be sufficiently prepared, humbled for their sins, fit for comfort, confessed, tried how they

are more or less afflicted, how they stand affected, or capable of good advice, before any remedies be applied: to such therefore as are so thoroughly searched and examined, I address this following discourse.

Two main antidotes, Hemmingius observes,¹ opposite to despair: good hope out of God's Word, to be embraced; perverse security and presumption from the devil's treachery, to be rejected; *Illa salus animæ, hæc pestis*: one saves, the other kills, *occidit animam*, saith Austin, and doth as much harm as despair itself, Navarrus the casuist² reckons up ten special cures out of Anton., 1 *part. tit. 3, cap. 10*: 1. God. 2. Physic. 3. Avoiding such objects as have caused it.³ 4. Submission of himself to other men's judgments. 5. Answer of all objections, etc. All which Cajetan, Gerson, *lib. de vit. spirit.*, Sayrus, *lib. 1 Cas. cons. cap. 14*, repeat and approve out of Emanuel Roderiques, *cap. 51 et 52*. Greenham prescribes six special rules, Culmannus seven. First, to acknowledge all help come from God. 2. That the cause of their present misery is sin. 3. To repent and be heartily sorry for their sins. 4. To pray earnestly to God they may be eased. 5. To expect and implore the prayers of the Church, and good men's advice. 6. Physic. 7. To commend themselves to God, and rely upon His mercy: others otherwise, but all to this effect. But forasmuch as most men in this malady are spiritually sick, void of reason almost, overborne by their miseries and too deep an apprehension of their sins, they cannot apply themselves to good counsel, pray, believe, repent, we must, as much as in us lies, occur and help their peculiar infirmities, according to their several causes and symptoms, as we shall find them distressed and complain.

The main matter which terrifies and torments most that are troubled in mind, is the enormity of their offences, the intolerable burthen of their sins, God's heavy wrath and displeasure so deeply apprehended, that they account themselves reprobates, quite forsaken of God, already damned, past all hope of grace, incapable of mercy, *diaboli mancipia*, slaves of sin, and their offences so great they cannot be forgiven. But these men must know there is no sin so heinous which is not pardonable in itself, no crime so great but by God's mercy it may be forgiven. "Where sin aboundeth, grace aboundeth much more" (Rom. v, 20). And what the Lord said unto Paul in his extremity (2 Cor. xii, 9), "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my power is made perfect through weakness," concerns every man in like case. His promises are made indefinite to all believers, gener-

ally spoken to all, touching remission of sins, that are truly penitent, grieved for their offences, and desire to be reconciled; Matt. ix, 12, 13: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," that is, such as are truly touched in conscience for their sins. Again, Matt. xi, 28: "Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and I will ease you"; Ezek. xviii, 27: "At what time soever a sinner shall repent him of his sins from the bottom of his heart, I will blot out all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord"; Is. xliii, 25: "I, even I, am he that put away thine iniquity for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." "As a father" (saith David, Ps. ciii, 13) "hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that fear Him"; and will receive them again as the prodigal son was entertained (Luke xv), if they shall so come with tears in their eyes, and a penitent heart. *Peccator agnoscat, Deus ignoscit* [if the sinner confesses, God forgives]. "The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slow to anger, of great kindness" (Ps. ciii, 8). "He will not always chide, neither keep His anger for ever" (v. 9). "As high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is His mercy towards them that fear Him" (v. 11). "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our sins from us" (v. 12). Though Cain cry out in the anguish of his soul, My punishment is greater than I can bear, 'tis not so; "Thou liest, Cain" (saith Austin), "God's mercy is greater than thy sins." "His mercy is above all His works" (Ps. cxlv, 9), able to satisfy for all men's sins, *antilitron* (1 Tim. ii, 6). His mercy is a panacea, a balsam for an afflicted soul, a sovereign medicine, an alexipharmacum for all sin, a charm for the devil; His mercy was great to Solomon, to Manasseh, to Peter, great to all offenders, and whosoever thou art, it may be so to thee. For why should God bid us pray (as Austin infers) "Deliver us from all evil," *nisi ipse misericors perseveraret*, if He did not intend to help us? He therefore that doubts of the remission of his sins, denies God's mercy, and doth Him injury, saith Austin.¹ Yea, but, thou repliest, I am a notorious sinner, mine offences are not so great as infinite. Hear Fulgentius: "God's invincible goodness cannot be overcome by sin, His infinite mercy cannot be terminated by any: the multitude of His mercy is equivalent to His magnitude."² Hear Chrysostom: "Thy malice may be measured, but God's mercy cannot be defined; thy malice is circumscribed, His mercy's infinite."³ As a drop of water is to the sea, so are thy misdeeds to His mercy: nay, there is no such proportion to be given; for the sea,

though great, yet may be measured, but God's mercy cannot be circumscribed. Whatsoever thy sins be then in quantity or quality, multitude or magnitude, fear them not, distrust not. "I speak not this," saith Chrysostom, "to make thee secure and negligent, but to cheer thee up." ¹ Yea, but thou urgest again, I have little comfort of this which is said, it concerns me not: *ip̄anis p̄nitentia quam sequens culpa coinquinat*, 'tis to no purpose for me to repent, and to do worse than ever I did before, to persevere in sin, and to return to my lusts as a dog to his vomit, or a swine to the mire: to what end is it to ask forgiveness of my sins, and yet daily to sin again and again, to do evil out of an habit? ² I daily and hourly offend in thought, word, and deed, in a relapse by mine own weakness and wilfulness: my *bonus genius*, my good protecting angel is gone, I am fallen from that I was or would be, worse and worse, "my latter end is worse than my beginning." *Si quotidie peccas, quotidie*, saith Chrysostom, *p̄nitentiam age*, if thou daily offend, daily repent; "if twice, thrice, an hundred, an hundred thousand times, twice, thrice, an hundred thousand times repent." ³ As they do by an old house that is out of repair, still mend some part or other; so do by thy soul, still reform some vice, repair it by repentance, call to Him for grace, and thou shalt have it; "for we are freely justified by His grace" (Rom. iii, 24). If thine enemy repent, as our Saviour enjoined Peter, forgive him seventy-seven times; and why shouldst thou think God will not forgive thee? Why should the enormity of thy sins trouble thee? God can do it, He will do it. "My conscience" (saith Anselm) "dictates to me that I deserve damnation, my repentance will not suffice for satisfaction: but Thy mercy, O Lord, quite overcomes all my transgressions." ⁴ The gods once (as the poets feign) with a gold chain would pull Jupiter out of heaven, but all they together could not stir him, and yet he could draw and turn them as he would himself; maugre all the force and fury of these infernal fiends, and crying sins, "His grace is sufficient." Confer the debt and the payment; Christ and Adam; sin and the cure of it; the disease and the medicine; confer the sick man to his physician, and thou shalt soon perceive that His power is infinitely beyond it. God is better able, as Bernard informeth us, "to help, than sin to do us hurt; Christ is better able to save, than the devil to destroy." ⁵ If He be a skilful physician, as Fulgentius adds, "He can cure all diseases; if merciful, He will." ⁶ *Non est perfecta bonitas, a qua non omnis malitia vincitur*, His goodness is not absolute

and perfect, if it be not able to overcome all malice. Submit thyself unto Him, as St. Austin adviseth, "He knoweth best what he doth; and be not so much pleased when He sustains thee, as patient when He corrects thee; He is omnipotent, and can cure all diseases when He sees his own time."¹ He looks down from heaven upon earth, that He may hear the "mourning of prisoners, and deliver the children of death" (Ps. cii, 19, 20). "And though our sins be as red as scarlet, He can make them as white as snow" (Is. i, 18). Doubt not of this, or ask how it shall be done: He is all-sufficient that promiseth; *Qui fecit mundum de immundo*, saith Chrysostom, He that made a fair world of naught, can do this and much more for His part: do thou only believe, trust in Him, rely on Him, be penitent and heartily sorry for thy sins. Repentance is a sovereign remedy for all sins, a spiritual wing to erear us, a charm for our miseries, a protecting amulet to expel sin's venom, an attractive loadstone to draw God's mercy and graces unto us. *Peccatum vulnus, pœnitentia medicinam*:² sin made the breach, repentance must help it; howsoever thine offence came, by error, sloth, obstinacy, ignorance, *exitur per pœnitentiam*, this is the sole means to be relieved. Hence comes our hope of safety, by this alone sinners are saved, God is provoked to mercy. "This unlooseth all that is bound, enlighteneth darkness, mends that is broken, puts life to that which was desperately dying":³ makes no respect of offences, or of persons. "This doth not repel a fornicator, reject a drunkard, resist a proud fellow, turn away an idolater, but entertains all, communicates itself to all."⁴ Who persecuted the Church more than Paul, offended more than Peter? and yet by repentance (saith Chrysologus) they got both *magisterium et ministerium sanctitatis*, the magistracy [and ministry] of holiness. The prodigal son went far, but by repentance he came home at last. "This alone will turn a wolf into a sheep, make a publican a preacher, turn a thorn into an olive, make a debauched fellow religious,"⁵ a blasphemer sing hallelujah, make Alexander the coppersmith truly devout, make a devil a saint, "and him that polluted his mouth with calumnies, lying, swearing, and filthy tunes and tones, to purge his throat with divine psalms."⁶ Repentance will effect prodigious cures, make a stupend metamorphosis. "An hawk came into the ark and went out again an hawk; a lion came in, went out a lion; a bear, a bear; a wolf, a wolf; but if an hawk come into this sacred temple of repentance, he will go forth a dove" (saith Chrysostom), "a wolf go out a sheep, a lion a

lamb." ¹ "This gives sight to the blind, legs to the lame, cures all diseases, confers grace, expels vice, inserts virtue, comforts and fortifies the soul." ² Shall I say, let thy sin be what it will, do but repent, it is sufficient? *Quem pœnitel peccasse pene est innocens* ³ [he who repents of his sin is wellnigh innocent]. 'Tis true indeed, and all-sufficient this, they do confess, if they could repent; but they are obdurate, they have cauterized consciences, they are in a reprobate sense, they cannot think a good thought, they cannot hope for grace, pray, believe, repent, or be sorry for their sins, they find no grief for sin in themselves, but rather a delight, no groaning of spirit, but are carried headlong to their own destruction, "heaping wrath to themselves against the day of wrath" (Rom. ii, 5). 'Tis a grievous case this, I do yield, and yet not to be despaired; God of His bounty and mercy calls all to repentance (Rom. ii, 4); thou mayst be called at length, restored, taken to His grace, as the thief upon the cross at the last hour, as Mary Magdalen and many other sinners have been, that were buried in sin. "God" (saith Fulgentius) "is delighted in the conversion of a sinner, He sets no time"; ⁴ *prolixitas temporis Deo non præjudicat, aut gravitas peccati*, deferring of time or grievousness of sin do not prejudice His grace, things past and to come are all one to Him, as present: 'tis never too late to repent. "This heaven of repentance is still open for all distressed souls"; ⁵ and howsoever as yet no signs appear, thou mayst repent in good time. Hear a comfortable speech of St. Austin: "Whatsoever thou shalt do, how great a sinner soever, thou art yet living; if God would not help thee, He would surely take thee away; but in sparing thy life, He gives thee leisure, and invites thee to repentance." ⁶ Howsoever as yet, I say, thou perceivest no fruit, no feeling, findest no likelihood of it in thyself, patiently abide the Lord's good leisure, despair not, or think thou art a reprobate; He came to call sinners to repentance, (Luke v, 32), of which number thou art one; He came to call thee, and in His time will surely call thee. And although as yet thou hast no inclination to pray, to repent, thy faith be cold and dead, and thou wholly averse from all divine functions, yet it may revive, as trees are dead in winter, but flourish in the spring; these virtues may lie hid in thee for the present, yet hereafter show themselves, and peradventure already bud, howsoever thou dost not perceive it. 'Tis Satan's policy to plead against, suppress and aggravate, to conceal those sparks of faith in thee. Thou dost not believe, thou sayest, yet thou

wouldst believe if thou couldst, 'tis thy desire to believe; then pray, "Lord, help mine unbelief";¹ and hereafter thou shalt certainly believe: *Dabitur sitienti*,² it shall be given to him that thirsteth. Thou canst not yet repent, hereafter thou shalt; a black cloud of sin as yet obnubilates thy soul, terrifies thy conscience, but this cloud may conceive a rainbow at the last, and be quite dissipated by repentance. Be of good cheer; a child is rational in power, not in act; and so art thou penitent in affection, though not yet in action. 'Tis thy desire to please God, to be heartily sorry; comfort thyself, no time is overpast, 'tis never too late. A desire to repent is repentance itself, though not in nature, yet in God's acceptance; a willing mind is sufficient. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness" (Matt. v, 6). He that is destitute of God's grace, and wisheth for it, shall have it. "The Lord" (saith David, Ps. x, 17) "will hear the desire of the poor," that is, of such as are in distress of body and mind. 'Tis true thou canst not as yet grieve for thy sin, thou hast no feeling of faith, I yield; yet canst thou grieve thou dost not grieve? It troubles thee, I am sure, thine heart should be so impenitent and hard, thou wouldst have it otherwise; 'tis thy desire to grieve, to repent and believe. Thou lovest God's children and saints in the meantime, hatest them not, persecutest them not, but rather wishest thyself a true professor, to be as they are, as thou thyself hast been heretofore; which is an evident token thou art in no such desperate case. 'Tis a good sign of thy conversion, thy sins are pardonable, thou art, or shalt surely be reconciled, "The Lord is near them that are of a contrite heart" (Luke iv, 18). A true desire of mercy in the want of mercy, is mercy itself; a desire of grace in the want of grace, is grace itself; a constant and earnest desire to believe, repent, and to be reconciled to God, if it be in a touched heart, is an acceptance of God, a reconciliation, faith and repentance itself.³ For it is not thy faith and repentance, as Chrysostom truly teacheth, that is available, but God's mercy that is annexed to it,⁴ He accepts the will for the deed. So that I conclude, to feel in ourselves the want of grace, and to be grieved for it, is grace itself. I am troubled with fear my sins are not forgiven, Careless objects: but Bradford answers they are; "for God hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, an heart which desireth to repent and believe; for such a one is taken of Him (He accepting the will for the deed) for a truly penitent and believing heart."

All this is true, thou repliest, but yet it concerns not thee, 'tis verified in ordinary offenders, in common sins, but thine are of an higher strain, even against the Holy Ghost Himself, irremissible sins, sins of the first magnitude, written with a pen of iron, engraven with the point of a diamond. Thou art worse than a pagan, infidel, Jew, or Turk, for thou art an apostate and more, thou hast voluntarily blasphemed, renounced God and all religion, thou art worse than Judas himself, or they that crucified Christ: for they did offend out of ignorance, but thou hast thought in thine heart there is no God. Thou hast given thy soul to the devil, as witches and conjurors do, *explicite* and *implicite*, by compact, band, and obligation (a desperate, a fearful case), to satisfy thy lust or to be revenged of thine enemies; thou didst never pray, come to church, hear, read, or do any divine duties with any devotion, but for formality and fashion sake, with a kind of reluctancy, 'twas troublesome and painful to thee to perform any such thing, *præter voluntatem*, against thy will. Thou never mad'st any conscience of lying, swearing, bearing false witness, murder, adultery, bribery, oppression, theft, drunkenness, idolatry, but hast ever done all duties for fear of punishment, as they were most advantageous, and to thine own ends, and committed all such notorious sins with an extraordinary delight, hating that thou shouldst love, and loving that thou shouldst hate. Instead of faith, fear and love of God, repentance, etc., blasphemous thoughts have been ever harboured in his mind, even against God Himself, the blessed Trinity; the Scripture false,¹ rude, harsh, immethodical; heaven, hell, resurrection, mere toys and fables, incredible, impossible, absurd, vain, ill contrived; ² religion, policy and human invention, to keep men in obedience, or for profit, invented by priests and lawgivers to that purpose. If there be any such supreme power, He takes no notice of our doings, hears not our prayers, regardeth them not, will not, cannot help, or else He is partial, an excepter of persons, author of sin, a cruel, a destructive God, to create our souls and destinate them to eternal damnation, to make us worse than our dogs and horses; why doth He not govern things better, protect good men, root out wicked livers? why do they prosper and flourish? as she raved in the tragedy,³ *Pellices cælum tenent* [concubines are throned in heaven], there they shine, *Suasque Perseus aureas stellas habet* [and Perseus hath his own golden stars]; where is His providence? how appears it?

*Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pomponius nullo. Quis putet esse Deos?*

[Licinus is buried in a marble tomb, Cato in a common grave, and Pomponius lies unburied. Can you believe there is a God?]

Why doth He suffer Turks to overcome Christians, the enemy to triumph over His Church, paganism to domineer in all places as it doth, heresies to multiply, such enormities to be committed, and so many such bloody wars, murders, massacres, plagues, feral diseases? why doth He not make us all good, able, sound? why makes He venomous creatures, rocks, sands, deserts, this earth itself the muck-hill of the world, a prison, an house of correction?¹ *Mentimur regnare Jovem* [we feign that Jove rules], etc., with many such horrible and execrable conceits, not fit to be uttered; *terribilia de fide, horribilia de Divinitate* [terrible things about the faith, horrible things about the Divinity]. They cannot some of them but think evil, they are compelled, *volentes nolentes*, to blaspheme, especially when they come to church and pray, read, etc., such foul and prodigious suggestions come into their hearts.

These are abominable, unspeakable offences, and most opposite to God, *tentationes fædæ et impiæ* [foul and impious temptations], yet in this case, he or they that shall be tempted and so affected, must know that no man living is free from such thoughts in part, or at some times, the most divine spirits have been so tempted in some sort, evil custom, omission of holy exercises, ill company, idleness, solitariness, melancholy or depraved nature, and the devil is still ready to corrupt, trouble, and divert our souls, to suggest such blasphemous thoughts into our phantasies, ungodly, profane, monstrous and wicked conceits. If they come from Satan, they are more speedy, fearful and violent, the parties cannot avoid them: they are more frequent, I say, and monstrous when they come; for the devil he is a spirit, and hath means and opportunity to mingle himself with our spirits, and sometimes more slyly, sometimes more abruptly and openly, to suggest such devilish thoughts into our hearts; he insults and domineers in melancholy dis-tempered phantasies and persons especially; melancholy is *balneum diaboli*, as Serapio holds, the devil's bath, and invites him to come to it. As a sick man frets, raves in his fits, speaks and doth he knows not what, the devil violently compels such crazed souls to think such damned thoughts against their wills, they cannot but do it; sometimes more continueate, or by fits, he takes his advantage, as the subject is less able to resist, he

aggravates, extenuates, affirms, denies, damns, confounds the spirits, troubles heart, brain, humours, organs, senses, and wholly domineers in their imaginations. If they proceed from themselves, such thoughts, they are remiss and moderate, not so violent and monstrous, not so frequent. The devil commonly suggests things opposite to nature, opposite to God and His Word, impious, absurd, such as a man would never of himself, or could not conceive, they strike terror and horror into the parties' own hearts. For if he or they be asked whether they do approve of such-like thoughts or no, they answer (and their own souls truly dictate as much) they abhor them as hell and the devil himself, they would fain think otherwise if they could; he hath thought otherwise, and with all his soul desires so to think again; he doth resist, and hath some good motions intermixed now and then: so that such blasphemous, impious, unclean thoughts are not his own, but the devil's; they proceed not from him, but from a crazed phantasy, distempered humours, black fumes which offend his brain: ¹ they are thy crosses, the devil's sins, and he shall answer for them, he doth enforce thee to do that which thou dost abhor, and didst never give consent to: and although he hath sometimes so slyly set upon thee, and so far prevailed as to make thee in some sort to assent to such wicked thoughts, to delight in [them], yet they have not proceeded from a confirmed will in thee, but are of that nature which thou dost afterwards reject and abhor. Therefore be not overmuch troubled and dismayed with such kind of suggestions, at least if they please thee not, because they are not thy personal sins, for which thou shalt incur the wrath of God, or His displeasure: contemn, neglect them, let them go as they come, strive not too violently, or trouble thyself too much, but as our Saviour said to Satan in like case, say thou, "Avoid, Satan," I detest thee and them. *Satanæ est mala ingerere* (saith Austin), *nostrum non consentire*: as Satan labours to suggest, so must we strive not to give consent, and it will be sufficient: the more anxious and solicitous thou art, the more perplexed, the more thou shalt otherwise be troubled and entangled. Besides, they must know this, all so molested and distempered, that although these be most execrable and grievous sins, they are pardonable yet, through God's mercy and goodness they may be forgiven, if they be penitent and sorry for them. Paul himself confesseth (Rom. xvii, 19): "He did not the good he would do, but the evil which he would not do; 'tis not I, but sin that dwelleth in me." 'Tis not thou, but

Satan's suggestions, his craft and subtlety, his malice. Comfort thyself then, if thou be penitent and grieved, or desirous to be so, these heinous sins shall not be laid to thy charge; God's mercy is above all sins, which if thou do not finally condemn, without doubt thou shalt be saved. "No man sins against the Holy Ghost, but he that wilfully and finally renounceth Christ, and contemneth Him and His word to the last, without which there is no salvation, from which grievous sin, God of His infinite mercy deliver us." ¹ Take hold of this to be thy comfort, and meditate withal on God's word, labour to pray, to repent, to be renewed in mind, "keep thine heart with all diligence" (Prov. iv, 13), resist the devil, and he will fly from thee, pour out thy soul unto the Lord with sorrowful Hannah, "pray continually," as Paul enjoins, and, as David did (Ps. i), "meditate on His law day and night."

Yea, but this meditation is that mars all, and mistaken makes many men far worse, misconceiving all they read or hear, to their own overthrow; the more they search and read Scriptures, or divine treatises, the more they puzzle themselves, as a bird in a net, the more they are entangled and precipitated into this preposterous gulf. "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. xx, 16, and xxii, 14), with such-like places of Scripture misinterpreted, strike them with horror; they doubt presently whether they be of this number or no: God's eternal decree of predestination, absolute reprobation, and such fatal tables, they form to their own ruin, and impinge upon this rock of despair. How shall they be assured of their salvation? by what signs? "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinners appear?" (1 Pet. iv, 18). Who knows, saith Solomon, whether he be elect? This grinds their souls; how shall they discern they are not reprobates? But I say again, how shall they discern they are? From the devil can be no certainty, for he is a liar from the beginning; if he suggests any such thing, as too frequently he doth, reject him as a deceiver, an enemy of humankind, dispute not with him, give no credit to him, obstinately refuse him, as St. Anthony did in the wilderness, whom the devil set upon in several shapes; or as the collier did, so do thou by him. For when the devil tempted him with the weakness of his faith, and told him he could not be saved, as being ignorant in the principles of religion, and urged him moreover to know what he believed, what he thought of such and such points and mysteries: the collier told him he believed as the Church did; "But what" (said the

devil again) "doth the Church believe?" "As I do" (said the collier); "And what's that thou believest?" "As the Church doth," etc.; when the devil could get no other answer, he left him. If Satan summon thee to answer, send him to Christ: He is thy liberty, thy protector against cruel death, raging sin, that roaring lion; He is thy righteousness, thy Saviour, and thy life. Though he say thou art not of the number of the elect, a reprobate, forsaken of God, hold thine own still, *hic murus athenus esto*, let this be as a bulwark, a brazen wall to defend thee, stay thyself in that certainty of faith; let that be thy comfort, Christ will protect thee, vindicate thee, thou art one of His flock, He will triumph over the law, vanquish death, overcome the devil, and destroy hell. If he say thou art none of the elect, no believer, reject him, defy him, thou hast thought otherwise, and mayst so be resolved again; comfort thyself; this persuasion cannot come from the devil, and much less can it be grounded from thyself; men are liars, and why shouldest thou distrust? A denying Peter, a persecuting Paul, an adulterous cruel David, have been received; an apostate Solomon may be converted; no sin at all but impenitency can give testimony of final reprobation. Why shouldest thou then distrust, misdoubt thyself, upon what ground, what suspicion? This opinion alone of particularity? Against that, and for the certainty of election and salvation on the other side, see God's good will toward men, hear how generally His grace is proposed to him, and him, and them, each man in particular, and to all; 1 Tim. ii, 4: "God will that all men be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." 'Tis an universal promise, "God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that through Him the world might be saved" (John iii, 17). He that acknowledgeth himself a man in the world, must likewise acknowledge he is of that number that is to be saved; Ezek. xxxiii, 11: "I will not the death of a sinner, but that he repent and live." But thou art a sinner; therefore He will not thy death. "This is the will of Him that sent me, that every man that believeth in the Son should have everlasting life" (John vi, 40). "He would have no man perish, but all come to repentance" (2 Pet. iii, 9). Besides, remission of sins is to be preached, not to a few, but universally to all men, "Go therefore and tell all nations, baptizing them," etc. (Matt. xxviii, 19). "Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature" (Mark xvi, 15). Now there cannot be contradictory wills in God; He will have all saved, and not all, how can this stand

together? be secure then, believe, trust in Him, hope well, and be saved. Yea, that 's the main matter, how shall I believe, or discern my security from carnal presumption? my faith is weak and faint, I want those signs and fruits of sanctification, sorrow for sin, thirsting for grace, groanings of the spirit, love of Christians as Christians, avoiding occasion of sin, endeavour of new obedience, charity, love of God, perseverance.¹ Though these signs be languishing in thee, and not seated in thine heart, thou must not therefore be dejected or terrified; the effects of the faith and spirit are not yet so fully felt in thee; conclude not therefore thou art a reprobate, or doubt of thine election, because the elect themselves are without them before their conversion. Thou mayst in the Lord's good time be converted; some are called at the eleventh hour. Use, I say, the means of thy conversion, expect the Lord's leisure; if not yet called, pray thou mayst be, or at least wish and desire thou mayst be.

Notwithstanding all this which might be said to this effect to ease their afflicted minds, what comfort our best divines can afford in this case, Zanchius, Beza, etc., this furious curiosity, needless speculation, fruitless meditation about election, reprobation, free will, grace, such places of Scripture preposterously conceived, torment still, and crucify the souls of too many, and set all the world together by the ears. To avoid which inconveniences, and to settle their distressed minds, to mitigate those divine aphorisms (though in another extreme some), our late Arminians have revived that plausible doctrine of universal grace, which many Fathers, our late Lutherans and modern papists do still maintain, that we have free will of ourselves, and that grace is common to all that will believe.² Some again, though less orthodoxal, will have a far greater part saved than shall be damned (as Cælius Secundus stiffly maintains in his book *de amplitudine regni cælestis*, or some impostor under his name), *beatorum numerus multo major quam damnatorum*. He calls that other tenent of special election and reprobation "a prejudicate, envious, and malicious opinion, apt to draw all men to desperation."³ ⁴ "Many are called, few chosen," etc. He opposeth some opposite parts of Scripture to it, "Christ came into the world to save sinners," etc. And four especial arguments he produceth, one from God's power. If more be damned than saved, he erroneously concludes, the devil hath the greater sovereignty; for what is power but to protect? and majesty consists in multitude.⁵ "If the devil have the greater part, where is His mercy, where is His power?

how is He *Deus Optimus Maximus, misericors*? etc.; where is His greatness, where His goodness?" He proceeds, "We account him a murderer that is accessary only, or doth not help when he can; which may not be supposed of God without great offence, because He may do what He will, and is otherwise accessary, and the author of sin. The nature of good is to be communicated, God is good, and will not then be contracted in His goodness: for how is He the Father of mercy and comfort, if His good concern but a few? O envious and unthankful men to think otherwise!"¹ "Why should we pray to God that are Gentiles, and thank Him for His mercies and benefits, that hath damned us all innocuous for Adam's offence, one man's offence, one small offence, eating of an apple? why should we acknowledge Him for our governor that hath wholly neglected the salvation of our souls, contemned us, and sent no prophets or instructors to teach us, as He hath done to the Hebrews?"² So Julian the Apostate objects. Why should these Christians (*Cælius* urgeth) reject us and appropriate God unto themselves, *Deum illum suum unicum*, etc.? But to return to our forged *Cælius*. At last he comes to that, he will have those saved that never heard of, or believed in Christ, *ex puris naturalibus* [because they were still in their natural state], with the Pelagians, and proves it out of Origen and others. "They" (saith Origen) "that never heard God's word, are to be excused for their ignorance; we may not think God will be so hard, angry, cruel or unjust as to condemn any man *indicta causa* [unheard]. They alone (he holds) are in the state of damnation that refuse Christ's mercy and grace, when it is offered."³ Many worthy Greeks and Romans, good moral honest men, that kept the law of nature, did to others as they would be done to themselves, are as certainly saved, he concludes, as they were that lived uprightly before the law of Moses. They were acceptable in God's sight, as Job was, the Magi, the Queen of Sheba, Darius of Persia, Socrates, Aristides, Cato, Curius, Tully, Seneca, and many other philosophers, upright livers, no matter of what religion, as Cornelius, out of any nation, so that he live honestly, call on God, trust in Him, fear Him, he shall be saved. This opinion was formerly maintained by the Valentinian and Basilidian heretics, revived of late in Turkey,⁴ of what sect Rustan Bassa was patron, defended by Galeatius, Martius, and some ancient Fathers,⁵ and of later times favoured by Erasmus,⁶ by Zuinglius *in exposit. fidei ad Regem Galliaë*, whose tenent Bullinger vindicates, and Gualter approves in a just apology with many argu-

ments. There be many Jesuits that follow these Calvinists in this behalf, Franciscus Buchsius Moguntinus, Andradius *Consil. Trident.*, many schoolmen that out of 1 Rom. ii, 14, 15, are verily persuaded that those good works of the Gentiles did so far please God, that they might *vitam æternam promereri* [earn eternal life], and be saved in the end. Sesellius, and Benedictus Justinianus in his Comment on the first of the Romans, Matthias Ditmarsh the politician, with many others, hold a mediocrity, they may be *salute non indigni* [not unworthy of salvation], but they will not absolutely decree it. Hoffmannus, a Lutheran professor of Helmstadt, and many of his followers, with most of our Church, and papists, are stiff against it. Franciscus Collius hath fully censured all opinions in his five books *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, and amply dilated this question, which whoso will may peruse. But to return to my author; his conclusion is, that not only wicked livers, blasphemers, reprobates, and such as reject God's grace, "but that the devils themselves shall be saved at last,"¹ as Origen himself long since delivered in his works, and our late Socinians defend,² Ostorodius, *cap. 41 Institut.*, Smaltius, etc. Those terms of "all" and "for ever" in Scripture are not eternal, but only denote a longer time, which by many examples they prove. The world shall end like a comedy, and we shall meet at last in heaven, and live in bliss altogether, or else in conclusion, *in nihil evanescere* [vanish into nothing]. For how can he be merciful that shall condemn any creature to eternal unspeakable punishment, for one small temporary fault, all posterity, so many myriads for one and another man's offence, *quid meruistis oves?* [what have you sheep done?] But these absurd paradoxes are exploded by our Church, we teach otherwise. That this vocation, predestination, election, reprobation, *non ex corrupta massa, prævisa fide* [not from the corruption of the material, from faith foreseen], as our Arminians, or *ex prævisis operibus* [from works foreseen], as our papists, *non ex præteritione* [not from our omission], but God's absolute decree *ante mundum creatum* (as many of our Church hold), was from the beginning, before the foundation of the world was laid, or *homo conditus* [man was fashioned] (or from Adam's fall, as others will, *homo lapsus objectum est reprobationis* [man through sin is an object of reprobation]) with *perseverantia sanctorum* [the perseverance of the saints], we must be certain of our salvation, we may fall, but not finally, which our Arminians will not admit. According to His immutable, eternal, just decree and counsel of saving men and angels,

God calls all, and would have all to be saved according to the efficacy of vocation: all are invited, but only the elect apprehended: the rest that are unbelieving, impenitent, whom God in His just judgment leaves to be punished for their sins, are in a reprobate sense; yet we must not determine who are such, condemn ourselves or others, because we have an universal invitation; all are commanded to believe, and we know not how soon or how late before our end we may be received. I might have said more of this subject; but forasmuch as it is a forbidden question, and in the Preface or Declaration to the Articles of the Church, printed 1633, to avoid factions and altercations, we that are university divines especially, are prohibited "all curious search, to print or preach, or draw the article aside by our own sense and comments, upon pain of ecclesiastical censure," I will surcease, and conclude with Erasmus¹ of such controversies: *Pugnet qui volet, ego censeo leges majorum reverenter suscipiendas, et religiose observandas, velut a Deo projectas, nec esse tutum, nec esse pium, de potestate publica sinistram concipere aut serere suspicionem. Et siquid est tyrannidis, quod tamen non cogat ad impietatem, satius est ferre, quam seditiose reluctari* [Let him dispute who will, I hold that the laws of our ancestors are to be treated with reverence and scrupulously observed, as originating from God; and that it is neither safe nor pious to harbour and spread suspicions of the public authority. It is better to endure tyranny, so long as it does not drive us to impiety, than seditiously to resist].

But to my former task. The last main torture and trouble of a distressed mind is not so much this doubt of election, and that the promises of grace are smothered and extinct in them, nay quite blotted out, as they suppose, but withal God's heavy wrath, a most intolerable pain and grief of heart seizeth on them:² to their thinking they are already damned, they suffer the pains of hell, and more than possibly can be expressed, they smell brimstone, talk familiarly with devils, hear and see chimeras, prodigious, uncouth shapes, bears, owls, antics, black dogs, fiends, hideous outcries, fearful noises, shrieks, lamentable complaints; they are possessed, and through impatience they roar and howl, curse, blaspheme, deny God, call His power in question, abjure religion, and are still ready to offer violence unto themselves, by hanging, drowning, etc.; never any miserable wretch from the beginning of the world was in such a woeful case. To such persons I oppose God's mercy and His justice; *judicia Dei occulta, non injusta*: His secret counsel and just

judgment, by which He spares some, and sore afflicts others again in this life; His judgment is to be adored, trembled at, not to be searched or inquired after by mortal men: He hath reasons reserved to Himself, which our frailty cannot apprehend. He may punish all if He will, and that justly for sin; in that He doth it in some, is to make a way for His mercy that they repent and be saved, to heal them, to try them, exercise their patience, and make them call upon Him, to confess their sins and pray unto Him, as David did (Ps. cxix, 137), "Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and just are Thy judgments," as the poor publican (Luke xviii, 13), "Lord have mercy upon me a miserable sinner"; to put confidence and have an assured hope in Him, as Job had (xiii, 15), "Though He kill me I will trust in Him." *Ure, seca, occide, O Domine*, (saith Austin) *modo serves animam*, kill, cut in pieces, burn my body (O Lord), to save my soul. A small sickness; one lash of affliction, a little misery, many times will more humiliate a man, sooner convert, bring him home to know himself, than all those parænetical discourses, the whole theory of philosophy, law, physic, and divinity, or a world of instances and examples. So that this, which they take to be such an insupportable plague, is an evident sign of God's mercy and justice, of His love and goodness: *periissent nisi periissent*, had they not thus been undone, they had finally been undone. Many a carnal man is lulled asleep in perverse security, foolish presumption, is stupefied in his sins, and hath no feeling at all of them; "I have sinned" (he saith), "and what evil shall come unto me?" (Ecclus. v, 4). and "Tush, how shall God know it?" and so in a reprobate sense goes down to hell. But here, *Cynthius aurem vellit*, God pulls them by the ear, by affliction He will bring them to heaven and happiness; "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted" (Matt v, 4); a blessed and an happy state, if considered aright, it is, to be so troubled. "It is good for me that I have been afflicted" (Ps. cxix); "before I was afflicted I went astray, but now I keep Thy word." "Tribulation works patience, patience hope" (Rom. v, 3, 4), and by such-like crosses and calamities we are driven from the stake of security. So that affliction is a school or academy, wherein the best scholars are prepared to the commencements of the Deity. And though it be most troublesome and grievous for the time, yet know this, it comes by God's permission and providence; He is a spectator of thy groans and tears, still present with thee; the very hairs of thy head are numbered, not one of them can fall to the ground

without the express will of God: He will not suffer thee to be tempted above measure, He corrects us *all*, *numero, pondere, et mensura* ¹ [by number, weight, and measure], the Lord will not quench the smoking flax, or break the bruised reed, *Tentat* (saith Austin) *non ut obruat, sed ut coronet*, He suffers thee to be tempted for thy good. And as a mother doth handle her child sick and weak, not reject it, but with all tenderness observe and keep it, so doth God by us, not forsake us in our miseries, or relinquish us for our imperfections, but with all piety and compassion support and receive us; whom He loves, He loves to the end. Rom. viii: "Whom He hath elected, those He hath called, justified, sanctified, and glorified." Think not then thou hast lost the Spirit, that thou art forsaken of God, be not overcome with heaviness of heart, but as David said, "I will not fear, though I walk in the shadows of death." We must all go, *non a deliciis ad delicias* [not from delights to delights], but from the cross to the crown, by hell to heaven, as the old Romans put Virtue's temple in the way to that of Honour: we must endure sorrow and misery in this life. 'Tis no new thing this, God's best servants and dearest children have been so visited and tried. Christ in the garden cried out, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" His son by nature, as thou art by adoption and grace. Job, in his anguish, said, "The arrows of the Almighty God were in him" (Job vi, 4), "His terrors fought against him, the venom drank up his spirit." *Cap. xiii, 26*, he saith, "God was his enemy, writ bitter things against him, (xvi, 9) hated him," His heavy wrath had so seized on his soul. David complains, "his eyes were eaten up, sunk into his head" (Ps. vi, 7), "his moisture became as the drought in summer, his flesh was consumed, his bones vexed"; yet neither Job nor David did finally despair. Job would not leave his hold, but still trust in Him, acknowledging Him to be his good God. "The Lord gives, the Lord takes, blessed be the name of the Lord" (Job. i, 21). "Behold I am vile, I abhor myself, repent in dust and ashes" (Job xlii, 6). David humbled himself (Ps. xxxi), and upon his confession received mercy. Faith, hope, repentance, are the sovereign cures and remedies, the sole comforts in this case; confess, humble thyself, repent, it is sufficient. *Quod purpura non potest, saccus potest* [what the purple cannot effect, the sackcloth can], saith Chrysostom; the King of Nineveh's sackcloth and ashes did that which his purple robes and crown could not effect; *quod diadema non potuit, cinis perfecit*. Turn to Him, He

will turn to thee; the Lord is near those that are of a contrite heart, and will save such as be afflicted in spirit (Ps. xxxiv, 18). "He came to the lost sheep of Israel" (Matt. xv, 24). *Si cadentem intuetur, clementiæ manum protendit* [if He sees one falling, He holds out the hand of kindness], He is at all times ready to assist. *Nunquam spernit Deus pœnitentiam, si sincere et simpliciter offeratur*, He never rejects a penitent sinner; though he have come to the full height of iniquity, wallowed and delighted in sin, yet if he will forsake his former way, *libenter amplexatur*, He will receive him. *Parcam huic homini*, saith Austin¹ (*ex persona Dei*), *quia sibi ipsi non pepercit; ignoscam quia peccatum agnovit*: I will spare him because he hath not spared himself; I will pardon him because he doth acknowledge his offence: let it be never so enormous a sin, "His grace is sufficient" (2 Cor. xii, 9). Despair not then, faint not at all, be not dejected, but rely on God, call on Him in thy trouble, and He will hear thee, He will assist, help, and deliver thee: "Draw near to Him, He will draw near to thee" (James iv, 8). Lazarus was poor and full of boils, and yet still he relied upon God; Abraham did hope beyond hope.

Thou exceptest, These were chief men, divine spirits, *Deo cari*, beloved of God, especially respected; but I am a contemptible and forlorn wretch, forsaken of God, and left to the merciless fury of evil spirits. I cannot hope, pray, repent, etc. How often shall I say it? thou mayst perform all these duties, Christian offices, and be restored in good time. A sick man loseth his appetite, strength and ability, his disease prevaleth so far that all his faculties are spent, hand and foot perform not their duties, his eyes are dim, hearing dull, tongue distastes things of pleasant relish, yet nature lies hid, recovereth again, and expelleth all those feculent matters by vomit, sweat, or some such-like evacuations. Thou art spiritually sick, thine heart is heavy, thy mind distressed, thou mayst happily recover again, expel those dismal passions of fear and grief; God did not suffer thee to be tempted above measure; whom He loves (I say) He loves to the end; hope the best. David in his misery prayed to the Lord, remembering how He had formerly dealt with him; and with that meditation of God's mercy confirmed his faith, and pacified his own tumultuous heart in his greatest agony. "O my soul, why art thou so disquieted within me?" etc. Thy soul is eclipsed for a time, I yield, as the sun is shadowed by a cloud; no doubt but those gracious beams of

God's mercy will shine upon thee again, as they have formerly done: those embers of faith, hope and repentance, now buried in ashes, will flame out afresh, and be fully revived. Want of faith, no feeling of grace for the present, are not fit directions; we must live by faith, not by feeling; 'tis the beginning of grace to wish for grace: we must expect and tarry. David, a man after God's own heart, was so troubled himself: "Awake, why sleepest thou? O Lord, arise, cast me not off; wherefore hidest Thou Thy face, and forgettest mine affliction and oppression? My soul is bowed down to the dust. Arise, redeem us," etc. (Ps. xlv, 23). He prayed long before he was heard, *expectans expectavit*; endured much before he was relieved. Ps. lxxix, 3, he complains, "I am weary of crying, and my throat is dry, mine eyes fail, whilst I wait on the Lord"; and yet he perseveres. Be not dismayed, thou shalt be respected at last. God often works by contrarieties, He first kills and then makes alive, He woundeth first and then healeth, He makes man sow in tears, that he may reap in joy; 'tis God's method: he that is so visited must with patience endure and rest satisfied for the present. The paschal lamb was eaten with sour herbs; we shall feel no sweetness of His blood, till we first feel the smart of our sins. Thy pains are great, intolerable for the time; thou art destitute of grace and comfort, stay the Lord's leisure, He will not (I say) suffer thee to be tempted above that thou art able to bear (1 Cor. x, 13), but will give an issue to temptation. He works all for the best to them that love God (Rom. viii, 28). Doubt not of thine election, it is an immutable decree; a mark never to be defaced: you have been otherwise, you may and shall be. And for your present affliction, hope the best, it will shortly end. "He is present with His servants in their affliction" (Ps. xci, 15). "Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all" (Ps. xxxiv, 19). "Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh in us an eternal weight of glory" (2 Cor. iv, 17), "not answerable to that glory which is to come"; "Though now in heaviness," saith 1 Pet. i, 6, "you shall rejoice."

Now last of all to those external impediments, terrible objects, which they hear and see many times, devils, bugbears, and mormoluches, noisome smells, etc. These may come, as I have formerly declared in my precedent discourse of the Symptoms of Melancholy, from inward causes; as a concave glass reflects solid bodies, a troubled brain for want of sleep, nutriment, and by reason of that agitation of spirits to which Hercules de

Saxonia attributes all symptoms almost, may reflect and show prodigious shapes, as our vain fear and crazed phantasy shall suggest and feign, as many silly weak women and children in the dark, sick folks, and frantic for want of repast and sleep, suppose they see that they see not: many times such terribles may proceed from natural causes, and all other senses may be deluded. Besides, as I have said, this humour is *balneum diaboli*, the devil's bath, by reason of the distemper of humours, and infirm organs in us: he may so possess us inwardly to molest us, as he did Saul and others, by God's permission: he is prince of the air, and can transform himself into several shapes, delude all our senses for a time, but his power is determined, he may terrify us, but not hurt; God hath given "His angels charge over us, He is a wall round about His people" (Ps. xci, 11, 12). There be those that prescribe physic in such cases, 'tis God's instrument and not unfit. The devil works by mediation of humours, and mixed diseases must have mixed remedies. Levinus Lemnius, *cap. 57 et 58, Exhort. ad vit. opt. instit.*, is very copious on this subject, besides that chief remedy of confidence in God, prayer, hearty repentance, etc., of which, for your comfort and instruction, read Lavater *de spectris, part. 3, cap. 5 et 6*, Wierus *de præstigiis dæmonum, lib. 5*, Philip Melancthon, and others, and that Christian armour which Paul prescribes; he sets down certain amulets, herbs, and precious stones, which have marvellous virtues all, *profligandis dæmonibus*, to drive away devils and their illusions: sapphires, chrysolites, carbuncles, etc., *quæ mira virtute pollent ad lemures, striges, incubos, genios aereos arcendos, si veterum monumentis habenda fides* [which are wonderfully effective for keeping off ghosts, spirits, etc., if we may believe the ancient records]. Of herbs, he reckons us pennyroyal, rue, mint, angelica, peony; Rich. Argentine, *de præstigiis dæmonum, cap. 20*, adds *hypericon* or St. John's wort, *perforata herba* [the perforate herb], which by a divine virtue drives away devils, and is therefore *fuga dæmonum*: all which rightly used, by their suffitus *dæmonum vexationibus obsistunt, afflictas mentes a dæmonibus relevant, et venenatis fumis*, expel devils themselves, and all devilish illusions. Anthony Musa, the Emperor Augustus his physician, *cap. 6, de betonia*, approves of betony to this purpose; the ancients used therefore to plant it in churchyards, because it was held to be an holy herb, and good against fearful visions, did secure such places as it grew in, and sanctified those persons that carried it about them.¹ *Idem fere Matthiolus in Dioscoridem.*

Others commend accurate music; so Saul was helped by David's harp. Fires to be made in such rooms where spirits haunt, good store of lights to be set up, odours, perfumes, and suffumigations, as the angel taught Tobias, of brimstone and bitumen, *thus, myrrha*, [frankincense, myrrh], bryony-root, with many such simples which Wecker hath collected, *lib. 15 de secretis, cap. 15. R sulphuris drachmam unam, recoquatur in vitis albæ aqua, ut dilutius sit sulphur; detur ægro: nam dæmones sunt morbi* [take one dram of sulphur, dilute it by heating in water of white bryony, and administer it to the patient; for devils are only diseases] (saith Rich. Argentine, *lib. de præstigiis dæmonum, cap. ult.*). Vigetus hath a far larger receipt to this purpose, which the said Wecker cites out of Wierus: *R sulphuris, vini, bituminis, opoponacis, galbani, castorei*, etc. Why sweet perfumes, fires and so many lights should be used in such places, Ernestus Burgravius, *Lucerna vitæ et mortis*, and Fortunius Licetus assigns this cause, *quod his boni gentii provocentur, mali arceantur*: because good spirits are well pleased with, but evil abhor them. And therefore those old Gentiles, present Mahometans, and papists have continual lamps burning in their churches all day and all night, lights at funerals and in their graves; *lucernæ ardentes ex auro liquefacto* [lamps fed with liquefied gold] for many ages to endure (saith Lazius), *ne dæmones corpus lædant* [to prevent evil spirits from molesting the body]; lights ever burning as those vestal virgins, pytho-nissæ maintained heretofore, with many such, of which read Tostatus, *in 2 Reg. cap. 6, quæst. 43*; Thyreus, *cap. 57, 58, 62*, etc., *de locis infestis*; Pictorius, *Isagog. de dæmonibus*, etc.; see more in them. Cardan would have the party affected wink altogether in such a case, if he see aught that offends him, or cut the air with a sword in such places they walk and abide, *gladiis enim et lanceis terrentur* [for they are afraid of swords and spears]; shoot a pistol at them, for being aerial bodies (as Cælius Rhodiginus, *lib. 1, cap. 29*, Tertullian, Origen, Psellas, and many hold), if stricken, they feel pain. Papists commonly enjoin and apply crosses, holy-water, sanctified beads, amulets, music, ringing of bells, for to that end are they consecrated and by them baptized, characters, counterfeit relics, so many masses, peregrinations, oblations, adjurations, and what not? Alexander Albertinus à Rocha, Petrus Thyreus, and Hieronymus Mengus, with many other pontifical writers, prescribe and set down several forms of exorcisms, as well to houses possessed with devils as to demoniacal persons; but I am of Lemnius'

mind,¹ 'tis but *damnosa adjuratio, aut potius ludificatio*, a mere mockage, a counterfeit charm, to no purpose, they are fopperies and fictions, as that absurd story² is amongst the rest, of a penitent woman seduced by a magician in France, at St. Bawne, exorcised by Domphius, Michaelis, and a company of circumventing friars. If any man (saith Lemnius) will attempt such a thing, without all those juggling circumstances, astrological elections of time, place, prodigious habits, fustian, big, sesquipedal words, spells, crosses, characters, which exorcists ordinarily use, let him follow the example of Peter and John, that without any ambitious swelling terms cured a lame man (Acts iii): "In the name of Christ Jesus rise and walk." His name alone is the best and only charm against all such diabolical illusions; so doth Origen advise, and so Chrysostom: *Hæc erit tibi baculus, hæc turris inexpugnabilis, hæc armatura* [this shall be your staff, your impregnable fortress, your armour]. *Nos quid ad hæc dicemus, plures fortasse expectabunt*, saith St. Austin. Many men will desire my counsel and opinion what is to be done in this behalf; I can say no more, *quam ut vera fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur* [than that, in the true faith which works through love], *ad Deum unum fugiamus*, let them fly to God alone for help. Athanasius, in his book *de variis quæst.*, prescribes as a present charm against devils, the beginning of the sixty-eighth Psalm, *Exsurgat Deus, dissipentur inimici* [Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered], etc. But the best remedy is to fly to God, to call on Him, hope, pray, trust, rely on Him, to commit ourselves wholly to Him. What the practice of the primitive Church was in this behalf, *et quis dæmonia ejiciendi modus* [and what its method was of casting out devils] read Wierus at large, *lib. 5 de curat. Lam. malef. cap. 38 et deinceps*.

Last of all: If the party affected shall certainly know this malady to have proceeded from too much fasting, meditation, precise life, contemplation of God's judgments (for the devil deceives many by such means), in that other extreme he circumvents melancholy itself, reading some books, treatises, hearing rigid preachers, etc. If he shall perceive that it hath begun first from some great loss, grievous accident, disaster, seeing others in like case, or any such terrible object, let him speedily remove the cause, which to the cure of this disease Navarrus so much commends, *avertat cogitationem a re scrupulosa*³ [let him avert his thoughts from the painful subject], by all opposite means, art, and industry, let him *laxare animum*, by all honest recreations refresh and recreate his distressed soul; let him direct

his thoughts, by himself and other of his friends. Let him read no more such tracts or subjects, hear no more such fearful tones, avoid such companies, and by all means open himself, submit himself to the advice of good physicians and divines, which is *contraventio scrupulorum* [a relief in uneasiness], as he ¹ calls it, hear them speak to whom the Lord hath given the tongue of the learned, to be able to minister a word to him that is weary,² whose words are as flagons of wine. Let him not be obstinate, headstrong, peevish, wilful, self-conceited (as in this malady they are), but give ear to good advice, be ruled and persuaded; and no doubt but such good counsel may prove as prosperous to his soul as the angel was to Peter, that opened the iron gates, loosed his bands, brought him out of prison, and delivered him from bodily thralldom; they may ease his afflicted mind, relieve his wounded soul, and take him out of the jaws of hell itself. I can say no more, or give better advice to such as are anyway distressed in this kind, than what I have given and said. Only take this for a corollary and conclusion, as thou tenderest thine own welfare in this and all other melancholy, thy good health of body and mind, observe this short precept, give not way to solitariness and idleness. "Be not solitary, be not idle."

SPERATE MISERI,
CAVETE FELICES.

[Hope, ye unhappy ones; ye happy ones, fear.]

Vis a dubio liberari? vis quod incertum est evadere? Age pœnitentiam dum sanus es; sic agens, dico tibi quod securus es, quod pœnitentiam egisti eo tempore quo peccare potuisti. [Do you wish to be freed from doubt? do you desire to escape uncertainty? Be penitent while of sound mind: by so doing I assert that you are safe, because you have devoted that time to penitence in which you might have been guilty of sin.]—Austin.

NOTES

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¹ Encom. Moriae. Leviores esse nugas quam ut theologum deceant.

² Lib. 8 Eloquent. cap. 14, de affectibus. Mortalium vitio fit qui præclara quæque in pravos usus vertunt.

³ Quoties de amatoris mentio facta est, tam vehementer excandui; tam severa tristitia violari aures meas obscæno sermone nolui, ut me tanquam unam ex philosophis intuerentur.

⁴ Martial.

⁵ Lib. 4 of Civil Conversation.

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¹ Si male locata est opera scribendo, ne ipsi locent in legendo.

² Med. epist. lib. 1, ep. 14. Cadmus Milesius, teste Suida, de hoc erotico amore 14 libros scripsit, nec me pigebit in gratiam adolescentum hanc scribere epistolam.

³ Comment. in 2 Æneid.

⁴ Meros amores meram impudicitiam sonare videtur nisi, etc.

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¹ Ser. 3.

² Quod risum et eorum amores commemoret.

³ Quum multa ei objecissent quod Critiam tyrannidem docuisset, quod Platonem juraret loquacem sophistam, etc., accusationem amoris nullam fecerunt. Ideoque honestus amor, etc.

PAGE 6

¹ Carpunt alii Platonice majestatem quod amori nimium indulserit, Dicæarchus et alii; sed male. Omnis amor honestus et bonus, et amore digni qui bene dicunt de amore.

² Med. obser. lib. 2, cap. 7. De admirando amoris affectu dicturus; ingens patet campus et philosophicus, quo sæpe homines ducuntur ad insaniam, libeat modo vagari, etc. Quæ non orient modo, sed fragrantia et succulentia jucunda plenius alant, etc.

³ Lib. 1, præfat. de amoribus agens relaxandi animi causa laboriosis studiis fatigati; quando et theologi se his juvari et juvare illæsis moribus volunt.

⁴ Hist. lib. 12, cap. 34.

⁵ Quid quadragenario convenit cum amore? Ego vero agnosco amatorum scriptum mihi non convenire: qui jam meridiem prætergressus in vesperem feror.—Æneas Sylvius, præfat.

⁶ [Mateo Aleman's picaresque story, Guzman de Alfarache.]

⁷ Ut severiora studia iis amœnitatibus lector condire possit.—Accius.

⁸ Discum quam philosophum audire malunt.

⁹ In Som. Scip. E sacrario suo tum ad cunas nutricum sapientes eliminaverunt, solas aurium delicias profitentes.

¹⁰ Babylonius et Ephesius, qui de amore scripserunt, uterque amores Myrrhæ, Cyrenes, et Adonidis.—Suidas.

¹¹ Pet. Aretine, dial. Ital.

PAGE 7

¹ Hor. ² Legendi cupidores, quam ego scribendi, saith Lucian.

³ Plus capio voluptatis inde, quam spectandis in theatro ludis.

⁴ Proemio in Isaïam. Multo major pars Milesias fabulas revolvendum quam Platonis libros.

In vita philosophus, in epigrammatis amator, in epistolis petulans, in præceptis severus. [Madaurensis = Apuleius, who was a native of Madaura.]

PAGE 8

¹ Mart.

² Ovid.

³ Martianus Capella, lib. 1 de nupt. philol. Virginali suffusa rubore oculos peplo obnubens, etc.

⁴ Isago, ad sac. Scrip. cap. 13.

⁵ Barthius, notis in Cælestinam, ludum Hisp.

⁶ Ficinus, Comment. cap. 17. Amore incensi inveniendi amoris, amorem quæsimus et invenimus.

PAGE 9

¹ Auctor Cælestinæ, Barth. interprete.

² Hor. lib. 1, Ode 34.

³ Hæc prædixi ne quis temere nos putaret scripsisse de amorum lenociniis, de praxi, fornicationibus, adulteriis, etc.

⁴ Taxando et ab his deterrendo humanam lasciviam et insaniam, sed et remedia docendo: non igitur candidus lector nobis succenseat, etc. Commonitio erit juvenibus hæc, hisce ut abstineant magis, et omnia lascivia quæ homines reddit insanos, virtutis incumbant studiis (Æneas Sylv.), et curam amoris si quis nescit hinc poterit scire.

⁵ Catullus. ⁶ Viros nudos castæ feminae nihil a statu distare.

⁷ Hony soit qui mal y pense.

PAGE 10

¹ Præf. Suid.

² Exerc. 301. Campus amoris maximus et spinis obsitus, nec levissimo pede transvolandus.

PAGE 11

¹ Grad. 1, cap. 29, ex Platone. Primæ et communissimæ perturbationes ex quibus ceteræ oriuntur et earum sunt pedisequæ.

² Amor est voluntarius affectus et desiderium re bona fruendi.

³ Desiderium optantis, amor eorum quibus fruimur; amoris principium, desiderii finis, amatum adest.

⁴ Principio lib de amore. Opera pretium est de amore considerare, utrum deus, an dæmon, an passio quædam animæ, an partim deus, partim dæmon, passio partim, etc. Amor est actus animi bonum desiderans.

⁵ Magnus dæmon, Convivio.

⁶ Boni pulchrique fruendi desiderium.

⁷ Godefridus, lib. 1, cap. 2. Amor est delectatio cordis alicujus ad aliquid, propter aliquod desiderium in appetendo, et gaudium perfruendo per desiderium currens, requiescens per gaudium.

⁸ Non est amor desiderium aut appetitus ut ab omnibus hactenus traditum; nam cum potimur amata re, non manet appetitus; est igitur affectus quo cum re amata aut unimur, aut unionem perpetuamus.

⁹ Omnia appetunt bonum.

PAGE 12

¹ Terram non vis malam, malam segetem, sed bonam arborem, equum bonum, etc.

² Nemo amore capitur nisi qui fuerit ante forma specieque delectatus.

¹ Amabile objectum amoris et scopus, cujus adeptio est finis, cujus gratia amamus. Animus enim aspirat ut eo fruatur, et formam boni habet et præcipue videtur et placet.—Piccolomineus, grad. 7, cap. 2, et grad. 8, cap. 35.

² Forma est vitalis fulgor ex ipso bono manans per ideas, semina, rationes, umbras effusus, animos excitans ut per bonum in unum redigantur.

³ Pulchritudo est perfectio compositi ex congruente ordine, mensura et ratione partium consurgens, et venustas inde prodiens gratia dicitur et res omnes pulchræ gratiosæ.

⁴ Gratia et pulchritudo ita suaviter animos demulcent, ita vehementer alliciunt, et admirabiliter connectuntur, ut in unum confundant et distinguere non possunt, et sunt tanquam radii et splendores divini solis in rebus variis vario modo fulgentes.

⁷ Species pulchritudinis hauriuntur oculis, auribus, aut concipiuntur interna mente.

⁸ Nihil hinc magis animos conciliat quam musica, pulchræ ædes, etc.

PAGE 13

¹ In reliquis sensibus voluptas, in his pulchritudo et gratia.

² Lib. 4 de divinis.

³ Convivio Platonis. Duæ Veneres duo amores; quarum una antiquior et sine matre, cœlo nata, quam cœlestem Venerem nuncupamus; altera vero junior a Jove et Dione prognata, quam vulgarem Venerem vocamus.

⁴ Alter ad superna erigit, alter deprimit ad inferna.

⁵ Alter excitat hominem ad divinam pulchritudinem lustrandam, cujus causa philosophiæ studia et justitiæ, etc.

PAGE 14

¹ Omnis creatura cum bona sit, et bene amari potest et male.

² Duas civitates duo faciunt amores; Jerusalem facit amor Dei, Babylonem amor sæculi; unusquisque se quid amet interroget, et inveniet unde sit civis.

³ Alter mari ortus, ferox, varius, fluctuans, inanis, juvenum, mare referens, etc. Alter aurea catena cœlo demissa bonum furorem mentibus mittens, etc.

PAGE 15

¹ Tria sunt, quæ amari a nobis bene vel male possunt; Deus, proximus, mundus; Deus supra nos; juxta nos proximus; infra nos mundus. Tria Deus, duo proximus, unum mundus habet, etc.

² Ne confundam vesanos et fœdos amores beatos, sceleratum cum puro, divino, et vero, etc.

³ Fonseca, cap. 1 Amor., ex Augustini forsan lib. 11 de Civit. Dei. Amore inconcussus stat mundus, etc.

⁴ Porta. Vitis laurum non amat, nec ejus odorem; si prope crescat, enecat. Lappa lenti adversatur.

PAGE 16

¹ Sympathia olei et myrti ramorum et radicum se complectentium.—Mizaldus, Secret. cent. 1, 47.

² Theocritus, Idyll. 9.

³ Mantuan.

⁴ Caritas munifica, qua mercamur de Deo regnum Dei.

⁵ Polanus, Partit. Zanchius, de natura Dei, cap. 3, copiose de hoc amore Dei agit.

PAGE 17

¹ Nich. Bellus, discours. 28, de amatoribus. Virtutem provocat, conservat pacem in terra, tranquillitatem in aere, ventis lætitiā, etc.

² Camerarius, Emb. 100, cen. 2.

³ Dial. 3.

⁴ Caussin. 1.

⁵ Juven.

⁶ Theodoret e Plotino.

⁷ Gen. i.

PAGE 18

¹ Affectus nunc appetitivæ potentia, nunc rationalis; alter cerebro residet, alter hepate, corde, etc.

² Cor varie inclinatur, nunc gaudens, nunc mœrens; statim ex timore nascitur zelotypia, furor, spes, desperatio.

³ Ad utile sanitas refertur; utilium est ambitio, cupido, desiderium potius quam amor, excessus, avaritia.

⁴ Piccolom. grad. 7, cap. 1.

⁵ Lib. de amicis. Utile mundanum, carnale jucundum, spirituale honestum.

⁶ Ex singulis tribus fit caritas et amicitia, quæ respicit Deum et proximum.

PAGE 19

¹ Benefactores præcipue amamus.—Vives, 3 de anima.

² Josh. vii, 21.

³ Petronius Arbiter.

⁴ Juvenalis.

⁵ Joh. Secund. lib. silvarum.

PAGE 20

¹ Lucianus, Timon.

² [The comparison of a group of friends to the triple-bodied Geryon is Lucian's (Toxaris, 63).]

³ Pers. [1, 25; an allusion to the splitting of stones by the roots of the wild fig-tree.]

PAGE 21

¹ Part. 1, sect. 2, memb. 2, subs. 11.

² 1 Tim. i, 8.

³ Lips. epist. Camdeno.

⁴ Leland of St. Edmondsbury.

⁵ Cælum serenum, cælum visum fœdum.—Polyd. lib. 1 de Anglia.

⁶ Credo equidem vivos ducent e marmore vultus.

⁷ Max. Tyrius, ser. 9.

PAGE 22

¹ Part. 1, sect. 2, memb. 3.

² Mart.

³ Omnif. mag. lib. 12, cap. 3.

⁴ De sale geniali, lib. 3, cap. 15.

⁵ Theod. Prodromus, Amor. lib. 3.

⁶ Similitudo morum parit amicitiam.

⁷ Vives, 3 de anima.

⁸ Qui simul fecere naufragium, aut una pertulere vincula, vel consilii conjurationisve societate junguntur, invicem amant; Brutum et Cassium invicem intensos Cæsarianus dominatus conciliavit. Æmilius Lepidus et Julius Flaccus, quum essent inimicissimi, censores renunciati similitates illico deposuere.—Sculdet. cap. 4, de causa amor.

⁹ Papinius.

PAGE 23

¹ Isocrates Demonico præcipit ut quum alicujus amicitiam vellet, illum laudet, quod laus initium amoris sit, vituperatio similitatum.

² Suspect. lect. lib. 1, cap. 2.

³ Isa. xlix.

⁴ Rara est concordia fratrum.

PAGE 24

¹ Grad. 1, cap. 22.

² Vives, 3 de anima. Ut paleam succinum, sic formam amor trahit.

³ [Gnatho is the parasite in Terence's Eunuchus.]

⁴ Sect. seq. ⁵ Nihil divinius homine probo.

PAGE 25

¹ James iii, 17.

² Gravior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus.

³ Orat. 18. Deformes plerumque philosophi ad id quod in aspectum cadit, ea parte elegantes quæ oculis fugit.

⁴ [A reference to Alcibiades' comparison of Socrates to the grotesque figures of satyrs which, when opened, were found to contain images of the gods. See Plato's Banquet.] ⁵ 43 de consol.

PAGE 26

¹ Causa ei paupertatis, philosophia, sicut plerisque probitas fuit.

² Ablue corpus et cape regis animum, et in eam fortunam qua dignus es continentiam istam profer. ³ Vita ejus.

⁴ Qui præ divitiis humana spernunt, nec virtuti locum putant nisi opes affuant. Q. Cincinnatus consensu patrum in dictatorem Romanum electus. ⁵ Curtius.

⁶ Edgar Etheling, England's darling.

⁷ Morum suavitas, obvia comitas, prompta officia mortalium animos demerentur.

⁸ Epist. lib. 8. Semper amavi, ut tu scis, M. Brutum propter ejus summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem et constantiam; nihil est, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil amabilius.

⁹ Ardentes amores excitaret, si simulacrum ejus ad oculos penetraret.—Plato, Phædone.

¹⁰ Epist. lib. 4. Validissime diligo virum rectum, disertum, quod apud me potentissimum est.

¹¹ Est quædam pulchritudo justitiæ quam videmus oculis cordis, amamus, et exardescimus, ut in martyribus, quum eorum membra bestię lacerarent, etsi alias deformes, etc.

¹² Lipsius, Manuduc. ad Phys. Stoic. lib. 3, diff. 17. Solus sapiens pulcher.

¹³ Fortitudo et prudentia pulchritudinis laudem præcipue merentur.

PAGE 27

Franc. Belforest. in Hist. an. 1430.

¹ Erat autem foede deformis, et ea forma, qua citius pueri terreri possent, quam invitari ad osculum puellæ.

² Deformis iste etsi videatur senex, divinum animum habet.

³ Fulgebat vultu suo: fulgor et divina majestas homines ad se trahens.

⁴ Præfat. Bib. vulgar.

⁵ Pars inscrip. Tit. Livii statuæ Patavii.

PAGE 28

¹ A true-love's knot.

² Stobæus e Græco.

³ Solinus. Pulchri nulla est facies.

⁴ O dulcissimi laquei, qui tam feliciter devinciunt, ut etiam a vinctis diligantur, qui a gratis vincti sunt, cupiunt arctius deligari et in unum redigi. ⁵ [Silius Italicus.]

⁶ "He loved him as he loved his own soul" (1 Sam. xv, 1), "beyond the love of women" [2 Sam. i, 26].

⁷ Virg. 9 Æn. Qui super exanimem sese conjecit amicum Confossus.

¹ *Amicus animæ dimidium.*—Austin, *Confess.* 4, cap. 6. *Quod de Virgilio Horatius: Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.*

² *Plinius.*

PAGE 29

¹ *Illum argento et auro, illum ebore, marmore affingit, et nuper ingenti adhibito auditorio ingentem de vita ejus librum recitavit.*—*Epist.* lib. 4, *epist.* 68.

² *Lib. 3, ep. 21, Prisco suo.*

³ *Dedit mihi quantum potuit maximum, daturus amplius si potuisset. Tametsi quid homini dari potest majus quam gloria, laus, et æternitas? At non erunt fortasse quæ scripsit. Ille tamen scripsit tanquam essent futura.*

⁴ *For, genus irritabile vatum.*

⁵ *Lib. 13 de legibus. Magnam enim vim habent, etc.*

⁶ *Pari tamen studio et pietate conscribendæ vitæ ejus munus suscepi, et postquam sumptuosa condere pro fortuna non licuit, exiguo sed eo forte liberalis ingenii monumento justa sanctissimo cineri solventur.*

PAGE 30

¹ *1 Sam. xxv, 3.*

² *Esther iii, 2.*

³ [*See vol. i, p. 282, note 1.*]

⁴ *Amm. Marcellinus, lib. 22.*

⁵ *Ut mundus duobus polis sustentatur: ita lex Dei, amore Dei et proximi; duobus his fundamentis vincitur; machina mundi corrui, si una de polis turbatur; lex perit divina si una ex his.*

PAGE 31

¹ *8 et 9 libro.*

² *Ter. Adelph. 4, 5.*

³ *De amicit. Caritas parentum dilui nisi detestabili scelere non potest.*

⁴ *Lapidum fornicibus simillima, casura, nisi se invicem sustentaret.*—*Seneca.*

⁵ *Dii immortales, dici non potest quantum caritatis nomen illud habet.*

⁶ *Ovid. Fast.*

⁷ *Anno 1347. Jacob Mayer, Annal. Fland. lib. 12.*

⁸ *Tully.*

⁹ *Lucianus Toxari. Amicitia ut sol in mundo, etc.*

¹⁰ *Vit. Pompon. Attici.*

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¹ *Spenser, Faerie Queene, lib. 4, cant. 9, staff 1, 2.*

² *Siracides.*

³ *Plutarch, pretiosum numisma.*

⁴ *Xenophon. Verus amicus præstantissima possessio.*

⁵ *Epist. 52.*

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¹ *Greg. Per amorem Dei, proximi gignitur; et per hunc amorem proximi, Dei nutritur.*

² *Piccolomineus, grad. 7, cap. 27. Hoc felici amoris nodo ligantur familiæ, civitates, etc.*

³ *Veras absolutas hæc parit virtutes, radix omnium virtutum, mens et spiritus.*

⁴ *Divino calore animos incendit, incensos purgat, purgatos elevat ad Deum, Deum placat, hominem Deo conciliat.*—*Bernard.*

⁵ *Ille inficit, hic perficit, ille deprimit, hic elevat; hic tranquillitatem, ille curas parit; hic vitam recte informat, ille deformat, etc.*

PAGE 34

¹ *Boethius, lib. 2, met. 8.*

² *Deliquium patitur caritas, odium ejus loco succedit.*—*Basil, 1 ser. de instit. mon.*

³ *Nodum in scirpo quærentes [seeking a knot in a bulrush].*

PAGE 35

¹ Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera tiges.² Heraclitus.³ Si in Gehennam abit, pauperem qui non alat: quid de eo fiet qui pauperem denudat?—Austin.

PAGE 37

¹ Jovius, vita ejus.² Immortalitatem beneficio literarum, immortalis gloriosa quadam cupiditate concupivit. Quod cives quibus benefecisset perituri, mœnia ruitura, etsi regio sumptu ædificata, non libri.³ Plutarch, Pericle.⁴ Tullius, lib. 1 de legibus.⁵ Gen. xxxv, 8.⁶ Hor.⁷ Durum genus sumus.

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¹ Tull. pro Rosc. Mentiri vis causa mea? ego vero cupide et libenter mentiar tua causa; et si quando me vis perjurare, ut paululum tu compendii facias, paratum fore scito.² Gallienus. in Treb. Pollio. Lacera, occide, mea mente irascere. Rabie jecur incendente feruntur præcipientes Vopiscus of Aurelian. Tantum fudit sanguinis quantum quis vini potavit.³ Evangelii tubam belli tubam faciunt; in pulpitis pacem, in colloquiis bellum suadent.⁴ Ps. xiv, 1.

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¹ De bello Judaico, lib. 6, cap. 16. Puto si Romani contra nos venire tardassent, aut hiatu terræ devorandam fuisse civitatem, aut diluvio perituram, aut fulmina ac Sodoma cum incendio passuram, ob desperatum populi, etc.² Benefacit animæ suæ vir misericors.³ Concordia magnæ [parvæ] res crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur.

PAGE 40

¹ Lipsius.² Memb. 1, subs. 2.³ Amor et amicitia.⁴ Phædrus, orat. in laudem amoris Platonis Convivio.⁵ Vide Boccac. de Geneal. deorum.⁶ See the moral in Plutarch of that fiction.⁷ Affluentia Deus.

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¹ Cap. 7 Comment. in Plat. Convivium.² See more in Valesius, lib. 3 Cont. med. et cont. 13.³ Vives, 3 de anima. Oramus te ut tuis artibus et caminis nos refingas, et ex duobus unum facias; quod et fecit, et exinde amatores unum sunt et unum esse petunt.⁴ See more in Natalis Comes, Imag. deorum; Philostratus, de imaginibus; Lilius Giralduus, Syntag. de diis; Phornutus, etc.⁵ Juvenis pingitur quod amore plerumque juvenes capiuntur; sic et mollis, formosus, nudus, quod simplex et apertus hic affectus; ridet quod oblectamentum præ se ferat, cum pharetra, etc.⁶ A petty Pope, claves habet superiorum et inferiorum, as Orpheus, etc.⁷ Lib. 13, cap. 5, Deipnosoph.⁸ Regnat et in superos jus habet ille deos.—Ovid.⁹ Plautus.¹⁰ Selden, proleg. 3 cap. de diis Syris.

PAGE 42

¹ Dial. 3.² A concilio deorum rejectus et ad majorem ejus ignominiam, etc.³ Fulmine concitator.⁴ Sophocles.⁵ Tom. 4.

- ¹ Dial. deorum, tom. 3.
- ² Quippe matrem ipsius quibus modis me afficit, nunc in Idam adigens Anchisæ causa, etc.
- ³ Jampridem et plagas ipsi in nates incussi sandalio.

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- ¹ Altopilus, fol. 79.
- ² Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis.
- ³ Plutarch, in Amatorio. Dictator quo creato cessant reliqui magistratus.
- ⁴ Claudian, descript. vener. anulæ.
- ⁵ Neque prius in iis desiderium cessat dum dejectus consoletur; videre enim est ipsam arborem incurvatam, ultro ramis ab utrisque vicissim ad osculum exporrectis. Manifesta dant mutui desiderii signa.
- ⁶ Multas palmas contingens quæ simul crescunt, rursusque ad amantem regrediens, eamque manu attingens, quasi osculum mutuo ministrare videtur, et expediti concubitus gratiam facit.
- ⁷ Quam vero ipsa desideret affectu ramorum significat, et ad illam respicit; amantur, etc.

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- ¹ Virg. Georg. 3.
- ² Propertius.
- ³ Dial. deorum. Confide, mater, leonibus ipsis familiaris jam factus sum, et sæpe consendi eorum terga et apprehendi jubar; equorum more insidens eos agito, et illi mihi caudis ablandiuntur.
- ⁴ Leones præ amore furunt. Plin. lib. 8, cap. 16; Arist. lib. 6 Hist. animal.
- ⁵ Cap. 17 of his book of hunting.
- ⁶ Lucretius.
- ⁷ De sale, lib. 1, cap. 21. Pisces ob amorem marcescunt, pallescunt, etc.

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- ¹ Hauriendæ aquæ causa venientes ex insidiis a Tritone comprehensæ, etc.
- ² Plin. lib. 10, cap. 5. Quumque aborta tempestate periisset Hernias in sicco piscis expiravit.
- ³ Postquam puer morbo abiit, et ipse delphinus periit.
- ⁴ Pleni sunt libri quibus feræ in homines inflammata fuerunt, in quibus ego quidem semper assensum sustinui, veritus ne fabulosa crederem; donec vidi lyncem quem habui ab Assyria, sic affectum erga unum de meis hominibus, etc.
- ⁵ Desiderium suum testatus post inedia aliquot dierum interiit.
- ⁶ Orpheus, Hymno Ven.

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- ¹ Qui hæc in atræ bilis aut imaginationis vim referre conati sunt, nihili faciunt.
- ² Cantantem audies et vinum bibes, quale antea nunquam bibisti; te rivalis turbabit nullus; pulchra autem pulchro contente vivam, et moriar.

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- ¹ Multi factum hoc cognovere, quod in media Græcia gestum sit.
- ² Rem curans domesticam, ut ante, peperit aliquot liberos, semper tamen tristis et pallida.
- ³ Hæc audiui a multis fide dignis qui asseverabant Ducem Baviaræ eadem retulisse Duci Saxoniarum pro veris.

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¹ Fabula Damarati et Aristonis in Herodoto, lib. 6, Erato.

² Interpret. Mersio.

³ Deus angelos misit ad tutelam cultumque generis humani; sed illos cum hominibus commorantes, dominator ille terræ salacissimus paulatim ad vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit.

⁴ Quidam ex illo capti sunt amore virginum, et libidine victi defecerunt, ex quibus gigantes qui vocantur nati sunt.

⁵ Pererius in Gen. lib. 8, cap. 6, ver. 1; Zanc., etc.

⁶ Purchas, Hakl. Posth. par. 1, lib. 4, cap. 1, s. 7.

⁷ In Clio.

⁸ Deus ipse hoc cubili requiescens.

⁹ Physiologiæ Stoicorum lib. 1, cap. 20. Si spiritus unde semen iis, etc., at exempla turbant nos; mulierum quotidianæ confessiones de mistione omnes asserunt, et sunt in hac urbe Lovanio exempla.

¹⁰ Unum dixero, non opinari me ullo retro ævo tantam copiam satyrorum et salacium istorum geniorum se ostendisse, quantum nunc quotidianæ narrationes, et judiciales sententiæ proferunt.

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¹ Virg.

² "For it is a shame to speak of those things which are done of them in secret," Eph. v, 12.

³ Plutarch, Amator. lib.

⁴ Lib. 13.

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¹ Rom. i, 27.

² Lilius Giralduus, vita ejus.

³ Pueros amare solis philosophis relinquendum vult Lucianus, dial. Amorum.

⁴ Bushequius.

⁵ Lucianus, Charidemo.

⁶ Achilles Tatius, lib. 2.

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¹ Non est hæc mentula demens?—Mart.

² Jovius, Musc.

³ Præfat. lectori lib. de vitis pontif.

⁴ Mercurialis, cap. de Priapismo. Cælius, lib. 11 Antiq. lect. cap. 14. Galenus, 6 de locis aff.

⁵ De morb. mulier. lib. 1, cap. 15.

⁶ Herodotus, lib. 2, Euterpe. Uxores insignium virorum non statim vita functas tradunt condendas, ac ne eas quidem feminas quæ formosæ sunt, sed quadriduo ante defunctas, ne cum iis salinarii concubant, etc.

⁷ Metam. 10.

⁸ Seneca, de ira, lib. 11, cap. 18.

⁹ Nullus est meatus ad quem non pateat aditus impudiciæ.—Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 3, cap. 3.

¹⁰ Seneca, 1, Nat. quæst.

¹¹ Tom. P. Gryllo.

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¹ De morbis mulierum, lib. 1, cap. 15.

² Amphitheat. amor. cap. 4, interprete Curtio.

³ Æneas Sylvius. Juvenal.

⁴ Tertul. Prover. lib. 4 adversus Marc. cap. 40.

⁵ Chaucer.

⁶ Tom. 1, Dial. Deorum, Lucianus. Amore non ardent Musæ.

⁷ In Amator. dialog.

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¹ Hor.

² Lucretius.

³ Fonseca.

⁴ Hor.

⁵ Propert.

⁶ Simonides, Græc.

⁷ Ausonius.

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¹ Geryon amicitia symbolum.

² Plutarch, cap. 30, Rom. Hist.

³ Junonem habeam iratam, si unquam meminerim me virginem fuisse. Infans enim paribus inquinata sum, et subinde majoribus me applicui, donec ad ætatem perveni: ut Milo vitulum, etc.

⁴ Pornoboscodidasc. dial. lat. interp. Gasp. Barthio ex Ital.

⁵ Angelico Scriptur. Concentu.

⁶ Propert. lib. 2.

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¹ Epictetus, cap. 42. Mulieres statim ab anno 14 movere incipiunt, etc. attractari se sinunt et exponunt.—Levinus Lemnius.

² Lib. 3, fol. 126.

³ Catullus.

⁴ [Propertius].

⁵ De mulierum inexhausta libidine luxuque insatiabili omnes aque regiones conqueri posse existimo.—Steph.

⁶ Euripides.

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¹ Plautus.

² Oculi caligant, aures graviter audiunt, capilli fluunt, cutis arescit, flatus olet, tussis, etc.—Cyprian.

³ Lib. 8 Epist. Rufinus.

⁴ Hiatque turpis inter aridas nates podex.

⁵ Cadaverosa adeo ut ab inferis reversa videri possit, vult adhuc catulire.

⁶ Nam et matrimonii est despectum senium.—Æneas Silvius.

⁷ Quid toto terrarum orbe communius? quæ civitas, quod oppidum, quæ familia vacat amatorum exemplis?—Æneas Sylvius. Quis trigesimum annum natus nullum amoris causa peregit insigne facinus? ego de me facio conjecturam, quem amor in mille pericula misit.

⁸ Forestus, Plato.

⁹ Pract. major, tract. 6, cap. 1, rub. 11, de ægrit. cap. Quod his multum contingat.

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¹ Hæc ægritudo est sollicitudo melancholica in qua homo applicat sibi continuum cogitationem super pulchritudine ipsius quam amat, gestuum, morum.

² Animi forte accidens quo quis rem habere nimia aviditate concupiscit, ut ludos venatores, aurum et opes avari.

³ Assidua cogitatio super rem desideratam, cum confidentia obtinendi, ut spe apprehensum delectabile, etc.

⁴ Morbus corporis potius quam animi.

⁵ Amor est passio melancholica.

⁶ Ob calefactionem spirituum pars anterior capitis laborat ob consumptionem humiditatis.

⁷ Affectus animi concupiscibilis e desiderio rei amatæ per oculos in mente concepto, spiritus in corde et jecore incendens.

⁸ Odyss. et Metamor. 4 Ovid.

⁹ Quod talem carnificinam in adolescentum visceribus amor faciat inexplibilis.

¹⁰ Testiculi quoad causam conjunctam, hepar antecedentem, possunt esse subjectum.

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¹ Proprie passio cerebri est ob corruptam imaginationem.

² Cap. de affectibus.

³ Est corruptio imaginativæ et æstimatoriæ facultatis, ob formam fortiter affixam, corruptumque judicium, ut semper de eo cogitet, ideoque

recte melancholicus appellatur. Concupiscentia vehemens ex corrupto iudicio æstimatoriæ virtutis.

⁴ Comment. in Convivium Platonis. Irretiuntur cito quibus nascentibus Venus fuerit in Leone, vel Luna Venerem vehementer aspexerit, et qui eadem complexione sunt præditi.

⁵ Plerumque amatores sunt, et si feminæ meretrices.—Lib. de audiend.

⁶ Comment. in Genes. cap. 3.

⁷ Et si in hoc parum a præclara infamia stultitiæ abero, vincit tamen amor veritatis.

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¹ Edit. Basil. 1553, cum commentar. in Ptolemæi Quadripartitum.

² Fol. 445, Basil. edit.

³ Dial. amorum.

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¹ Citius maris fluctus et nives cœlo delabentes numeraris quam amores meos; alii amores aliis succedunt, ac priusquam desinant priores, incipiunt sequentes. Adeo humidis oculis meus inhabitat asylus omnem formam ad se rapiens, ut nulla satietate expleatur. Quænam hæc ira Veneris, etc.

² Num. 32.

³ Qui calidum testiculorum crasin habent, etc.

⁴ Printed at Paris 1628, seven years after my first edition.

⁵ Ovid de art.

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¹ Gerbelius, Descript. Græciæ. Rerum omnium affluentia et loci mira opportunitas, nullo non die hospites in portas advertebant. Templo Veneris mille meretrices se prostitutebant.

² Tota Cypri insula deliciis incumbit, et ob id tantum luxuriæ dedita ut sit olim Veneri sacra.—Ortelius. Lampsacus, olim Priapo sacer ob vinum generosum, et loci delicias.—Idem.

³ Agri Neapolitani delectatio, elegantia, amœnitas, vix intra modum humanum consistere videtur; unde, etc.—Leander Albertus, in Campania.

⁴ Lib. de laud. urb. Neap.

⁵ Disputat. de morbis animi, Reinoldo interprete.

⁶ Lampridius. Quod decem noctibus centum virgines fecisset mulieres.

⁷ Vita ejus.

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¹ If they contain themselves, many times it is not virtutis amore; non deest voluntas sed facultas.

² In Muscov.

³ Catullus ad Lesbiam.

⁴ Hor.

⁵ Polit. 8, num. 28. Ut naptha ad ignem, sic amor ad illos qui torpescunt otio.

⁶ Pausanias, Attic. lib. 1. Cephalus egregiæ formæ juvenis ab Aurora raptus quod ejus amore capta esset.

⁷ In Amatorio.

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¹ E Stobæo, ser. 62.

² Amor otiosæ cura est sollicitudinis.

³ Principes plerumque ob licentiam et adfluentiam divitiarum istam passionem solent incurrere.

⁴ Ardenter appetit qui otiosam vitam agit, et communiter incurrit hæc passio solitarios deliciose viventes, incontinentes, religiosos, etc.

⁵ Plutarch, vit. ejus.

⁶ Vina parant animos veneri.

⁷ Sed nihil erucæ faciunt bulbique salaces; Improba nec prosit jam satureia tibi. [Martial.]

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¹ Petronius. Curavi me mox cibis validioribus, etc.

² Uti ille apud Sckenkium, qui post potionem, uxorem et quatuor ancillas proximo cubiculo cubantes compressit.

³ Pers. Sat. 1.

⁴ Siracides. Nox et amor vinumque nihil moderabile suadent.

⁵ Ep. ad Olympiam.

⁶ Hymno.

⁷ Hor. lib. 3, Od. 25.

⁸ De sale lib. cap. 21.

⁹ Kornmannus, lib. de virginitate.

¹⁰ Garcias ab Horto, Aromatum lib. 1, cap. 28.

¹¹ Surax radix ad coitum summe facit; si quis comedat, aut infusionem bibat, membrum subito erigitur.—Leo Afer, lib. 9, cap. ult.

¹² Quæ non solum edentibus sed et genitale tangentibus tantum valet, ut coire summe desiderent; quoties fere velint, possint; alios duodecies profecisse, alios ad 60 vices pervenisse refert.

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¹ Lucian, tom. 4, Dial. amorum.

² Ea enim hominum intemperantium libido est ut etiam fama ad amandum impellantur, et audientes æque afficiuntur ac videntes.

³ Formosam Sostrato filiam audiens, uxorem cupit, et sola illius auditione ardet.

⁴ Quoties de Panthea Xenophontis locum perlego, ita animo affectus ac si coram intuerer.

⁵ Pulchritudinem sibi ipsis confingunt.—Imagines.

⁶ De aulico, lib. 2, fol. 116. 'Tis a pleasant story, and related at large by him.

⁷ Gratia venit ab auditu æque ac visu, et species amoris in phantasiam recipiunt sola relatione.—Piccolomineus, grad. 8, cap. 38.

⁸ Lips. cent. 2, epist. 22. Beauty's Encomions.

⁹ Propert.

¹⁰ Amoris primum gradum visus habet, ut aspiciat rem amatam.

¹¹ Achilles Tatius, lib. 1. Forma telo quovis acutior ad inferendum vulnus, perque oculos amatorio vulnere aditum patefaciens in animum penetrat.

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¹ In tota rerum natura nihil forma divinius, nihil augustius, nihil pretiosius, cujus vires hinc facile intelliguntur, etc.

² Christ. Fonseca.

³ S. L.

⁴ Bruys, prob. 11 de forma, e Luciano.

⁵ Lib. de calumnia. Formosi calumnia vacant; dolemus alios meliorem loco positos, fortunam nobis novercam, illis, etc.

⁶ Invidemus sapientibus, justis, nisi beneficiis assidue amorem extorquent; solos formosos amamus et primo velut aspectu benevolentia conjungimur, et eos tanquam deos colimus, libentius iis servimus quam aliis imperamus, majoremque, etc.

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¹ Formæ majestatem barbari verentur, nec alii majores quam quos eximia forma natura donata est. Heliod. lib 5, Curtius 6, Arist. Polit.

² Serm. 63.

³ Plutarch, vit. ejus.

⁴ Brisonius, Strabo.

⁵ Lib. 6, cap. 5. Magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant quam quos eximia specie natura donavit.

⁶ Lib. de vitis pontificum Rom.

⁷ Lib. 2, cap. 6.

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- ¹ Dial. amorum, cap. 2, de magia; lib. 2 Connub. cap. 27.
² Virgo formosa etsi oppido pauper, abunde est dotata.
³ Isocrates. Plures ob formam immortalitatem adepti sunt quam ob reliquas omnes virtutes.
⁴ Lucian, tom. 4, Charidemus. Qui pulchri, merito apud deos et apud homines honore affecti. Muta commendatio, quavis epistola ad commendandum efficacior.
⁵ Lib. 9 Var. Hist. Tanta formæ elegantia ut ab ea nuda, etc.

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- ¹ Esdras iv, 29.
² Origen, hom. 23 in Numb. In ipsos tyrannos tyrannidem exercet.
³ Illud certe magnum ob quod gloriari possunt formosi, quod robustis necessarium sit laborare, fortem periculis se obicere, sapientem, etc.
⁴ Majorem vim habet ad commendandum forma, quam accurate scripta epistola.—Arist.
⁵ Heliodor. lib. 1. ⁶ Knolles, Hist. Turcica.
⁷ Daniel, in Complaint of Rosamond.

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- ¹ Stroza filius, Epig. ² Sect. 2, memb. 1, subs. 1.
³ Stromatum lib. Post captam Trojam cum impetu ferretur ad occidendam Helenam, stupore adeo pulchritudinis correptus ut ferrum excideret, etc.
⁴ Tantæ formæ fuit ut cum vincta loris feris exposita foret, equorum calicibus obterenda, ipsis jumentis admirationi fuit; lædere noluerunt.
⁵ Lib. 8 Miles.

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- ¹ Æthiop. lib. 3. ² Athenæus, lib. 8. ³ Apuleius, Aur. asino.
⁴ Shakespeare. ⁵ Marlowe. ⁶ Ov. Met. 1.

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- ¹ Ovid. Met. lib. 5. ² Leland. ³ Angerianus.
⁴ Si longe aspicies hæc urit lumine divos atque homines prope, cur urere lina nequit?—Angerianus.

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- ¹ Idem Angerianus.
² Obstupuit mirabundus membrorum elegantiam, etc.—Ep. 7.
³ Stobæus, e Græco.
⁴ Parum abfuit quo minus saxum ex homine factus sum, ipsis statuis immobiliores me fecit.
⁵ Veteres Gorgonis fabulam confinxerunt, eximium formæ decus stupidos reddens.
⁶ Hor. Ode 5. ⁷ Marlowe's Hero.
⁸ Aspectum virginis sponte fugit insanus fere, et impossibile existimans ut simul eam aspicere quis possit, et intra temperantiæ metas se continere.
⁹ Apuleius, lib. 4. Multi mortales longis itineribus, etc.

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- ¹ Nic. Gerbel. lib. 5, Achaia.
² J. Secundus, Basiorum lib.
³ Musæus. Illa autem bene morata, per ædem quocunque vagabatur, sequentem mentem habebat, et oculos, et corda virorum.
⁴ Homer. ⁵ Marlowe.

- ¹ Pornoboscodidascalo, dial. Ital. Latin. donat. a Gasp. Barthio Germano.
² Propertius.
³ Vestium splendore et elegantia ambitione incessus, donis, cantilenis, etc., gratiam adipisci.
⁴ Præ cæteris corporis proceritate et egregia indole mirandus apparebat, cæteri autem capti ejus amore videbantur, etc.

PAGE 75

- ¹ Aristænetus, Ep. 10.
² Tom. 4, Dial. meretr. Respicientes et ad formam ejus obstupescentes.
³ In Charidemo. Sapientia merito pulchritudo præfertur et opibus.
⁴ Indignum nihil est Troas fortes et Achivos tempore tam longo perperosos esse labores.
⁵ Digna quidem facies pro qua vel obiret Achilles, Vel Priamo belli causa probanda fuit.—Proper. lib. 2.
⁶ Cæcus qui Helenæ fornam carpserat.
⁷ Those mutinous Turks that murmured at Mahomet, when they saw Irene, excused his absence.—Knolles.
⁸ In laudem Helenæ erat.
⁹ Apul. Miles. lib. 4. ¹⁰ Secundus, Bas. 13. ¹¹ Curtius, lib. 10.

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- ¹ Confessions. ² Seneca. Amor in oculis oritur.
³ Ovid, Fast. ⁴ Plutarch.
⁵ Lib. de pulchrit. Jesu et Mariæ.
⁶ Lucian, Charidemus. Supra omnes mortales felicissimum si hac frui possit.

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- ¹ Lucian, Amores. Insanum quiddam ac furibundum exclamans, O fortunatissime deorum Mars qui propter hanc vinctus fuisti.
² Ov. Met. lib. 4.
³ Omnes dii complexi sunt, et in uxorem sibi petierunt.—Nat. Comes, de Venere.
⁴ Ut cum lux noctis affulget, omnium oculos incurrit: sic Autolycus, etc.
⁵ Delevit omnes ex animo mulieres.
⁶ Nam vincit et vel ignem, ferrumque si qua pulchra est.—Anacreon, 2.
⁷ Spenser in his Faerie Queene.
⁸ Achilles Tatiæ, lib. 1.
⁹ Statim ac eam contemplatus sum, occidi; oculos a virgine avertere conatus sum, sed illi repugnabant.

PAGE 78

- ¹ Pudet dicere, non celabo tamen. Memphim veniens me vicit, et continentiam expugnavit, quam ad senectutem usque servaram, oculis corporis, etc.
² Nunc primum circa hanc anxius animi hæreo.—Aristænetus, Ep. 17.
³ Virg. Æn. 4. ⁴ Amaranto dial.
⁵ Comasque ad speculum disposuit.
⁶ Imag. Polystrato. Si illam saltem intuearis, statuis immobilior te faciet: si conspexeris eam, non relinquetur facultas oculos ab ea amovendi; abducat te alligatum quocunque voluerit, ut ferrum ad se trahere ferunt adamantem.

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- ¹ Plaut. Merc. ² In the Knight's Tale.
³ Ex debita totius proportionem aptaque partium compositione.—Piccolomineus.
⁴ Hor. Od. 19, lib. 1

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¹ Ter. Eunuch. Act. 2, sc. 3.² Petronius, Catal.³ Sophocles, Antigone.⁴ Jo. Secundus, Bas. 19.⁵ Lœchæus.⁶ Arandus. Vallis amœnissima e duobus montibus composita niveis.

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¹ Ovid.² Fol. 77. Dapsiles hilares amatores, etc.³ When Cupid slept. Cæsariem auream habentem, ubi Psyche vidit, mollemque ex ambrosia cervicem inspexit, crines crispas, purpureas genas candidasque, etc.—Apuleius.⁴ In laudem calvitii. Splendida coma quisque adulter est; allicit aurea coma.⁵ Venus ipsa non placeret comis nudata, capite spoliata, si qualis ipsa Venus cum fuit virgo omni gratiarum choro stipata, et toto cupidinum populo concinnata, balteo suo cincta, cinnama fragrans, et balsama, si calva processerit, placere non potest Vulcano suo.⁶ Arandus. Capilli retia Cupidinis, sylvæ cædua, in qua nidificat Cupido, sub cujus umbra amores mille modis se exercent.⁷ Theod. Prodromus, Amor. lib. 1.

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¹ Epist. 27. Ubi pulchram tibiam, bene compactum tenuemque pedem vidi.² Plaut. Cas.³ Claudus optime rem agit.⁴ Fol. 5. Si servum viderint, aut statorem altius cinctum, aut pulvere perfusum, aut histrionem in scenam traductum, etc.⁵ Me pulchra fateor carere forma, verum luculenta — nostra est.—
Petronius, Catal. de Priapo.⁶ Galen.⁷ Calcagninus Apologis. Quæ pars maxime desiderabilis? Alius frontem, alius genas, etc.⁸ Interfemineum.⁹ Heinsius.

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¹ Amoris hami, duces, judices et indices qui momento insanos sanant, sanos insanire cogunt, oculatissimi corporis excubitores, quid non agunt? Quid non cogunt?² Sunt enim oculi, præcipuæ pulchritudinis sedes.—Lib. 6.³ Ocelli, carm. 17, cujus et Lipsius, Epist. Quæst. lib. 3, cap. 11, meminit ob elegantiam.⁴ Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit oculis, Contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.—Propert. lib. 1.⁵ In Catalect.⁶ De Sulpicia, lib. 4.⁷ Pulchritudo ipsa per occultos radios in pectus amantis dimanans amatæ rei formam insculpsit.—Tatius, lib. 5.

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¹ Jacob Cornelius, Ammon Tragœd. Act. 1, sc. 1.² Rosæ formosarum oculis nascuntur, et hilaritas vultus elegantiae corona.—Philostratus, Deliciis.³ Epist., et in Deliciis. Abi et oppugnationem relinque, quam flamma non extinguit; nam ab amore ipsa flamma sentit incendium: quæ corporum penetratio, quæ tyrannis hæc? etc.⁴ Lœchæus, Panthea.⁵ Propertius.

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¹ Ovid. *Amorum* lib. 2, eleg. 4.

² *Scut. Hercul.*

³ *Calcagninus*, dial.

⁴ *Iliad* i.

⁵ *Hist.* lib. i.

⁶ *Sandys' Relation*, fol. 67.

⁷ *Mantuan.*

⁸ *Amor per oculos, nares, poros influens, etc.*

⁹ *Mortales tum summo opere fascinantur quando frequentissimo intuitu aciem dirigentes, etc.*

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¹ *Ideo si quis nitore polleat oculorum, etc.*

² *Spiritus puriores fascinantur, oculus a se radios emittit, etc.*

³ *Lib. de pulch. Jes. et Mar.*

⁴ *Lib. 2, cap. 23. Colore triticum referente, crine flava, acribus oculis.*

⁵ *Lippi solo intuitu alios lippos faciunt, et patet una cum radio vaporem corrupti sanguinis emanare, cujus contagione oculus spectantis inficitur.*

⁶ *Vita Apollon.*

⁷ *Comment. in Aristot. Probl.*

⁸ *Sic radius a corde percutientis missus, regimen proprium repetit, cor vulnerat, per oculos et sanguinem inficit et spiritus, subtili quadam vi. —Castil. lib. 3 de aulico.*

⁹ *Lib. 10. Causa omnis et origo omnis præsentis doloris tute es; isti enim tui oculi, per meos oculos ad intima delapsi præcordia, acerrimum meis medullis commovent incendium; ergo miserere tui causa pereuntis.*

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¹ *Lycias in Phædri vultum inhiat, Phædrus in oculos Lyciæ scintillas suorum defigit oculorum; cumque scintillis, etc. Sequitur Phædrus Lyciam, quia cor suum petit spiritum; Phædrum Lycias, quia spiritus propriam sedem postulat. Verum Lycias, etc.*

² *Dæmonia, inquit, quæ in hoc eremo nuper occurrebant.*

³ *Castilio, de aulico, lib. 3, fol. 228. Oculi ut milites in insidiis semper recubant, et subito ad visum sagittas emittunt, etc.*

⁴ *Nec mirum si reliquos morbos qui ex contagione nascuntur consideremus, pestem, pruritum, scabiem, etc.*

⁵ *Lucretius.*

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¹ *In beauty, that of favour is preferred before that of colours, and decent motion is more than that of favour.—Bacon's Essays.*

² *Martialis.*

³ *Multi tacite opinantur commercium illud adeo frequens cum barbaris nudis, ac presertim cum feminis, ad libidinem provocare, at minus multo noxia illorum nuditas quam nostrarum feminarum cultus.*

⁴ *Ausim asseverare splendidum illum cultum, fucos, etc.*

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¹ *Harmo. Evangel. lib. 6, cap. 6.*

² *Serm. de concep. Virg. Physiognomia Virginis omnes movet ad castitatem.*

³ *3 sent. d. 3, q. 3. Mirum, virgo formosissima, sed a nemine concupita.*

⁴ *Met. 10.*

⁵ *Rosamond's Complaint, by Sam. Daniel.*

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¹ *Æneas Sylvius.*

² *Heliodor. lib. 2. Rhodopis Thracia tam inevitabili fascino instructa, tam exacte oculis intuens attraxit, ut si in illam quis incidisset, fieri non posset quin caperetur.*

¹ Lib. 3 de providentia: Animi fenestræ oculi, et omnis improba cupiditas per ocellos tanquam canales introit.

⁴ Buchanan. ⁵ Ovid, de arte amandi.

⁶ Pers. Sat. 3. ⁷ Vel centum Charites ridere putaret.—Musæus, of Hero.

⁸ Hor. Od. 22, lib. 1.

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¹ Eustathius, lib. 5.

² Mantuan.

³ Tom. 4, Meretr. dial. Exornando seipsam eleganter, facilem et hilarem se gerendo erga cunctos, ridendo suave ac blandum quid, etc.

⁴ Angerianus.

⁵ Vel si forte vestimentum de industria elevetur, ut pedum ac tibiarum pars aliqua conspiciatur, dum templum aut locum aliquem adierit.

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¹ Sermone, quod non feminæ viris cohabitent. Non locuta es lingua, sed locuta es gressu: non locuta es voce, sed oculis locuta es clarius quam voce.

² Jovianus Pontanus, Baiar. lib. 1, ad Hermionem.

³ De luxu vestium discurs. 6. Nihil aliud deest nisi ut præco vos præcedat, etc.

⁴ If you can tell how, you may sing this to the tune a sow-gelder blows.

⁵ Auson. Epig. 39.

⁶ Plin. lib. 33, cap. 10. Campaspen nudam picturus Apelles, amore ejus illaqueatus est.

⁷ [Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.]

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¹ In Tyrrenis conviviis nudæ mulieres ministrabant.

² Epist. 7, lib. 2.

³ Amatoria miscentes vidit, et in ipsis complexibus audit, etc.; emersit inde cupido in pectus virginis.

⁴ Spartan.

⁵ Sidney's Arcadia.

⁶ De immod. mulier. cultu.

⁷ Discurs. 6, de luxu vestium.

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¹ Petronius, fol. 95. Quo spectant flexæ comæ? quo facies medicamine attrita et oculorum mollis petulantia? quo incessus tam compositus, etc.

² Ter.

³ P. Aretine. Hortulanus non ita exercetur visendis hortis, eques equis, armis, nauta navibus, etc.

⁴ Epist. 4. Sonus armillarum bene sonantium, odor unguentorum, etc.

⁵ Tom. 4, Dial. Amor. Vascula plena multæ infelicitatis omnem maritorum opulentiam in hæc impendunt, dracones pro monilibus habent, qui utinam vere dracones essent.—Lucian.

⁶ Seneca.

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¹ Castilio, de aulic. lib. 1. Mulieribus omnibus hoc imprimis in votis est, ut formosæ sint, aut si reipsa non sint, videantur tamen esse; et si qua parte natura defuit, artis suppetias adiungunt: unde illæ faciei unctiones, dolor et cruciatus in arctandis corporibus, etc.

² Ovid. Epist. Med. Jasoni.

³ Modo caudatas tunicas, etc.—Bossus.

⁴ Scribanus, Philos. Christ. cap. 6.

⁵ Ter. Eunuc. Act. 2, scen. 3.

⁶ Stroza fil.

⁷ Ovid.

¹ S. Daniel.

² Lib. de victimis. Fracto incessu, obtuitu lascivo, calamistrata, cincinnata, fucata, recens lota, purpurissata, pretiosoque amicta palliolo, spirans unguenta, ut juvenum animos circumveniat.

³ Orat. in ebrios. Impudenter se masculorum aspectibus exponunt, insolenter comas jactantes, trahunt tunicas pedibus collidentes, oculoque petulanti, risu effuso, ad tripudium insanientes, omnem adolescentum intemperantiam in se provocantes, idque in templis memoriæ martyrum consecratis; pomœrium civitatis officinam fecerunt impudentiæ.

⁴ Hymno Veneri dicato.

¹ Argonaut. lib. 3.

² Vit. Anton.

³ Regia domo ornatuque certantes, sese ac formam suam Antonio offerentes, etc. Cum ornatu et incredibili pompa per Cydnum fluvium navigarent aurata puppi, ipsa ad similitudinem Veneris ornata; puellæ Gratiis similes, pueri Cupidinibus, Antonius ad visum stupefactus.

⁴ Amictum chlamyde et coronis, quum primum aspexit Cnemonem, ex potestate mentis excidit.

⁵ Lib. de lib. prop.

⁶ Ruth iii, 3.

⁷ Cap. x, 3.

⁸ Juv. Sat. 4.

⁹ Hor. lib. 2. Od. 11.

¹ Cap. 27.

² Epist. 90.

³ Quicquid est boni moris levitate extinguitur, et politura corporis muliebres munditias antecessimus, colores meretricios viri sumimus, tenero et molli gradu suspendimus gradum, non ambulamus.—Nat. quæst. lib. 7, cap. 31.

⁴ Liv. lib. 4, dec. 4.

⁵ Quid exultas in pulchritudine panni? Quid gloriaris in gemmis ut facilis invites ad libidinosum incendium?—Mat. Bossus, de immoder. mulier. cultu.

⁶ Epist. 113. Fulgent monilibus, moribus sordent, purpurata vestis, conscientia pannosa, cap. 3, 17.

⁷ De virginali habitu. Dum ornari cultius, dum evagari virgines volunt, desinunt esse virgines. Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. de pulchr. animæ, ibid.

¹ Lib. 2 de cultu mulierum. Oculos depictos verecundia, inferentes in aures sermonem Dei, annectentes crinibus jugum Christi, caput maritis subjicientes, sic facile et satis eritis ornatae: vestite vos serico probitatis, byssino sanctitatis, purpura pudicitiae; taliter pigmentatae Deum habebitis amatorem.

² Suas habeant Romanæ lascivias; purpurissa ac cerussa ora perungant, fomenta libidinum, et corruptæ mentis indicia; vestrum ornamentum Deus sit, pudicitia, virtutis studium.—Bossus.

³ Plautus.

⁴ Sollicitiores de capitis sui decore quam de salute, inter pectinem et speculum diem perdunt, concinniores esse malunt quam honestiores, et rempublicam minus turbari curant quam comam.—Seneca.

⁵ Lucian.

⁶ Non sic Furius de Gallis, non Papius de Samnitibus, Scipio de Numantia triumphavit, ac illa se vincendo in hac parte.

¹ Anacreon, 4. Solum intuentur aurum.

² Asses tecum si vis vivere mecum.

³ Theognis.

⁴ Chaloner, lib. 9 de Repub. Ang.

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- ¹ Uxorem ducat Danaen, etc. ² Ovid.
³ Epist. 14. Formam spectant alii per gratias, ego pecuniam, etc.; ne mihi negotium facesse.
⁴ Qui caret argento, frustra utitur argumento.
⁵ Juvenalis.
⁶ Tom. 4, Meret. dial. Multos amatores rejecit, quia pater ejus nuper mortuus, ac dominus ipse factus bonorum omnium.
⁷ Lib. 3, cap. 14. Quis nobilium eo tempore, sibi aut filio aut nepoti uxorem accipere cupiens, oblatam sibi aliquam propin quarum ejus non acciperet obviis manibus? Quarum turbam acciverat e Normannia in Angliam ejus rei gratia.
⁸ Alexander Gaguinus, Sarmat. Europ. descript.
⁹ Tom. 3 Annal.

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- ¹ Libido statim deferbuit, fastidium cœpit, et quod in ea tantopere adamavit aspernatur, et ab ægritudine liberatus in angorem incidit.
² De puellæ voluntate periculum facere solis oculis non est satis, sed efficacius aliquid agere oportet, ibique etiam machinam alteram adhibere: itaque manus tange, digitos constringe, atque inter stringendum suspira; si hæc agentem æquo te animo feret, neque facta hujusmodi aspernabitur, tum vero dominam appella, ejusque collum suaviare.

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- ¹ Hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings.
² Shakespeare.
³ Tatius, lib. 1.
⁴ In mammarum attractu, non aspernanda inest jucunditas, et attrectatus, etc.
⁵ Ovid, Met. 1. ⁶ Mantuan.

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- ¹ Manus ad cubitum nuda, coram astans, fortius intuita, tenuem de pectore spiritum ducens, digitum meum pressit, et bibens pedem pressit; mutæ compressiones corporum, labiorum commixtiones, pedum connexiones, etc. Et bibit eodem loco, etc.
² Epist. 4. Respexi, respexit et illa subridens, etc.
³ Virgil, Æn. 4. ⁴ Propertius.
⁵ Ovid. Amor. lib. 2, eleg. 2.

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- ¹ Romæ vivens flore fortunæ, et opulentia meæ, ætas, forma, gratia conversationis, maxime me fecerunt expetibilem, etc.
² De aulic. lib. 1, fol. 63.
³ Ut adulterini mercatorum panni. ⁴ Busbeq. Epist.
⁵ Paranympa in cubiculum adducta capillos ad cutim referebat; sponsus inde ad eam ingressus cingulum solvebat, nec prius sponsam aspexit interdum quam ex illa factus esset pater.

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- ¹ Serm. cont. concub.
² Lib. 2, Epist. ad filium et virginem et matrem viduam, epist. 10. Dabit tibi barbatulus quispiam manum, sustentabit lassam, et pressis digitis aut tentabitur aut tentabit, etc.
³ Loquetur alius nutibus, et quicquid metuit dicere, significabit affectibus. Inter has tantas voluptatum illecebras etiam ferreas mentes libido domat. Difficile inter epulas servatur pudicitia.

⁴ Clamore vestium ad se juvenes vocat; capilli fasciolis comprimuntur crispatis, cingulo pectus arctatur, capilli vel in frontem, vel in aures defluunt: palliolum interdum cadit, ut nudet humeros, et quasi videri noluerit, festinans celat, quod volens detexerit.

⁵ Serm. cont. concub. In sancto et reverendo sacramentorum tempore multas occasiones, ut illis placeant qui eas vident, præbent.

⁶ Pont. Baia. lib. 1.

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¹ Descr. Brit.

² Res est blanda canor, discunt cantare puellæ pro facie, etc.—Ovid, 3 de art. amandi.

³ Epist. lib. 1. Cum loquitur Lais, quanta, O dii boni, vocis ejus dulcedo!

⁴ Aristænetus, lib. 2, epist. 5. Quam suave canit! verbum audax dixi, omnium quos vidi formosissimus; utinam amare me dignetur!

⁵ Imagines. Si cantantem audieris, ita demulcebere, ut parentum et patriæ statim obliviscaris.

⁶ Idyll. 18. Neque sane ulla sic citharam pulsare novit.

⁷ Amatorio Dialogo.

⁸ Puellam cithara canentem vidimus.

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¹ Apollonius, Argonaut, lib. 3.

² Catullus.

³ Pornoboscodidascalo, dial. Ital. Latin. interp. Gaspar. Barthio, Germ. Fingebam honestatem plusquam virginis vestalis, intuebar oculis uxoris, addebam gestus, etc.

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¹ Tom. 4, Dial. meretr.

² Amatorius sermo vehemens vehementis cupiditatis incitatio est.—Tatius, lib. 1.

³ De luxuria et deliciis compositi.

⁴ Æneas Sylvius. Nulla machina validior quam lectio lascivæ historiæ: sæpe etiam hujusmodi fabulis ad furorem incenduntur.

⁵ Martial, lib. 3.

⁶ Lib. 1, cap. 7.

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¹ Eustathius, lib. 1. Picturæ parant animum ad Venerem, etc. Horatius ad res venereas intemperantior traditur; nam cubiculo suo sic specula dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocunque respexisset imaginem coitus referrent.—Suetonius, vit. ejus.

² Osculum ut phalangium inficit.

³ Hor.

⁴ Heinsius.

⁵ Applico me illi proximius et spisse deosculata sagum peto.

⁶ Petronius, Catalect.

⁷ Catullus ad Lesbiam: Da mihi basia mille, deinde centum, etc.

⁸ Petronius.

⁹ Apuleius, lib. 10, et Catalect.

¹⁰ Petronius.

¹¹ Apuleius.

¹² Petronius, Proselyos ad Circen.

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¹ Petronius.

² Animus conjungitur, et spiritus etiam noster per osculum effluit; alternatim se in utriusque corpus infundentes commiscent; animæ potius quam corporis connectio.

³ Catullus.

⁴ Lucian, tom. 4

¹ Non dat basia, dat Neæra nectar, dat rores animæ suaveolentes, dat nardum, thymumque, cinnamumque et mel, etc.—Secundus, Bas. 4.

² Eustathius, lib. 3.

⁷ Catullus.

⁸ Buchanan.

⁹ Ovid. Am. Eleg. 18.

¹⁰ Ovid.

¹¹ Cum capita liment solitis morsiunculis, et cum mammillarum presiunculis.—Lip. od. ant. lec. lib. 3.

¹² Tom. 4, Dial. meretr.

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¹ Apuleius, Miles. 6. Et unum blandientis linguæ admulsum longe mellitum; et post, lib. 11: Arctius eam complexus cœpi suaviari jamque pariter patentis oris inhalitu cinnameo et occursantis linguæ illisu nectareo, etc.

² Lib. 1 advers. Jovin. cap. 30.

³ Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cetera sumpsit, etc.

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¹ Corpus placuit mariti sui tolli ex arca, atque illi quæ vocabat cruci adfigi.

² Novi ingenium mulierum, nolunt ubi velis, ubi nolis cupiunt ultro.—Ter. Eunuc. Act. 4, sc. 7.

³ Marlowe.

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¹ Pornoboscodidascalo, dial. Ital. Latin. donat. a Gasp. Barthio Germano. Quanquam natura et arte eram formosissima, isto tamen astu tanto speciosior videbar, quod enim oculis cupitum ægre præbatur, multo magis affectus humanos incendit.

² Quo majoribus me donis propitiabat, eo pejoribus illum modis tractabam, ne basium impetravit, etc.

³ Comes de monte Turco Hispanus has de venatione sua partes misit, jussitque peramanter orare, ut hoc quaecunque donum suo nomine accipias.

⁴ His artibus hominem ita excantabam, ut pro me ille ad omnia paratus, etc.

⁵ Tom. 4, Dial. meretr.

⁶ Relicto illo, ægre ipsi interim faciens, et omnino difficilis.

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¹ Si quis enim nec zelotypus irascitur, nec pugnat aliquando amator, nec perjurat, non est habendus amator, etc. Totus hic ignis zelotypia constat, etc.; maximi amores inde nascuntur. Sed si persuasum illi fuerit te solum habere, elanguescit illico amor suus.

² Venientem videbis ipsum denuo inflammatum et prorsus insanientem.

³ Et sic cum fere de illo desperassem, post menses quatuor ad me rediit

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¹ Petronius, Catal.

² Imagines deorum. fol. 327. Varios amores facit, quos aliqui interpretantur multiplices affectus et illecebras, alios puellios, puellas, alatos, alios poma aurea, alios sagittas, alios laqueos, etc.

³ Epist. lib. 3, vita Pauli Eremitæ.

⁴ Meretrix speciosa cœpit delicatius stringere colla complexibus, et corpore in libidinem concitato, etc.

⁵ Camden, in Gloucestershire. Huic præfuit nobilis et formosa abbatissa, Godwinus comes indole subtilis, non ipsam, sed sua cupiens, reliquit nepotem suum forma elegantissimum, tanquam infirmum donec reverteretur; instruit, etc.

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¹ Ille impiger regem adit, abbatissam et suas pręgnantes edocet, exploratoribus missis probat, et iis ejectis, a domino suo manerium accepit.

² Post sermones de casu suo suavitate sermonis conciliat animum hominis, manumque inter colloquia et risus ad barbam protendit et palpare cępit cervicem suam et osculari; quid multa? Captivum ducit militem Christi. Complexura evanescit, dęmones in aere monachum riserunt.

³ Choręa circulus, cujus centrum diabolus.

⁴ Multę inde impudicę domum rediere, plures ambigę, melior nulla.

⁵ Turpium deliciarum comes est externa saltatio; neque certe facile dictu quę mala hinc visus hauriat, et quę pariat, colloquia, monstrosos, inconditos gestus, etc.

⁶ Juv. Sat. 11.

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¹ Justin, lib. 30. Adduntur instrumenta luxurię, tympana et tripudia; nec tam spectator rex, sed nequitię magister, etc.

² Hor. lib. 3, Od. 6.

³ Havarde, vita ejus.

⁴ Of whom he begat William the Conqueror; by the same token she tore her smock down, saying, etc.

⁵ Epist. 26. Quis non miratus est saltantem? Quis non vidit et amavit? veterem et novam vidi Romam, sed tibi similem non vidi, Panareta; felix qui Panareta fruitur, etc.

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¹ Principio Ariadne velut sponsa prodit, ac sola recedit; prodiens illico Dionysus ad numeros cantante tibia saltabat; admirati sunt omnes saltantem juvenem, ipsaque Ariadne, ut vix potuerit conquirere; postea vero cum Dionysus eam aspexit, etc. Ut autem surrexit Dionysus, erexit simul Ariadnem, licebatque spectare gestus osculantium, et inter se complectentium; qui autem spectabant, etc. Ad extremum videntes eos mutuis amplexibus implicatos et jamjam ad thalamum ituros; qui non duxerant uxores jurabant uxores se ducturos; qui autem duxerant consensu equis et incitatis, ut iisdem fruerentur, domum festinarunt.

² Lib. 4, de contemnend. amoribus.

³ Ad Anysium, epist. 57.

⁴ Intempestivum enim est, et a nuptiis abhorrens, inter saltantes podagricum videre senem, et episcopum.

⁵ Rem omnium in mortalium vita optimam innocenter accusare.

⁶ Quę honestam voluptatem respicit, aut corporis exercitium, contemni non debet.

⁷ Elegantissima res est, quę et mentem acuet, corpus exerceat, et spectantes oblectet, multos gestus decoros docens, oculos, aures, animum ex æquo demulcens.

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¹ Ovid.

² System. moralis philosophię.

³ Apuleius, 10. Puelli puellęque virenti florescentes atatura, forma conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gratiosi, Gręcanicam saltantes Pyrrhicam, dispositis ordinationibus, decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbem flexi, nunc in obliquam seriem connexi, nunc in quadrum cuneati, nunc inde separati, etc.

⁴ Lib. 1, cap. 11.

⁵ Vit. Epaminondę.

⁶ Lib. 5.

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¹ Read P. Martyr's Ocean Decades, Benzo, Lerijs, Hakluyt, etc.

² Angerianus, Erotopęgnium.

³ 5 Leg. Τῆς γὰρ τοιαύτης σκεδῆς ἔνεκα, etc., hujus causa oportuit

disciplinam constitui, ut tam pueri quam puellæ choreas celebrent, spectenturque ac spectent, etc.

⁴ Aspectus enim nudorum corporum tam mares quam feminas irritare solet ad enormes lasciviæ appetitus.

⁵ Camden, *Annal.* anno 1578, fol. 276. Amatoriis facetiis et illecebris exquisitissimus.

⁶ Met. 1, Ovid.

⁷ Erasmus, *Ecl.* Mille mei Siculis errant in montibus agni.

⁸ Virg.

⁹ Lœchæus.

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¹ Tom. 4, *Meretr. dial.* Amare se jurat et lacrimatur dicitque uxorem me ducere velle, quum pater oculos clausisset.

² Quum dotem alibi multo majorem aspiciet, etc.

³ Or upper garment. Quem Juno miserata veste contextit.

⁴ Hor.

⁵ Dejeravit illa secundum supra trigesimum ad proximum Decembrem completuram se esse.

⁶ Ovid.

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¹ Nam donis vincitur omnis amor.—Tibullus, 1, el. 5.

² Fox, *Act.* 3, sc. 3.

³ Catullus.

⁴ Perjuria ridet amantum Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet.—Tibul. lib. 3, 6.

⁵ In Philebo. Pejerantibus his dii soli ignoscunt.

⁶ Catullus.

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¹ Lib. 1 de contemnendis amoribus.

² Dial. Ital. Argentum ut paleas projiciebat.

³ Biliosum habui amatorem qui supplex flexis genibus, etc.

⁴ Nullus recens allatus terræ fructus, nullum cupediarum genus tam carum erat, nullum vinum Creticum pretiosum, quin ad me ferret illico; credo alterum oculum pignori daturus, etc.

⁵ Post musicam opiperas epulas, et tantis juramentis, donis, etc.

⁶ Nunquam aliquis umbrarum conjurator tanta attentione, tamque potentibus verbis usus est, quam ille exquisitis mihi dictis, etc.

⁷ Chaucer.

⁸ Ah crudele genus nec fidum femina nomen!—Tibul. lib. 3, eleg. 4.

⁹ Jovianus Pontanus.

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¹ Aristænetus, lib. 2, epist. 13.

² Suaviter flebam, ut persuasum habeat lacrimas præ gaudio illius redivit mihi emanare.

³ Lib. 3. His accedunt, vultus subtristis, color pallidus, gemebunda vox, ignita suspiria, lacrimæ prope innumerabiles. Istæ se statim umbræ offerunt tanto squalore et in omni fere diverticulo tanta macie, ut illas jamjam moribundas putes.

⁴ Petronius.

⁵ Cælestina, *Act.* 7, Barthio interprete. Omnibus aridet, et a singulis amari se solam dicit.

⁶ Ovid.

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¹ Seneca Hippol.

² Tom. 4, *Dial. meretr.* Tu vero aliquando mærore afficeris ubi audieris me a meipsa laqueo tui causa suffocatam aut in puteum præcipitatam.

³ Epist. 20, lib. 2.

⁴ *Matronæ fient duobus oculis, moniales quatuor, virgines uno, meretrices nullo.* ⁵ Ovid.

⁶ *Imagines deorum, fol. 332, e Moschi Amore fugitivo, quem Politianus Latinum fecit.*

⁷ Lib. 3. Mille vix anni sufficerent ad omnes illas machinationes dolosque commemorandos, quos viri et mulieres, ut se invicem circumveniant, excogitare solent.

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¹ Petronius.

² Plautus.

³ Trithemius [Abbot of Spanheim. Wrote Polygraphia (pub. 1518), the first important work on cryptography. Steganographia, on the same subject, was also attributed to him].

⁴ [A reference, probably, to Nuntius Inanimatus (The Inanimate Messenger) by Francis Godwin (1562-1633) Bishop of Hereford.]

⁵ De Magnet. Philos. lib. 4, cap. 10.

⁶ Tibullus, Eleg. 5, lib. 1. Venit in exitum callida lena meum.

⁷ Ovid, Met. 10.

⁸ Pornobosc. Barthii.

⁹ De vit. Erem. cap. 3. Ad sororem vix aliquam reclusarum hujus temporis solam invenies, ante cujus fenestram non anus garrula, vel nugigerula mulier sedet, quæ eam fabulis occupet, rumoribus pascat, hujus vel illius monachi, etc.

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¹ Agreste olus anus vendebat, et Rogo inquam, mater, nunquid scis ubi ego habitem? Delectata illa urbanitate tam stulta, Et quid nesciam? inquit; consurrexitque et cœpit me præcedere; divinam ego putabam, etc.; nudas video meretrices et in lupanar me adductum, sero execratus aniculæ insidias. ² Plautus, Menæch.

³ Promissis everberant, molliunt dulciloquiis, et opportunum tempus aucupantes laqueos ingerunt quos vix Lucretia vitaret, escam parant quam vel satur Hippolytus sumeret, etc. Hæ sane sunt virgæ soporiferæ quibus contactæ animæ ad Orcum descendunt; hoc gluten quo compactæ mentium alæ evolare nequeunt, dæmonis ancillæ, quæ sollicitant, etc.

⁴ See the Practices of the Jesuits, Anglice, edit. 1630.

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¹ Æn. Sylv.

² *Such* appears to be corrupt, but the Editor has failed to amend it satisfactorily. Shilleto puts *use*.

³ Chaucer, in the Wife of Bath's Tale.

⁴ H. Stephanus, Apol. Herod. lib. 1, cap. 21.

⁵ Bale. Puellæ in lectis dormire non poterant.

⁶ Idem Josephus, lib. 18, cap. 4.

⁷ Liber edit. Augustæ Vindelicorum, an. 1608.

⁸ Quarum animas lucrari debent Deo, sacrificant diabolo.

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¹ M. Drayton, Her. Epist.

² Pornoboscodidascalo, dial. Ital. Latin. fact. a Gasp. Barthio. Plus possum quam omnes philosophi, astrologi, necromantici, etc., sola saliva inungens, et amplexu et basiis tam furiose furere, tam bestialiter obstupesceri coegi, ut instar idoli me adorarint.

³ Sagæ omnes sibi arrogant notitiam, et facultatem in amorem alliciendi quos velint; odia inter conjuges serendi, tempestates excitandi, morbos infligendi, etc. ⁴ Juvenalis Sat.

⁵ Idem refert Hen. Kornmannus de mir. mort. lib. 1, cap. 14. Perdite amavit mulierculam quandam, illius amplexibus acquiescens, summa cum indignatione suorum et dolore.

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- ¹ Et inde totus in episcopum furere, illum colere.
² Aquisgranum, vulgo Aix. [Aachen, Aix-la-Chapelle.]
³ Immenso sumptu templum et ædes, etc.
⁴ Apolog. Quod Pudentillam viduam ditem et provectionis ætatis feminam cantaminibus in amorem sui pellexisset.
⁵ Philopseudes, tom. 3.
⁶ Impudicæ mulieres opera veneficarum, diaboli coquarum, amatores suos ad se noctu ducunt et reducunt, ministerio hirci in aere volantis. Multos novi qui hoc fassi sunt, etc.

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- ¹ Mandrake apples, Lemnius, lib. herb. bib. cap. 2.
² Of which read Plin. lib. 8, cap. 22, et lib. 13, cap. 25 et Quintilianum, lib. 7.
³ Lib. 11, cap. 8. Venere implicat eos, qui ex eo bibunt. Idem Ov, Met. 4; Strabo, Geog. lib. 14.
⁴ Lod. Guicciardine's Descript. Ger. in Aquisgrano.
⁵ Balteus Veneris, in quo suavitas, et dulcia colloquia, benevolentia et blanditiæ, suasiones, fraudes et veneficia includebantur

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- ¹ Ovid. Facit hunc amor ipse colorem.—Met. 4.
² Signa ejus profunditas oculorum, privatio lacrimarum, suspiria, sæpe rident sibi. ac si quod delectabile viderent, aut audirent.
³ Seneca, Hip. ⁴ Seneca, Hip.
⁵ De morbis cerebri, de erot. amore. Ob spirituum distractionem hepar officio suo non fungitur, nec vertit alimentum in sanguinem, ut debeat. Ergo membra debilia, et penuria alibilis succi marcescunt, squalentque ut herbæ in horto meo hoc mense Maio Zeriscæ, ob imbrium defectum.
⁶ Faerie Queene, lib. 3, cant. 11.

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- ¹ Amator. Emblem. 3.
² Lib. 4. Animo errat, et quidvis obvium loquitur, vigilias absque causa sustinet, et succum corporis subito amisit.
³ Apuleius. ⁴ Chaucer, in the Knight's Tale. ⁵ Virg. Æn. 4.

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- ¹ Dum vaga passim sidera fulgent, numerat longas tetricus horas, et sollicito nixus cubito suspirando viscera rumpit.
² Saliebat crebro tepidum cor ad aspectum Ismenes.
³ Gordonius, cap. 20. Amittunt sæpe cibum, potum, et maceratur inde totum corpus.
⁴ Ter. Eunuch. Dii boni, quid hoc est, adeone homines mutari ex amore, ut non cognoscas eundem esse!
⁵ Ovid, Met. 4.
⁶ Ad ejus nomen rubebat, et ad aspectum pulsus variebatur.—Plutarch.
⁷ Epist. 13.
⁸ Barclay, lib. 1. Oculi medico tremore errabant.
⁹ Pulsus eorum velox et inordinatus, si mulier quam amat forte transeat.

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- ¹ Signa sunt cessatio ab omni opere insueto, privatio somni, suspiria crebra, rubor cum sit sermo de re amata, et commotio pulsus.
² Si noscere vis an homines suspecti tales sint, tangito eorum arterias.

- ¹ Amor facit inæquales, inordinatos.
² In nobilis cujusdam uxore quum subolfacerem adulteri amore fuisse correptam et quam maritus, etc.
³ Cœpit illico pulsus variari et ferri celerius et sic inveni.
⁴ Eunuch. Act. 1, sc. 2.
⁵ Epist. 7, lib. 2. Tener sudor et creber anhelitus, palpitatio cordis, etc.
⁶ Lib. 1. ⁷ Lexoviensis episcopus [Bishop of Lisieux].

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- ¹ Theodorus Prodrumus, Amaranto dial., Gaulnino interpret.
² Petron. Catal.
³ Sed unum ego usque et unum Petam a tuis labellis, postque unum et unum et unum, dari rogabo. Lœchæus, Anacreon.
⁴ Jo. Secundus, Bas. 7.
⁵ Translated or imitated by Mr. B. Johnson, our arch-poet, in his 119th ep. [The Forest, 6].
⁶ Lucret. lib. 4.

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- ¹ Lucian, tom. 4, Dial. meretr. Sed et aperientes, etc.
² Epist. 16. ³ Deducto ore longo me basio demulcet.
⁴ In Deliciis. Mammæ tuas tango, etc. ⁵ Terent.
⁶ Attente adeo in me aspexit, et interdum ingemiscebat, et lacrimabatur. Et si quando bibens, etc.
⁷ Quique omnia cernere debes Leucothoen spectas, et virgine figis in una Quos mundo debes oculos.—Ovid, Met. 4.

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- ¹ Lucian tom. 3. Quoties ad Cariam venis currum sistis, et desuper aspectas.
² Ex quo te primum vidi, Pythias, alio oculos vertere non fuit.
³ Lib. 1. ⁴ Dial. amorum.
⁵ Ad occasum solis ægre domum rediens, atque totum diem ex adverso deæ sedens recta, in ipsam perpetuo oculorum ictus direxit, etc.
⁶ Lib. 3.
⁷ Regum palatium non tam diligenti custodia septum fuit, ac ædes meas stipabant, etc.

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- ¹ Uno et eodem die sexties vel septies ambulant per eandem plateam ut vel unico amicæ suæ fruuntur aspectu.—Lib. 3, Theat. Mundi.
² Hor. ³ Ovid. ⁴ Ovid.
⁵ Hyginus, Fab. 59. Eo die dicitur nonies ad littus currisse.
⁶ Chaucer.

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- ¹ Gen. xxix, 20. ² Plautus, Cistel. ³ Stobæus, e Græco.
⁴ Plautus: Credo ego ad hominis carnificinam amorem inventum esse.

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- ¹ De Civitate Dei, lib. 22, cap. 20. Ex eo oriuntur mordaces curæ, perturbationes, mærores, formidines, insana gaudia, discordiæ, lites, bella, insidiæ, iracundiæ, inimicitia, fallaciæ, adulatio, fraus, furtum, nequitia, impudentia.
² Marullus, lib. 1. ³ Ter. Eunuch.
⁴ Plautus, Mercat. ⁵ Ovid.
⁶ Adelphi, Act. 4, sc. 5. M. Bono animo es, duces uxorem hanc. Æ. Hem, pater, num tu ludis me nunc? M. Egone te, quamobrem? Æ. Quod tam misere cupio, etc.

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- ¹ Tom. 4, Dial. amorum.
² Aristotle, 2 Rhet., puts love therefore in the irascible part.
³ Ter. Eunuch. Act. 1, sc. 2.
⁴ Plautus. ⁵ Tom. 3.
⁶ Scis quod posthac dicturus fuerim.
⁷ Tom. 4, Dial. meretr. Tryphæna, amor me perdit, neque malum hoc amplius sustinere possum.
⁸ Aristænetus, lib. 2, epist. 8.

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- ¹ Cælestinae Act 1. Sancti majora lætitia non fruuntur. Si mihi Deus omnium votorum mortalium summam concedat, non magis, etc.
² Catullus de Lesbia. ³ Hor. Ode 9, lib. 3.
⁴ Act 3, sc. 5, Eunuch. Ter. ⁵ Act. 5, sc. 8.

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- ¹ Mantuan. ² Ter. Andria, 3, 4.
³ Lib. 1, de contemn. amoribus. Si quem respexerit amica suavius, et familiarius, si quem alloquuta fuerit, si nutu, nuntio, etc., statim cruciatur.
⁴ Callisto in Cælestina.
⁵ Pornoboscodidasc. dial. Ital. Patre et matre se singuli orbos censebant, quod meo contubernio carendum esset.
⁶ Ter.
⁷ Si responsum esset dominam occupatam esse aliisque vacaret, ille statim vix hoc audito velut in armor obriguit, alii se damnare, etc., at cui favebam, in campis Elysiis esse videbatur, etc.
⁸ Mantuan.

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- ¹ Lœchæus.
² Sole se occultante, aut tempestate veniente, statim clauditur ac languescit.
³ Emblem. amat. 13. ⁴ Callisto de Melibœa.
⁵ Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi amat.
⁶ Cælestina, Act. 1. Credo in Melibœam, etc.
⁷ Ter. Eunuch. Act. 1, sc. 2.

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- ¹ Virg. Æn. 4.
² Tota hac nocte somnum hisce oculis non vidi.—Ter.
³ Interdiu oculi, et aures occupatæ distrahunt animum, at noctu solus jactor, ad auroram somnus paulum misertus, nec tamen ex animo puella abiit, sed omnia mihi de Leucippe somnia erant.
⁴ Buchanan, Silv.
⁵ Æn. Sylv. Te dies noctesque amo, te cogito, te desidero, te voco, te expecto, te spero, tecum oblecto me, totus in te sum.
⁶ Hor. lib. 2, Ode 9.

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- ¹ Petronius. ² Tibullus, lib. 3, Eleg. 3. ³ Ovid, Fast. 2, ver. 777.
⁴ Virg. Æn. 4. ⁵ De Pythonissa.
⁶ Juno, nec ira deum tantum, nec tela, nec hostes, Quantum tute nocēs animis illapsa.—Silius Ital. 15 Bel. Punic. de amore.

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¹ Philostratus, vita ejus. Maximum tormentum quod excogitare, vel docere te possum, est ipse amor.

² Ausonius, cap. 35.

³ Et cæco carpitur igni. At mihi sese offert ultra meus ignis Amyntas.

⁴ Ter. Eunuch.

⁵ Sen. Hippol.

⁶ Theocritus, Idyl. 2. Levibus cor est violabile telis.

⁷ Ignis tangentes solum urit, at forma procul astantes inflammat.

⁸ Nonius.

⁹ Major illa flamma quæ consumit unam animam, quam quæ centum millia corporum.

¹⁰ Mant. Ecl. 2.

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¹ Marullus, Epig. lib. 1.

² Imagines deorum.

³ Ovid.

⁴ Æneid 4.

⁵ Seneca.

⁶ Cor totum combustum, jecur suffumigatum, pulmo arefactus, ut credam miseram illam animam bis elixam aut combustam, ob maximum ardorem quem patiuntur ob ignem amoris.

⁷ Embl. Amat. 4 et 5.

⁸ Grotius.

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¹ Lib. 4. Nam istius amoris neque principia neque media aliud habent quid, quam molestias, dolores, cruciatus, defatigationes, adeo ut miserum esse mærore, gemitu, solitudine torqueri, mortem optare, semperque debacchari, sint certa amantium signa et certæ actiones.

² Virg. Æn. 4.

³ Seneca, Hip.

⁴ Eclog. 1.

⁵ Idyl. 10.

⁶ Mant. Eclog. 2. Ov. Met. 13, de Polyphemo: Uritur oblitus pecorum antrorumque suorum; jamque tibi formæ, etc.

⁷ Ter. Eunuch.

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¹ Qui, quæso? Amo.

² Ter. Eunuch.

³ Qui olim cogitabat quæ vellet, et pulcherrimis philosophiæ præceptis operam insumpsit, qui universi circuities cœlique naturam, etc., hanc unam intendit operam, de sola cogitat, noctes et dies se componit ad hanc, et ad acerbam servitutem redactus animus, etc.

⁴ Pars epitaphii ejus.

⁵ Epist. prima.

⁶ Boethius, lib. 3, met. ult.

⁷ Epist. lib. 2. Valeat pudor, valeat honestas, valeat honor.

⁸ Theodor. Prodromus, lib. 3. Amor Mystyli genibus obvolutus, ubertimque lacrimans, etc. Nihil ex tota præda præter Rhodanthen virginem accipiam.

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¹ Lib. 3. Certe vix credam, et bona fide fateare, Aretine, te non amasse adeo vehementer; si enim vere amasses, nihil prius aut potius optasses, quam amatæ mulieri placere. Ea enim amoris lex est idem velle et nolle.

² Stroza fil. Epig.

³ Quippe hæc omnia ex atra bile et amore proveniunt.—Jason Pratensis.

⁴ Immensus amor ipse stultitia est.—Cardan, lib. 1 de sapientia.

⁵ Mantuan.

⁶ [A proverbial expression, implying perplexity and indecision.]

⁷ Virg. Æn. 4.

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¹ Seneca, Hippol.

² Met. 10.

³ Buchanan.

⁴ An immodest woman is like a bear.

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- ¹ Feram induit dum rosas comedat, idem ad se redeat.
² Alciatus, de upupa embl. Animal immundum upupa stercora amans; ave hac nihil fœdus, nihil libidinosius.—Sabin. in Ovid. Met.
³ Love is like a false glass, which represents everything fairer than it is.

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- ¹ Hor. Ser. lib. sat. 1, 3.
² The daughter and heir of Carolus Pugnax [Charles the Bold].
³ Seneca in Octavia. ⁴ Lœchæus.
⁵ Mantuan, Ecl. 1. ⁶ Angerianus.
⁷ Faerie Queene, cant. 2, lib. 4.

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- ¹ Epist. 12. Quis unquam formas vidit orientis, quis occidentis? veniant undique omnes, et dicant veraces, an tam insignem viderint formam.
² Nulla vox formam ejus possit comprehendere.
³ Calcagnini dial. Galat. ⁴ Catullus.
⁵ Petronii Catalecta. ⁶ Chaucer, in the Knight's Tale.

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- ¹ Ovid, Met. 13.
² Plutarch. Sibi dixit tam pulchram non videri, etc.
³ Quanto te, Lucifer, aurea Phœbe, tanto virginibus conspectior omnibus Herse.—Ovid.

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- ¹ M[ichael] D[rayton], Son. 30.
² Martial, lib. 5, Epig. 37. ³ Ariosto.
⁴ Tully, lib 1 de nat. deor. Pulchrior deo, et tamen erat oculis per-versissimis.
⁵ Marullus ad Neæram, epig. lib. 1.
⁶ Barthius. ⁷ Ariosto, lib. 29, st. 8.

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- ¹ Tibullus. ² Marul. lib. 2.
³ Tibullus, lib. 4, de Sulpicia. ⁴ Aristænetus, Epist. 1.
⁵ Epist. 24. Veni cito, carissime Lysia, cito veni; præ te satyri omnes videntur non homines, nullo loco solus es, etc.
⁶ Lib. 3 de aulico. Alterius affectui se totum componit, totus placere studet, et ipsius animam amatæ pedissequam facit.

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- ¹ Cyropæd. lib. 5. Amor servitus, et qui amant optant eo liberari non secus ac alio quovis morbo, neque liberari tamen possunt, sed validiori necessitate ligati sunt quam si in ferrea vincula confecti forent.
² In Paradoxis. An ille mihi liber videtur cui mulier imperat? cui leges imponit, præscribit, jubet, vetat quod videtur? qui nihil imperanti negat, nihil audet, etc.; poscit? dandum; vocat? veniendum; minatur? extimiscendum.
³ Illane parva est servitus amatorum singulis fere horis pectine capillum, calamistroque barbam componere, faciem aquis redolentibus diluere, etc.
⁴ Si quando in pavementum incautius quid mihi excidisset, elevare inde quam promptissime, nec nisi osculo compacto mihi commendare, etc

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¹ Plutarchus, *Amat. dial.*

² Lib. 1 de contem. amor. Quid referam eorum pericula et clades, qui in amicarum aedes per fenestras ingressi stillicidiaque egressi indeque deturbati, sed aut præcipites, membra frangunt, collidunt, aut animam amittunt.

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¹ Ter. *Eunuch. Act. 5, sc. 8.*

² Paratus sum ad obeundum mortem, si tu jubeas; hanc sitim æstuantis seda, quam tuum sidus perdidit, aquæ et fontes non negant, etc.

³ Si occidere placet, ferrum meum vides, si verberibus contenta es, curro nudus ad pœnam.

⁴ Act. 15, 18. Impera mihi; occidam decem viros, etc.

⁵ Gaspar Ens. Puellam misere deperiens, per jocum ab ea in Padum desilire jussus statim e ponte se præcipitavit. Alius Ficino insano amore ardens ab amica jussus se suspendere, illico fecit.

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¹ Intellego pecuniam rem esse jucundissimam, meam tamen libentius darem Clinia quam ab aliis acciperem; libentius huic servirem, quam aliis imperarem, etc. Noctem et somnum accuso, quod illum non videam, luci autem et soli gratiam habeo quod mihi Cliniam ostendant. Ego etiam cum Clinia in ignem currem; et scio vos quoque mecum ingressuros si videretis.

² Impera quidvis; navigare jube, navem conscendo; plagas accipere, plector; animum profundere, in ignem currere, non recuso, lubens facio.

³ Hujus ero vivus, mortuus hujus ero.—Propert. lib. 2. Vivam si vivat; si cadat illa, cadam.—Id.

⁴ Seneca, in *Hipp. Act. 2.*

⁵ *Dial. Amorum.* Mihi, o dii cœlestes, ultra sit vita hæc perpetua ex adverso amicæ sedere, et suave loquentem audire, etc.; si moriatur, vivere non sustinebo, et idem erit sepulchrum utriusque.

⁶ Buchanan.

⁷ *Epist. 21.* Sit hoc votum a diis amare Delphidem, ab ea amari, adloqui pulchram et loquentem audire. ⁸ Hor.

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¹ Mart. ² *Lege Calamitates Pet. Abelhardi, Epist. prima.*

³ Ariosto. ⁴ Chaucer, in the *Knight's Tale.*

⁵ Theodorus Prodromus, *Amorum lib. 6, interprete Gaulmino.*

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¹ Ovid, 10 *Met.*; Hyginus, *Fab. 185.*

² Ariosto, lib. 1, cant. 1, staff 5. ³ Plut. *Dial. amor.*

⁴ Faerie Queene, cant. 1, lib. 4, and cant. 3, lib. 4.

⁵ Dum cassis pertusa, ensis instar serræ excisus, scutum, etc.—Barthius, *Cælestina.*

⁶ *Lesbia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur.*

⁷ As Xanthus, for the love of Erippe, omnem Europam peragravit.—Parthenius, *Erot. cap. 8.*

⁸ Beroaldus, e Boccaccio.

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¹ *Epist. 17, lib. 2.*

² Lucretius.

³ Æneas Sylvius. Lucretia quum accepit Euryali literas hilaris statim milliesque papyrus basiavit.

¹ *Mediis inseruit papillis litteram ejus, mille prius pangens suavia.*—Arist. 2, epist. 13.

² Plautus, *Asinar.*

³ Hor.

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¹ *Illā domi sedens imaginem ejus fixis oculis assidue conspīcata.*

² Buchanan, *Silvæ.*

³ Fracastorius Naugerio.

⁴ Happy servants that serve her, happy men that are in her company!

⁵ *Non ipsos solum sed ipsorum memoriam amant.*—Lucian.

⁶ Epist. O ter felix solum! beatus ego, si me calcaveris; vultus tuus amnes sistere potest, etc.

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¹ Idem, Epist. In prato cum sit flores superat; illi pulchri see unius tantum diei; fluvius gratus sed evanescit; at tuus fluvius mari major. Si cœlum aspicio, solem existimo cecidisse, et in terra ambulare, etc.

² Si civitate egrederis, sequentur te dii custodes, spectaculo commoti; si naves sequentur; quis fluvius salum tuum non rigaret?

³ [Amorum] 2, el. 15.

⁴ Carm. 22.

⁵ Englished by Mr. B. Holliday, in his *Technogamia*, Act. 1, sc. 7.

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¹ Ovid. Met. lib. 4.

² Plautus de milite.

³ Xenophon, *Cyropæd.* lib. 5.

⁴ Lucian.

⁵ Petronius.

⁶ E Græco Ruf.

⁷ Lod. Vertomannus, *Navig.* lib. 2, cap. 5. O deus, hunc creasti sole candidiorem, e diverso me et conjugem meum et natos meos nigricantes. Utinam hic, etc. Ibit [?] Gazella, Tegeia, Galzerana, et promissis oneravit, et donis, etc.

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¹ M[ichael D[rayton].

² Hor. Ode 9. lib. 3.

³ Ov. Met. 10.

⁴ Buchanan, *Hendecasyll.*

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¹ Petrarch.

² Cardan, lib. 2 de sap. Ex vilibus generosos efficere solet, ex timidis audaces, ex avaris splendidos, ex agrestibus civiles, ex crudelibus mansuetos, ex impiis religiosos, ex sordidis nitidos atque cultos, ex duris misericordes, ex mutis eloquentes.

³ Anima hominis amore capti tota referta suffitibus et odoribus; pæanes resonat, etc.

⁴ Ovid.

⁵ In Convivio. Amor Veneris Martem detinet, et fortem facit; adolescentem maxime erubescere cernimus quum amatrix eum turpe quid committentem ostendit.

⁶ Plutarch, *Amator.* dial.

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¹ Si quo pacto fieri civitas aut exercitus posset partim ex his qui amant, partim ex his, etc.

² Angerianus.

³ Faerie Queene, lib. 4, cant. 2.

⁴ Zenod. Proverb. cont. 6.

⁵ Plat. Conviv.

⁶ Lib. 3 de aulico. Non dubito quin is qui talem exercitum haberet, totius orbis statim victor esset, nisi forte cum aliquo exercitu configendum esset in quo omnes amatores essent.

⁷ Hyginus de cane et lepore cœlesti, et Decimator.

⁸ Vix dici potest quantam inde audaciam assumerent Hispani, inde pauci infinitas Maurorum copias superarunt.

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- ¹ Lib. 5 de legibus.
² Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, book 3, cant. 8.
³ Hyginus, lib. 2. ⁴ Aratus in *Phænomena*. ⁵ Virg.
⁶ Hanc ubi conspicatus est Cymon, baculo innixus, immobilis stetit, et mirabundus, etc.

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- ¹ Plautus, *Casina*, Act. 2, sc. 4. ² Plautus.
³ Ovid, *Met.* 2. ⁴ Ovid. *Met.* 4. ⁵ Virg. *Æn.* 1.

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- ¹ [Severus.] ² Ovid. *Met.* 13. ³ Virg. *Ecl.* 2.
⁴ Epist. An uxor literato sit ducenda. Noctes insomnes traducendæ, literis renunciandum, sæpe gemendum, nonnunquam et illacrimandum sorti et conditioni tuæ. Videndum quæ vestes, quis cultus te deceat, quis in usu sit, utrum latus barbæ, etc. Cum cura loquendum, incedendum, bibendum et cum cura insaniendum.

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- ¹ Mart. *Epig.* 8. ² Chil. 4, cent. 5, prov. 16.
³ Martianus Capella, lib. 1 de nupt. Philol. Jam illum sentio amore teneri, ejusque studio plures habere comparatas in famulatio disciplinas, etc.
⁴ Lib. 3 de aulico. Quis choreis insudaret, nisi feminarum causa? Quis musicæ tantam navaret operam nisi quod illius dulcedine permulcere speret? Quis tot carmina componeret, nisi ut inde affectus suos in mulieres explicaret?
⁵ Craterem nectaris evertit saltans apud deos, qui in terram cadens, rosam prius albam rubore infecit.
⁶ Puellas choreantes circa juvenilem Cupidinis statuam fecit.—Philostrat. *Imag.* lib. 3, de statu. Exercitium amoris aptissimum.

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- ¹ Lib. 6 *Met.* ² Tom. 4.
³ Kornman. de cur. mort. part. 5, cap. 28. Sat. puellæ dormienti insultantium, etc. ⁴ View of France.
⁵ Vita ejus. Puellæ amore septuagenarius senex usque ad insaniam correptus, multis liberis susceptis: multi non sine pudore conspexerunt senem et philosophum podagricum, non sine risu saltantem ad tibiarum modos.
⁶ Anacreon, *Carm.* 31.

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- ¹ Joach. Bellius, *Epig.*
² De taciturno loquacem facit, et de verecundo officiosum reddit, de negligente industrium, de socorde impigrum.
³ Gellius, lib. 1, cap. 8. Pretium noctis centum sestertia.
⁴ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 18, cap. 4.
⁵ Ipsi enim volunt suarum amasiarum pulchritudinis præcones ac testes esse, eas laudibus, et cantilenis et versibus exornare, ut auro statuas, ut memorentur, et ab omnibus admirentur.

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- ¹ Tom. 2, *Ant. Dialogo.* ² Flores *Hist.* fol. 298.
³ Per totum annum cantarunt, pluvia super illos non cecidit; non frigus, non calor, non sitis, nec lassitudo illos affectit, etc.
⁴ His eorum nomina inscribuntur de quibus quærunt.

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¹ Huic munditias, ornatum, leporem, delicias, ludos, elegantiam, omnem denique vitæ suavitatem debemus.

² Hyginus, cap. 272.

³ E Græco.

⁴ Angerianus.

⁵ Fransus, lib. 3 de symbolis. Qui primus symbolum excogitavit voluit nimirum hac ratione implicatum animum evolvere, eumque vel dominæ vel aliis intuitibus ostendere.

⁶ Lib. 4, tit. 11, de prin. instit.

⁷ Plin. lib. 35, cap. 12.

⁸ Gerbelius, lib. 6 descript. Gr.

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¹ Lib. 4, num. 102, Sylvæ nuptialis. Poetæ non inveniunt fabulas, aut versus laudatos faciunt, nisi qui ab amore fuerint excitati.

² Martial, Ep. 73, lib. 9.

³ Virg. Eclog. 4.

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¹ Teneris arboribus amicarum nomina inscribentes ut simul crescant. —Hædus.

² S[amuel] R[owlands], 1600.

³ Lib. 13, cap. Deipnosophist.

⁴ See Putean. Epist. 33, de sua Margareta, Beroaldus, etc.

⁵ Hen. Steph. Apol. pro Herod.

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¹ Tully, Orat. 3 Verr.

² Esther v, 6.

³ Matt. xiv, 7.

⁴ Gravissimis regni negotiis nihil sine amasiæ suæ consensu fecit, omnesque actiones suas scortillo communicavit, etc.—Nich. Bellus, discurs. 26 de amat.

⁵ Amoris famulus omnem scientiam diffusetur, amandi tamen se scientissimum doctorem agnoscit.

⁶ Serm. 8.

⁷ Quis horum scribere molestias potest, nisi qui et is aliquantum insanit?

⁸ Lib. 1 de contemnendis amoribus. Opinor hac de re neminem aut disceptare recte posse aut judicare qui non in ea versatur, aut magnum fecerit periculum.

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¹ Semper moritur, nunquam mortuus est qui amat.—Æn. Sylv.

² Euryal. ep. ad Lucretiam, apud Æneam Sylvium. Rogas ut amare desistam? roga montes ut in planum deveniant, ut fontes flumina repetant; tam possum te non amare ac suum Phœbus relinquere cursum.

³ Buchanan, Syl.

⁴ Propert. lib. 2, Eleg. 1.

⁵ Est orcus illa vis, est immedicabilis, est rabies insana.

⁶ Lib. 2.

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¹ Virg. Ecl. 10.

² R[obert] T[offe].

³ Qui quidem amor utrosque et totam Ægyptum extremis calamitatibus involvit.

⁴ Plautus.

⁵ Ut corpus pondere, sic animus amore præcipitatur.—Austin, lib. 2 de Civ. Dei, cap. 28.

⁶ Dial. Hinc oritur pœnitentia, desperatio, et non vident ingenium se cum re simul amisisse.

⁷ Idem Savonarola, et plures alii, etc. Rabidam facturus Orexin.—Juven.

⁸ Cap. de Heroico Amore. Hæc passio durans sanguinem torridum et atrabiliarum reddit; hic vero ad cerebrum delatus insaniam parat, vigilia et crebro desiderio exsiccans.

⁹ Virg. Ecl. 2.

¹⁰ Insani fiunt aut sibi ipsis desperantes mortem afferunt. Languentes cito mortem aut maniam patiuntur.

¹¹ Calcagninus.

¹² Lucian, Imag. So for Lucian's mistress, all that saw her and could not enjoy her, ran mad or hanged themselves.

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¹ Musæus.

² Ovid. Met. 10.

³ Anacreon.

⁴ Æneas Sylvius. Ad ejus decessum nunquam visa Lucretia ridere, nullis facetiis, jocis, nullo gaudio potuit ad lætitiā renovari, mox in ægritudinem incidit, et sic brevi contabuit.

⁵ Pausanias, Achaicis, lib. 7.

⁶ Megarensis amore flagrans.—Lucian, tom. 4.

⁷ Ovid. Met. 4.

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¹ Furibundus putavit se videre imaginem puellæ, et coram loqui blandiens illi, etc.

² Juvenis Hebræus.

³ Juvenis medicinæ operam dans doctoris filiam deperibat, etc.

⁴ Gotardus Arthus Gallobelgicus. Nund. vernal. 1615, collum novacula aperuit, et inde expiravit.

⁵ Cum renuente parente utroque et ipsa virgine frui non posset, ipsum et ipsam interfecit, hoc a magistratu petens, ut in eodem sepulchro sepeliri possent.

⁶ Boccaccio.

⁷ Sedes eorum qui pro amoris impatientia pereunt.—Virg. 6 Æneid.

⁸ Sall., Val. Max.

⁹ Sabel. lib. 3, En. 6.

¹⁰ Curtius, lib. 5.

¹¹ Chalcocondylas de reb. Tuscicis, lib. 9. Nerei uxor Athenarum domina, etc.

¹² Nicephorus Greg. Hist. lib. 8. Uxorem occidit, liberos et Michaelē filium videre abhorruit. Thessaloniciæ amore captus pronotarii filiæ, etc.

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¹ Parthenius, Erot. lib. cap. 5.

² Idem, cap. 21. Gubernatoris filia Achillis amore capta civitatem prodidit.

³ Idem, cap. 9.

⁴ Virg. Æn. 6.

⁵ Otium naufragium castitatis.—Austin.

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¹ Buchanan, Hendecasyll.

² Ovid. Remed.

³ Cap. 16. Circa res arduas exerceri.

⁴ Part 2, cap. 23, Reg. San. His, præter horam somni, nulla per otium transeat.

⁵ Hor. lib. 1, epist. 2.

⁶ Seneca.

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¹ Tract. 16, cap. 18. Sæpe nuda carne cilicium portent tempore frigido sine caligis, et nudis pedibus incedant, in pane et aqua jejunent, sæpius se verberibus cædant, etc.

² Dæmonibus referta sunt corpora nostra, illorum præcipue qui delicatis vescuntur eduliis, advolitant, et corporibus in hærent; hanc ob rem jejunium impendio probatur ad pudicitiam.

³ Victus sit attenuatus, balnei frequens usus et sudationes; cold baths, not hot, saith Magninus, part. 3, cap. 23, to dive over head and ears in a cold river, etc.

⁴ Ser. de gula. Fames amica virginitati est, inimica lasciviæ: saturitas vero castitatem perdit, et nutrit illecebras.

⁶ Vita Hilarionis, lib. 3, epist. Cum tentasset eum dæmon titillatione inter cætera, Ego inquit, aselle, ad corpus suum, faciam, etc.

⁶ Strabo, lib. 15 Geog. Sub pellibus cubant, etc.

⁷ Cap. 2, part. 2. Si sit juvenis, et non vult obœdire, flagelletur frequenter et fortiter, dum incipiat fœtere.

⁸ Laertius, lib. 6, cap. 5. Amori medetur fames; sin aliter, tempus; sin non hoc, laqueus.

⁹ Vina parant animos Veneri, etc. ¹⁰ 2 de Legibus.

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¹ Non minus si vinum bibissent ac si adulterium admisissent.—Gellius, lib. 10, cap. 23.

² Reg. San. part. 3, cap. 23. Mirabilem vim habet.

³ Cum muliere aliqua gratiosa sæpe coire erit utilissimum. Idem Laurentius, cap. 11.

⁴ Hor.

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¹ Cap. 29 de morb. cereb.

² Beroaldus, Orat. de amore.

³ Amatori, cujus est pro impotentia mens amota, opus est ut paulatim animus velut a peregrinatione domum revocetur per musicam, convivia, etc., per aucupium, fabulas, et festivas narrationes, labore usque ad sudorem, etc.

⁴ Cælestinæ Act. 2, Barthio interpret.

⁵ Cap de Ilishi. Multus hoc affectu sanat cantilena, lætitia, musica; et quidam sunt quos hæc argent.

⁶ This author came to my hands since the third edition of this book.

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¹ Cent. 3, curat. 56. Syrupo helleborato et aliis quæ ad atram bilem pertinent.

² Purgetur si ejus dispositio venerit ad adust. humoris, et phlebotomizetur.

³ Amantium morbus ut pruritus solvitur, venæ sectione et cucurbitulis.

⁴ Cura a venæ sectione per aures, unde semper steriles.

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¹ Seneca.

² Cum in mulierem inciderit, quæ cum forma morum suavitatem conjunctam habet, et jam oculis persenserit formæ ad se imaginem cum aviditate quadam rapere cum eadem, etc.

³ Ovid, Rem. ⁴ Æneas Sylvius.

⁵ Plautus, Curculio.

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¹ Tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. 10, Syntag. med. arc. mira. Vitentur oscula, tactus, sermo, et scripta impudica, literæ, etc.

² Lib. de singul. cler.

³ Tam admirabilem splendorem declinet, gratiam, scintillas, amabiles risus, gestus suavissimos, etc.

⁴ Lipsius, Hort. leg. lib. 3, antiq. lec.

⁵ Lib. 3 de vit. cœlitus compar. cap. 6.

⁶ Lucretius.

⁷ Lib. 4, eleg. 21.

⁸ Job xxxi. Pepigi fœdus cum oculis meis ne cogitare de virgine.

⁹ Dial. 3, de contemptu mundi. Nihil facilius recrudescit quam amor; ut pompa visa renovat ambitionem, auri species avaritiam, spectata corporis forma incendit luxuriam.

¹⁰ Seneca, Cont. lib. 2, cont. 9.

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¹ Ovid.

² Met. 7. Ut solet a ventis alimenta assumere, quæque Parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla, Crescere et in veteres agitata resurgere flammæ.

³ Eustathii lib. 3. Aspectus amorem incendit, ut marcescentem in palea ignem ventus; ardebam interea majore concepto incendio.

⁴ Heliodorus, lib. 4. Inflammat mentem novus aspectus, perinde ac ignis materiæ admotus. Chariclea, etc.

⁵ Epist. 16, lib. 2.

⁶ Epist. 4, lib. 2.

⁷ Curtius, lib. 3. Cum uxorem Darii laudatam audivisset, tantum cupiditati suæ frænum injecit, ut illam vix vellet intueri.

⁸ Cyropædia. Cum Panthææ formam evexisset Araspes, tanto magis, inquit Cyrus, abstinere oportet, quanto pulchrior est.

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¹ Livius. Cum eam regulo cuidam desponsatam audivisset, mulieribus cumulatam remisit.

² Ep. 39, lib. 7.

³ Et ea loqui posset quæ soli amatores loqui solent.

⁴ Platonis Convivio.

⁵ Heliodorus, lib. 4. Expertem esse amoris beatitudo est; at quum captus sis, ad moderationem revocare animum prudentia singularis.

⁶ Lucretius, lib. 4.

⁷ Hædus, lib. 1, de amor. contem.

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¹ Loci mutatione tanquam non convalescens curandus est.

² Amorum lib. 2.

³ Quisquis amat, loca nota nocent; dies ægritudinem adimit, absentia delet. Ire libet procul hinc patriæque relinquere fines.—Ovid.

⁴ Lib. 3, eleg. 20.

⁵ Lib. 1 Socrat. Memor. Tibi, O Critobule, consulo ut integrum annum absis, etc.

⁶ Proximum est ut esurias; 2, ut moram temporis opponas; 3, ut locum mutes; 4, ut de laqueo cogites.

⁷ Philostratus de vita Sophistarum.

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¹ Virg. Æn. 6.

² Buchanan.

³ Annuncientur valde tristitia, ut major tristitia possit minorem obfuscare.

⁴ Aut quod sit factus senescallus, aut habeat honorem magnum.

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¹ Adolescens Græcus erat in Ægypti cænobio qui nulla operis magnitudine, nulla persuasione flammam poterat sedare: monasterii pater hac arte servavit. Imperat cuidam e sociis, etc. Flebat ille, omnes adversabantur; solus pater callide opponere, ne abundantia tristitiæ absorberetur; quid multa? hoc invento curatus est, et a cogitationibus pristinis avocatus.

² Tom. 4.

³ Ter.

⁴ Hypatia Alexandrina quendam se adamantem prolati muliebribus pannis, et in eum coniectis ab amoris insania laboravit.—Suidas et Eunapius.

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- ¹ Savonarola, reg. 5. ² Virg. Ecl. 3.
³ Distributio amoris fiat in plures, ad plures amicas animum applicet.
⁴ Ovid. ⁵ Hyginus, fab. 43. ⁶ Petronius.
⁷ Lib. de salt.
⁸ E theatro egressus hilaris, ac si pharmacum oblivionis bibisset.
⁹ Mus in cista natus, etc.

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- ¹ In quem e specu subterraneo modicum lucis illabitur.
² Deplorabant eorum miseriam qui subterraneis illis locis vitam degun.
³ Tattius, lib. 6. ⁴ Aristænetus, Epist. 4.
⁵ Calcagninus, Dial. Galat. Mox aliam prætulit, aliam prælaturus quam primum occasio arriserit.
⁶ Epist. lib. 2, 16. Philosophi sæculi veterem amorem novo, quasi clavum clavo repellere, quod et Assuero regi septem principes Persarum fecere, ut Vasthi reginæ desiderium amore compensarent.
⁷ Ovid.

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- ¹ Lugubri veste indutus, consolationes non admisit, donec Cæsar ex ducali sanguine, formosam virginem matrimonio conjunxi. — Æneas Sylvius, Hist. de Euryalo et Lucretia.
² Ter. ³ Virg. Ecl. 2. ⁴ Lib. de beat. vit. cap. 14.

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- ¹ Longo usu dicimus, longa desuetudine dediscendum est. — Petrarch, Epist. lib. 5, 8.
² Tom. 4, Dial. meretr. Fortasse etiam ipsa ad amorem istum nonnihil contulero.
³ Quid enim meretrix nisi juventutis expilatrix, virorum rapina seu mors; patrimonii devoratrix, honoris perniciēs, pabulum diaboli, janua mortis, inferni supplementum?
⁴ Sanguinem hominum sorbent.
⁵ Contemplatione Idiotæ, cap. 34. Discrimen vitæ, mors blanda. mel felleum, dulce venenum, perniciēs delicata, malum spontaneum, etc.
⁶ Pornoboscodidasc. dial. Ital. Gula, ira, invidia, superbia, sacrilegia, latrocinia, cædes, eo die nata sunt, quo primum meretrix professionem fecit. Superbia major quam opulenti rustici, invidia quam luis venereæ, inimicitia nocentior melancholia, avaritia in immensum profunda.
⁷ Qualis extra sum vides, qualis intra novit Deus.

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- ¹ Virg. ² Tom. 2, in Votis. Calvus cum sis, nasum habeas simum, etc.

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- ¹ Petronius. ² Ovid. ³ In Cathartics, lib. 2.
⁴ Si ferveat deformis, ecce formosa est; si frigeat formosa, jam sis informis. — Th. Morus, Epigram.

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- ¹ Amorum dial. tom. 4. Si quis ad auroram contempletur multas mulieres a nocte lecto surgentes, turpiores putabit esse bestiis.
² Hugo, de clauastro animæ, lib. 1, cap. 1.
³ Hist. nat. 11, cap. 35. A fly that hath golden wings but a poisoned body. ⁴ Buchanan, Hendecasyll.
⁵ Apol. pro Raim. Seb. ⁶ Ovid, Rem.

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¹ Post unam noctem incertum unde offensam cepit, propter foetentem ejus spiritum alii dicunt, vel latentem foeditatem repudiavit, rem faciens plane illicitam, et regiae personae multum indecoram.

² Hall and Grafton belike.

³ Juvenal.

⁴ Martial.

⁵ Hor. Ode 13, lib. 4.

⁶ Tully in Catilinam.

⁷ Lœchæus.

⁸ Qualis fuit Venus cum fuit virgo, balsamum spirans, etc.

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¹ Seneca.

² Seneca, Hippol.

³ Camerarius, Emb. 68, cent. 1. Flos omnium pulcherrimus statim languescit, formæ typus.

⁴ Bernar. Bauhusius, Ep. lib. 4.

⁵ Pausanias, Lacon. lib. 3. Uxorem duxit Spartæ mulierum omnium post Helenam formosissimam, at ob mores omnium turpissimam.

⁶ Epist. 76. Gladium bonum dices, non cui deauratus est balteus, nec cui vagina gemmis distinguitur, sed cui ad secandum subtilis acies et mucro munimentum omne rupturus.

⁷ Pulchritudo corporis, temporis et morbi ludibrium.—Orat. 2.

⁸ Florum mutabilitate fugacior, nec sua natura formosas facit, sed spectantium infirmitas.

⁹ Epist. 11. Quem ego depereo juvenis mihi pulcherrimus videtur; sed forsam amore percita de amore non recte judico.

¹⁰ Luc. Brugenis.

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¹ Idem.

² Bebelius adagiis Ger.

³ Petron. Cat.

⁴ [Proverbial for "care has come upon her."]

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¹ M. Drayton.

² Senec. Act. 2, Herc. Cætæus.

³ Vides venustam mulierem, fulgidum habentem oculum, vultu hilari, coruscantem eximium quandam aspectum et decorum præ se ferentem, urentem mentem tuam, et concupiscentiam agentem; cogita terram esse id quod amas, et quod admiraris sterces, et quod te urit, etc., cogita illam jam senescere, jam rugosam cavis genis, ægotam; tantis sordibus intus plena est, pituita, stercore; reputa quid intra nares, oculos, cerebrum gestat, quas sordes, etc.

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¹ Subtil. 13.

² Cardan, Subtil. lib. 13.

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¹ Lib. de contem. amoribus. Earum mendas volvant animo, sæpe ante oculos constituent, sæpe damnent.

² In Deliciis.

³ Quum amator annulum se amicæ optaret, ut ejus amplexu frui posset, etc., O te miserum, ait annulus, si meas vices obires, videres, audires, etc., nihil non odio dignum observares.

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¹ Lœchæus.

² See our English Tattius, lib. 1.

³ Chaucer, in Romaunt of the Rose.

⁴ Qui se facilem in amore probarit, hanc succendito. At qui succendat, ad hunc diem repertus nemo.—Calcagninus.

⁵ Ariosto.

⁶ Hor.

⁷ [The description of Viraginia, or Virago-land, in Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem.]

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- ¹ Christoph. Fonseca. ² Encom. Demosthen.
³ Febris hectica uxor, et non nisi morte avellenda.
⁴ Synesius. Libros ego liberos genui; Lipsius, Antiq. lect. lib.

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- ¹ Plautus, Asin. Act. 1. ² Senec. in Hercul.
³ Seneca. ⁴ Amator. Emblem.

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- ¹ [To wear yellow hose = to be jealous.]
² De rebus Hibernicis, lib. 3.
³ Gemmea pocula, argentea vasa, cæolata candelabra, aurea, etc. Conchileata aulæa, buccinarum clangorem, tibiarum cantum, et symphoniam suavitatem, majestatemque principis coronati cum vidissent sella deaurata, etc.
⁴ Eubulus, in Chrysilla. Athenæus, Deipnosophist. lib. 13, cap. 3.

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- ¹ Translated by my brother, Ralph Burton.
² Juvenal. ³ Hæc in speciem dicta cave ut credas.
⁴ Bachelors always are the bravest men.—Bacon. Seek eternity in memory, not in posterity, like Epaminondas, that instead of children, left two great victories behind him, which he called his two daughters.
⁵ Ecclus. xxv, 1. ⁶ Euripides, Androm.
⁷ Ælius Verus, imperator. Spar. vita ejus. ⁸ Hor.

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- ¹ Quod licet, ingratum est.
² For better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, etc., 'tis durus sermo [a hard saying] to a sensual man.
³ Ter. Act. 1, sc. 2, Eunuch.
⁴ Lucian, tom. 4. Neque cum una aliqua rem habere contentus forem.
⁵ Juvenal. ⁶ Lib. 28.

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- ¹ Camerar. 82, cent. 3. ² Simonides.
³ Children make misfortunes more bitter.—Bacon.
⁴ Heinsius, Epist. Primerio. Nihil miserius quam procreare liberos ad quos nihil ex hæreditate tua pervenire videas præter famem et sitim.
⁵ Chris. Fonseca. ⁶ Liberi sibi carcinomata.
⁷ Melius fuerat eos sine liberis discessisse.

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- ¹ Lemnius, cap. 6, lib. 1. Si morosa, si non in omnibus obsequaris, omnia impacata in ædibus, omnia sursum misceri videas, multæ tempestates, etc.
² Lib. 2, numer. 101, Sylv. nup. ³ Juvenal.
⁴ Tom. 4, Amores. Omnem mariti opulentiam profundet, totam Arabiam capillis redolens.
⁵ Idem, et quis sanæ mentis sustinere queat, etc.
⁶ Subegit ancillas quod uxor ejus deformior esset.
⁷ Sylv. nup. 1. 2, num. 25. Dives inducit tempestatem, pauper curam; ducens viduam se inducit in laqueum.
⁸ Sic quisque dicit, alteram ducit tamen.

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¹ The male falcon (tassel, tercel, or tiercel) is smaller than the female.]

² Si dotata erit, imperiosa, continuoque viro inequitare conabitur.—Petrarch.

³ If a woman nourish her husband, she is angry and impudent, and full of reproach.—Ecclus. xxv, 22. Scilicet uxori nubere nolo meæ.

⁴ Plautus, Mil. Glor. Act. 3, sc. 1.

⁵ Stobæus, Ser. 66; Alex. ab. Alexand. lib. 4, cap. 8.

⁶ [Thales.]

⁷ They shall attend the Lamb in heaven, because they were not defiled with women.—Apoc. xiv, 4.

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¹ Nuptiæ replent terram, virginitas Paradisum.—Hierome.

² Daphne in laurum semper virentem, immortalem docet gloriam paratam virginibus pudicitiam servantibus.

³ Catul. Car. nuptiali.

⁴ [Ben Jonson's translation in The Barriers.]

⁵ Diet. salut. cap. 22. Pulcherrimum sertum infiniti pretii, gemma, et pictura speciosa.

⁶ Mart.

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¹ Lib. 24. Qua obsequiorum diversitate colantur homines sine liberis.

² Hunc alii ad cœnam invitant, princeps huic famulatur, oratores gratis patrocinantur.—Lib. de amore proli.

³ Annal. 11.

⁴ De benefic. 6, 38.

⁵ E Græco.

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¹ Ter. Adelph.

² Itineraria in Psalmos, instructione ad lectorem.

³ Bruson. lib. 7, cap. 22. Si uxor deesset, nihil mihi ad summam felicitatem defuisset.

⁴ Extinguitur virilitas ex incantamentorum maleficiis; neque enim fabula est, nonnulli reperti sunt, qui ex veneficiis amore privati sunt, ut ex multis historiis patet.

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¹ Curat omnes morbos, phthises, hydropes et oculorum morbos, et febre quartana laborantes et amore captos, miris artibus eos demulcet.

² [The Leucadian Rock. Cape Ducado, in the island of Leucadia or Santa Maura.]

³ The moral is, vehement fear expels love.

⁴ Catullus.

⁵ Quum Junonem deperiret Jupiter impotenter, ibi solitus lavare, etc.

⁶ Menander.

⁷ Ovid. Ep. 21.

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¹ Apud antiquos amor Lethes olim fuit; is ardentem faciem in profluentem inclinabat; hujus statua Veneris Erycinæ templo visebatur, quo amantes confluabant, qui amicæ memoriam deponere volebant.

² Lib. 10. Vota ei nuncupant amatores, multis de causis, sed imprimis viduæ mulieres, ut sibi alteras a dea nuptias exposcant.

³ Rhodiginus, Ant. lect. lib. 16, cap. 25, calls it Selenus. Omni amore liberat.

⁴ [Publius Syrus]

⁵ Cupido crucifixus: lepidum poema.

⁶ Cap. 19 de morb. cerebri.

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¹ *Patiens potiatuŕ re amata, si fieri possit, optima cura.*—Cap. 16, in 9 *Rhasis*.

² *Si nihil aliud, nuptiæ et copulatio cum ea.*

³ *Petronius, Catal.*

⁴ *Cap. de Ilishi.* Non invenitur cura, nisi regimen connexionis inter eos, secundum modum promissionis, et legis, et sic vidimus ad carnem restitutum, qui jam venerat ad arefactionem; evanuit cura postquam sensit, etc.

⁵ *Fama est melancholicum quendam ex amore insanabiliter se habentem, ubi puellæ se conjunxisset, restitutum, etc.*

⁶ *Jovian. Pontanus, Basi. lib. 1.*

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¹ *Speed's Hist. e MS. Ber. Andreae.*

² *Lucretia in Cælestina, Act. 19, Barthio interpret.*

³ *Virg. 4 Æn.*

⁴ [*Roofing-slates were called, according to their sizes, Ladies, Countesses, Duchesses, Queens, etc.*]

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¹ *E Græco Moschi.*

² *Ovid. Met. 1.*

³ *Pausanias, Achaicis, lib. 7.* Perditæ amabat Callirhoen virginem, et quanto erat Coresi amor vehementior, tanto erat puellæ animus ab ejus amore alienior.

⁴ *Virg. 6 Æn.*

⁵ *Erasmus, Ecl. Galatea.*

⁶ *Angerianus, Erotopægnion.*

⁷ *Virg.*

⁸ *Lœchæus.*

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¹ *Ovid, Met. 1.*

² *Erot. lib. 2.*

³ *T. H.*

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¹ *Virg. 4 Æn.*

² *Metamor. 3.*

³ *Fracastorius, Dial. de anim.*

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¹ *Dial. Am.*

² *Ausonius.*

³ *Ovid. Met.*

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¹ *Hom. 5, in 1 Epist. Thess. cap. 4, ver. 1.*

² *Ter.*

¹ *Ter. Heaut. scen. ult.*

² *Plebeius et nobilis ambiebant puellam, puellæ certamen in partes venit, etc.*

³ *Apuleius, Apol.*

⁴ *Gen. xxvi.*

⁵ *Non peccat venialiter qui mulierem ducit ob pulchritudinem.*

⁶ *Lib. 6 de leg. Ex usu reipub. est ut in nuptiis juvenes neque pauperum affinitatem fugiant, neque divitum sectentur.*

⁷ *Philost. ep. Quoniam pauper sum, idcirco contemptior et abjectior tibi videar? Amor ipse nudus est, gratiæ et astra; Hercules pelle leonina indutus.*

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¹ *Juvenal.*

² *Lib. 2, ep. 7.*

³ *Ejulans inquit, non mentem una addixit mihi fortuna servitute.*

⁴ *De repub. cap. de period. rerumpub.*

⁵ *Com. in Car. Chron.*

⁶ *Plin. in Paneg.*

⁷ *Declam. 306.*

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¹ Puellis imprimis nulla danda occasio lapsus.—Lemn. lib. 1, 54, de vit. instit.

² See more, part. 1, sec. 2, mem. 2, subs. 4.

³ Filia excedens annum 25 potest inscio patre nubere, licet indignus sit maritus, et eum cogere ad congrue dotandum.

⁴ Ne appetentiæ procacioris reputetur auctor.

⁵ Expetita enim magis debet videri a viro quam ipsa virum expetisse.

⁶ Mulier apud nos 24 annorum vetula est et projectitia.

⁷ Comœd. Lysistrat. And. Divo interpr.

⁸ Ausonius, Idyll. 14.

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¹ Idem.

² Catullus.

³ Translated by Mr. B. Jonson.

⁴ Hom. 5 in 1 Thess. cap. 4, 1.

⁵ Plautus.

⁶ Ovid.

⁷ Epist. 12, lib. 2. Eligit conjugem pauperem, indotatam, et subito deamavit, ex commiseratione ejus inopiæ.

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¹ Virg. Æn.

² Fabius Pictor. Amor ipse conjunxit populos, etc.

³ Lipsius, Polit.; Sebast. Mayer. Select. sect. 1, cap. 13.

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¹ Mayerus, Select. sect. 1, cap. 14, et Ælian. lib. 13, cap. 33. Cum famulæ lavantis vestes incuriosius custodirent, etc.; mandavit per universam Ægyptum ut femina quæreretur, cujus is calceus esset; eamque sic inventam in matrimonium accepit.

² Pausanias, lib. 3, de Laconicis. Dimisit qui nunciarunt, etc., optionem puellis dedit, ut earum quælibet eum sibi virum deligeret, cujus maxime esset forma complacita.

³ Illius conjugium abominabitur.

⁴ Socero quinque circiter annos natu minor.

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¹ Vit. Galeat. Secundi.

² Apuleius, in Catal. Nobis cupido velle dat, posse abnegat.

³ Anacreon, 56.

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¹ Continentiæ donum ex fide postulet quia certum sit eum vocari ad cœlibatum cui demis, etc.

² Acts xvi, 7.

³ Rom. i, 13.

⁴ Præfix. gen. Leovitii.

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¹ Idem Wolfius, dial.

² That is, make the best of it, and take his lot as it falls.

³ Ovid, Met. 1.

⁴ Mercurialis de Priapismo.

⁵ Memorabile quod Ulricus epistola refert Gregorium quum ex piscina quadam allata plus quam sex mille infantum capita vidisset, ingemuisse et decretum de cœlibatu tantam cædis causam confessus, condigno illud pœnitentiæ fructu purgasse.—Kemnisius ex Concil. Trident. part. 3, de cœlibatu sacerdotum.

PAGE 245

- ¹ Si nubat, quam si domi concubinam alat.
² Alphonsus Cicaonius, lib. de gest. pontificum.
³ Cum medici suaderent ut aut nuberet aut coitu uteretur, sic mortem vitari posse, mortem potius intrepidus expectavit, etc.
⁴ Epist. 30. ⁵ Vide vitam ejus edit. 1623, by Dr. T. James.

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- ¹ Lydgate, in Chaucer's Flower of Curtesie.
² 'Tis not multitude but idleness which causeth beggary.
³ Or to set them awork, and bring them up in some honest trades.
⁴ [An allegory in praise of Newfoundland, by Sir William Vaughan, who founded a Welsh colony there.]
⁵ Dion Cassius, lib. 56. ⁶ Sardus, Buxtorfius.
⁷ Claude Albaville, in his History of the Frenchmen to the Isle of Maragnan, an 1614.
⁸ Rara quidem dea tu es, o castitas, in his terris, nec facile perfecta, rarius perpetua; cogi nonnunquam potes, ob naturæ defectum, vel si disciplina pervaserit, censura compresserit.

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- ¹ Peregrin. Hierosol.
² Plutarch, vita ejus. Adolescentiæ medio constitutus.
³ Ancillas duas egregia forma et ætatis flore.
⁴ Alex. ab. Alex. lib. 4, cap. 8.
⁵ Tres filii patrem ab excubiis, quinque ab omnibus officiis liberabant.
⁶ Nic. Hill, Epic. philos.
⁷ Præcepto primo, cogatur nubere aut mulctetur et pecunia templo Junonis dedicetur et publica fiat.
⁸ Consol. 3, pros. 7.

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- ¹ Qui se capistro matrimonii alligari non patiuntur.—Lemn. lib. 4, 13, de occult. nat. Abhorrent multi a matrimonio, ne morosam, querulam, acerbam, amaram uxorem perferre cogantur.
² Seneca, Hippol.
³ Cœlebs enim vixerat nec ad uxorem ducendam unquam induci potuit.
⁴ Seneca, Hippol. ⁵ Hor.
⁶ Æneas Sylvius, de dictis Sigismundi; Heinsius Primerio.

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- ¹ Habeo uxorem ex animi sententia, Camillam Paleotti jurisconsulti filiam.
² Legentibus et meditantibus candelas et candelabrum tenuerunt.
³ Hor. ⁴ Ovid. ⁵ Aphranianus.

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- ¹ Lœchæus. ² Bacon's Essays. ³ Euripides.
⁴ Cum juxta mare agrum coleret.

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- ¹ Omnis enim miseriæ immemorem, conjugalis amor eum fecerat.
² Non sine ingenti admiratione, tanta hominis caritate motus rex liberos esse jussit, etc.
³ Qui vult vitare molestias, vitet mundum.

⁴ *τί δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης*; quid vita est quæso quidve est sine Cypride dulce?—Mimnermus.

⁵ Erasmus.

⁶ E Stobæo.

⁷ Menander.

⁸ Seneca, Hippol.

⁹ Lib. 3, num. 1.

¹⁰ Hist. lib. 4.

¹¹ Palingenius.

¹² Bruson. lib. 7, cap. 23.

¹³ Noli societatem habere, etc.

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¹ Lib. 1. cap. 6. Si, inquit, Quirites, sine uxore esse possemus, omnes careremus; sed quoniam sic est, saluti potius publicæ quam voluptati consulendum.

² Beatum foret si liberos auro et argento mercari, etc.

³ Seneca, Hippol.

⁴ Gen. ii. Adjutorium simile, etc.

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¹ Ovid.

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¹ Euripides.

² E Græco, Valerius, lib. 7, cap. 7.

³ Pervigilium Veneris e vetere poeta.

⁴ Domus non potest consistere sine uxore.—Nevisanus, lib. 2, num. 18.

⁵ Nemo in severissima Stoicorum familia qui non barbaram quoque et supercilium amplexibus uxoris submiserit, aut in ista parte a reliquis dissenserit.—Heinsius Primerio.

⁶ Quid libentius homo masculus videre debet quam bellam uxorem?

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¹ Chaucer.

² Conclusio Theod. Prodrumi 9 lib. Amor.

³ Ovid.

⁴ The conclusion of [the third book of] Chaucer's poem of Troilus and Creseida.

⁵ [i.e. got out of danger. Proverbial.]

⁶ Epist. 4, lib. 2. Jucundiores multo et suaviores longe post molestas turbas amantium nuptiæ.

⁷ Olim meminisse juvabit.

⁸ Quid expectatis, intus fiunt nuptiæ, the music, guests, and all the good cheer is within.

⁹ Catullus.

¹⁰ Catullus.

¹¹ J. Secundus, Sylvar. lib. Jam virgo thalamum subibit unde ne virgo redeat, marite, cura.

¹² Eccclus. xxxix. 14.

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¹ Gallieni Epithal.

² O noctem quater et quater beatam!

³ Theocritus, Idyl. 18.

⁴ Erasmus, Epithal. P. Ægidii.

⁵ [Ibid.] Nec saltent modo sed duo carissima pectora indissolubili mutua benevolentia nodo copulent, ut nihil unquam eos incedere possit iræ vel tædii. Illa perpetuo nihil audiat nisi, mea lux: ille vicissim nihil nisi, anime mi: atque huic jucunditati ne senectus detrahat, imo potius aliquid adaugeat.

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¹ Kornmannus, de linea amoris.

² Third book of Troilus and Creseid.

³ In his Oration of Jealousy, put out by Fr. Sansovinus.

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¹ Benedetto Varchi.

² Exercitat. 317. Cum metuimus ne amatæ rei exturbemur possessione.

³ Zelus de forma est invidentiæ species ne quis forma quam amamus fruatur.

⁴ 3 de anima.

⁵ 3 de anima. Tangimur zelotypia de pupillis, liberis carisque curæ nostræ concredit, non de forma, sed ne male sit iis, aut ne nobis sibi que parent ignominiam.

⁶ Plutarch.

⁷ Seneca, in Herc. Fur.

⁸ Exod. xx.

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¹ Lucan.

² Danæus, Aphoris. Polit. Semper metuunt ne eorum auctoritas minuat.

³ Belli Neapol. lib. 5.

⁴ Dici non potest quam tenues et infirmas causas habent mœroris et suspitionis, et hic est morbus occultus, qui in familiis principum regnat.

⁵ Omnes æmulos interfecit.—Lampridius.

⁶ Constant. Agricult. lib. 10, cap. 5. Cyparissæ, Eteoclis filiæ, saltantes ad æmulationem dearum, in puteum demolitæ sunt, sed terra miserata cupressos inde produxit.

⁷ Ovid. Met.

⁸ Seneca.

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¹ Quis autem carnifex addictum supplicio crudelius afficiat, quam metus? Metus inquam mortis, infamiæ, cruciatus, sunt illæ ultrices furæ quæ tyrannos exagitant, etc. Multo acerbius sauciant et pungunt, quam crudeles domini servos vinctos fustibus ac tormentis exulcerare possunt.

² Lonicerus, tom. 1 Turc. hist. cap. 24.

³ Jovius, vita ejus.

⁴ Knolles; Busbequius; Sandys, fol. 52.

⁵ Nicephorus, lib. 11, cap. 45. Socrates, lib. 7, cap. 35. Neque Valens alicui pepercit qui Theo cognomine vocaretur.

⁶ Alexand. Gaguin. Muscov. hist. descrip. cap. 5.

⁷ D. Fletcher. Timet omnes ne insidiæ essent.

⁸ Herodian, lib. 7. Maximinus invisum se sentiens, quod ex infimo loco in tantam fortunam venisset moribus ac genere barbarus, metuens ne natalium obscuritas objiceretur, omnes Alexandri prædecessoris ministros ex aula eiecit, pluribus interfectis quod mœsti essent ad mortem Alexandri, insidias inde metuens.

⁹ Lib. 8. Tanquam feræ solitudine vivebant, terrentes alios, timentes.

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¹ Serres, fol. 56.

² Neap. belli, lib. 5. Nulli prorsus homini fidebat, omnes insidiari sibi putabat.

³ Camden's Remains.

⁴ Mat. Paris.

⁵ R[obert] T[ofte], notis in Blazon of Jealousy.

⁶ Daniel, in his Panegyric to the King.

⁷ 3 de anima, cap. de zel. Animalia quædam zelotypia tanguntur, ut olores, columbæ, galli, tauri, etc., ob metum communionis.

⁸ Seneca.

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- ¹ Lib. 11 Cyneget.
² Aldrovandus.
³ Sibi timens circa res venereas, solitudines amat quo solus sola femina fruatur.
⁴ Crocodili zelotypi et uxorum amantissimi, etc.
⁵ Qui dividit agrum communem; inde deducitur ad amantes.

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- ¹ Erasmus, chil. 1, cent. 9, adag. 99.
² Ter. Eun. Act. 1, sc. 1. Munus nostrum ornato verbis, et illum æmulum, quoad poteris, ab ea pellito.
³ Pinus puella quondam fuit, etc.
⁴ Mars zelotypus Adonidem interfecit.

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- ¹ 1 Sam. i, 6.
² R. T., Blazon of Jealousy.
³ Mulierum conditio misera; nullam honestam credunt nisi domo conclusa vivat.
⁴ Fynes Moryson.
⁵ Nomen zelotypiæ apud istos locum non habet.—Lib. 3, cap. 8.

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- ¹ Fynes Moryson, part. 3, cap. 2.
² Busbequius, Sandys.
³ Præ amore et zelotypia sæpius insaniant.
⁴ Australes ne sacra quidem publica fieri patiuntur, nisi uterque sexus pariete medio dividatur: et quum in Angliam, inquit, legationis causa profectus essem, audiui Mendozam legatum Hispaniarum dicentem turpe esse viros et feminas in, etc.

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- ¹ Idea. Mulieres præterquam quod sunt infidæ, suspicaces, inconstantes, insidiosæ, simulatrices, superstitiosæ, et si potentes, intolerabiles, amore zelotypæ supra modum.
² Ovid, 2 de arte amandi.
³ Bartello.
⁴ R. T.
⁵ R. T.
⁶ Lib. 2, num. 8. Mulier otiosa facile præsumitur luxuriosa, et sæpe zelotypa.

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- ¹ Lib. 2, num. 4.
² Quum omnibus infideles feminae, senibus infidelissimæ.
³ Mimnermus.
⁴ Vix aliqua non impudica, et quam non suspectam merito quis habeat.
⁵ Lib. 5 de aur. asino. At ego misera patre meo seniore[m] maritum nacta sum, eundem cucurbita calviorem et quovis puero pumiliorem, cunctam domum seris et catenis obditam custodientem.
⁶ Chaloner.

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- ¹ Lib. 4, num. 80.
² Ovid, 2 de art. amandi.
³ Every Man out of his Humour.
⁴ Calcagninus, Apol. Tiberini ab uxorum partu earum vices subeunt, ut aves per vices incubant, etc.
⁵ Exiturus fascia uxoris pectus alligabat, nec momento præsentia ejus carere poterat, potumque non hauriebat nisi prægustatum labris ejus.
⁶ Chaloner.
⁷ Panegy. Trajano.

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¹ Ter. *Adelph. Act. 1, sc. 1.*

² Fab. Calvo Ravennate interprete.

³ Dum rediero domum meam habitabis, et licet cum parentibus habitet hac mea peregrinatione; eam tamen et ejus mores observabis uti absentia viri sui probe degat, nec alios viros cogitet aut quærat.

⁴ Femina semper custode eget qui se pudicam contineat; suapte enim natura nequitias insitas habet, quas nisi indies comprimant, ut arbores stolones emittunt, etc.

⁵ Heinsius.

⁶ Uxor cujusdam nobilis quum debitum maritale sacro passionis hebdomada non obtineret, alterum adiit.

⁷ Ne tribus prioribus noctibus rem haberet cum ea, ut esset in pecoribus fortunatus, ab uxore moræ impatiente, etc.

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¹ Totam noctem bene et pudice nemini molestus dormiendo transegit; mane autem quum nullius conscius facinoris sibi esset, et inertiae pueret, audisse se dicebat cum dolore calculi solere eam conflictari. Duo præcepta juris una nocte expressit, neminem læserat et honeste vixerat, sed an suum cuique reddidisset, quæri poterat. Mucius opinor et Trebatius hoc negassent.—Lib. 1.

² Alterius loci emendationem serio optabat, quem corruptum esse ille non invenit.

³ Such another tale is in Neander de Jocoseriis, his first tale.

⁴ Lib. 2, Ep. 3. Si pergit alienis negotiis operam dare sui negligens, erit alius mihi orator qui rem meam agat.

⁵ Ovid. Rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitiae.

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¹ Epist.

² Quod strideret ejus calceamentum.

³ Hor. Epist. 15.

⁴ De re uxoria, lib. 1, cap. 5.

⁵ Cum steriles sunt, ex mutatione viri se putant concipere.

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¹ Tibullus, Eleg. 6.

² Wither's Sat.

³ 3 de anima. Crescit ac decrescit zelotypia cum personis, locis, temporibus, negotiis.

⁴ Marullus.

⁵ Tibullus, Epig.

⁶ Prov. ix, 17.

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¹ Propert. Eleg. 2.

² Ovid., lib. 9 Met.; Pausanias; Strabo: Quum crevit imbris hiemalibus Deianiram suscipit, Herculem nando sequi jubet.

³ Lucian, tom. 4.

⁴ Plutarch.

⁵ Cap. v, 8.

⁶ Seneca.

⁷ Lib. 2, cap. 33.

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¹ Petronius, Catal.

² Suetonius.

³ Pontus Heuter, vita ejus.

⁴ [Lorenzo de' Medici.]

⁵ Lib. 8 Flor. hist. Dux omnium optimus et sapientissimus, sed in re venerea prodigiosus.

⁶ Vita Castrucci. Idem uxores maritis abalienavit.

⁷ Sesellius, lib. 2 de Repub. Gallorum. Ita nunc apud infimos obtinuit hoc vitium, ut nullius fere pretii sit, et ignavus miles qui non in scortatione maxime excellat, et adulterio.

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¹ Virg. *Æn.* 4.² Epig. 9, lib. 4.³ [A character in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*.]⁴ Virg. *Æn.* 4.⁵ Secundus, *Silv.*⁶ *Æneas Sylvius.*⁷ Virg. *Æn.* 4.⁸ *E Græco Simonidis.*

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¹ Cont. 2, cap. 38, Oper. subcis. Mulieris liberius et familiarius communicantis cum omnibus licentia et immodestia, sinistri sermonis et suspicionis materiam viro præbet.

² Voces liberæ, oculorum colloquia, contractationes parum verecundæ, motus immodici, etc.—Heinsius.

³ Chaloner.⁴ What is here said is not prejudicial to honest women.⁵ Lib. 28, st. 13.

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¹ Dial. amor. Pendet fallax et blanda circa oscula mariti, quem in cruce, si fieri posset, deosculari velit: illius vitam cariorem esse sua iurejurando affirmat: quem certe non redimeret anima catelli si posset.

² Adeunt templum ut rem divinam audiant, ut ipsæ simulant, sed vel ut monachum fratrem, vel adulterum lingua, oculis, ad libidinem provocent.

³ Lib. 4, num. 81. Ipsæ sibi persuadent, quod adulterium cum principe vel cum præsule, non est pudor, nec peccatum.

⁴ Deum rogat, non pro salute mariti, filii, cognati vota suscipit, sed pro rebitu mœchi si abest, pro valetudine lenonis si ægrotet.

⁵ Tibullus.⁶ Gotardus Arthus, descrip. *Indiæ Orient.*; Linschoten.

⁷ Garcias ab Horto, Hist. lib. 2, cap. 24, daturam herbam vocat et describit. Tam proclives sunt ad venerem mulieres ut viros inebrient per 24 horas, liquore quodam, ut nihil videant, recordentur, at dormiant, et post lotionem pedum, ad se restituant, etc.

⁸ [i.e. wantonly disposed.]⁹ Ariosto, lib. 28, st. 75.

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¹ Lipsius, Polit.² Seneca, lib. 2, contr. 8.³ Bodicher, Sat.

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¹ [Propertius.]

² Epist. 85, ad Oceanum. Ad unius horæ ebrietatem nudat femora, quæ per sexcentos annos sobrietate contexerat.

³ Juv. Sat. 6.

⁴ Nihil audent primo, post ab aliis confirmatæ, audaces et confidentes sunt, ubi semel verecundiæ limites transierint.

⁵ Euripides.⁶ 1, 62.

⁷ De miser. curialium. Aut alium cum ea invenies, aut isse [illam ad] alium reperies.

⁸ Cap. 18 de Virg.

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¹ Hom. 38, in cap. 17 Gen. Etsi magnis affluunt divitiis, etc.

² 3 de anima. Omnes voces, auras, omnes susurros captat zelotypus, et amplificat apud se cum iniquissima de singulis calumnia. Maxime suspiciosi, et ad pejora credendum proclives.

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¹ Propertius.² *Æneas Sylvius.*

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¹ Ant. Dial.

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¹ Rabie concepta, cæsariem abrasit, puellæque mirabiliter insultans faciem vibicibus fœdavit. ² Daniel.³ Annal. lib. 12. Principis mulieris zelotypæ est in alias mulieres quas suspectas habet, odium inseparabile.⁴ Seneca, in Medea.⁵ Alcoran, cap. Bovis, interprete Ricardo præd. cap. 8 Confutationis.⁶ Plautus. ⁷ Expedit. in Sinas, lib. 3, cap. 9.⁸ Decem eunuchorum millia numerantur in regia familia, qui servant uxores ejus.

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¹ Lib. 57, ep. 81.² Semotis a viris servant in interioribus, ab eorum conspectu immunes.³ Lib. 1, fol. 7.⁴ Diruptiones hymenis sæpe fiunt a propriis digitis vel ab aliis instrumentis.

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¹ Idem Rhasis Arab., Cont.² Ita clausæ pharmacis ut non possunt coitum exercere.³ Qui et pharmacum præscribit docetque.⁴ Epist. 6, Mercero interp.⁵ Barthius. Ludus illi temeratum pudicitiae florem mentitis machinis pro integro vendere. Ego docebo te, qui mulier ante nuptias sponso te probes virginem.⁶ Qui mulierem violasset, virilia exsecabant, et mille virgas dabant.⁷ Dion, Halic.⁸ [Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius).]

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¹ Viridi gaudens Feronia luco.—Virg.² [In the crypt of Ripon Cathedral.]³ Ismene was so tried by Diana's well, in which maids did swim, unchaste were drowned.—Eustathius, lib. 8.⁴ Contra mendac. ad confess. 21. cap.⁵ Pheron, Ægypti rex, captus oculis per decennium, oraculum consulit de uxoris pudicitia.—Herod. Euterp.⁶ Cæsar, lib 6, bello Gall. Vitæ necisque in uxores habuerunt potestatem.⁷ Animi dolores et zelotypia si diutius perseverent, dementes reddunt. Acad. comment. in par. art. Galeni.⁸ Ariosto, lib. 31, staff 6.⁹ 3 de anima, cap. 3, de zelotyp. Transit in rabiem et odium, et sibi et aliis violentas sæpe manus injiciunt.

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¹ Hyginus, cap. 189, Ovid, etc.² Pheron Ægypti rex, de cæcitate oraculum consulens, visum ei rediturum accepit, si oculis abluisset lotio mulieris quæ aliorum virorum esset expert; uxoris urinam expertus nihil profecit, et aliarum frustra, eas omnes (ea excepta per quam curatus fuit) unum in locum coactas concremavit.—Herod. Euterp.³ Offic. lib. 2.⁴ Aurelius Victor.⁵ Herod. lib. 9, in Calliope. Masistæ uxorem excarnificat, mamillas præscindit, easque canibus abjicit, filiae nares præscindit, labra, linguam, etc.⁶ Lib. 1. Dum formæ curandæ intenta capillum in sole pectit, a marito per lusum leviter percussa furtim superveniente virga, risu suborto,

Mi Landrice, dixit, frontem vir fortis petet, etc. Marito conspecto attonita, cum Landrico mox in ejus mortem conspirat, et statim inter venandum efficit.

¹ Qui Goæ uxorem habens, Gotherinum principem quendam virum quod uxori suæ oculos adjecisset, ingenti vulnere deformavit in facie, et tibiam adscidit, unde mutuæ cædes.

² Eo quod infans natus involutus esset panniculo, credebat eum filium fratris Francisci, etc.

³ Zelotypia reginæ regis mortem acceleravit paulo post, ut Martianus medicus mihi retulit. Illa autem atra bile inde exagitata in latebras se subducens præ ægritudine animi reliquum tempus consumpsit.

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¹ A zelotypia redactus ad insaniam et desperationem.

² Uxorem interemit, inde desperabundus ex alto se præcipitavit.

³ Tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram.

⁴ Ariosto, lib. 31, staff 5.

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¹ Veteres mature suadent unguis amoris esse radendos, priusquam producant se nimis.

² In Jovianum.

³ Gomesius, lib. 3 de reb. gestis Ximenii.

⁴ Urit enim præcordia ægritudo animi compressa, et in angustiis adducta mentem subvertit, nec alio medicamine facilius erigitur, quam cordati hominis sermone.

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¹ 3 de anima.

² Lib. 3.

³ Argentocoxi Caledoni reguli uxor, Juliæ Augustæ cum ipsam morderet quod inhoneste versaretur, respondet, Nos cum optimis viris consuetudinem habemus; vos Romanas autem occulte passim homines constuprant.

⁴ Leges de mœchis fecit, ex civibus plures in jus vocati.

⁵ Lib. 3, Epig. 26.

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¹ Assert. Arthuri: Parcerem libenter heroinarum læsæ majestati, si non historiæ veritas aurem vellicaret.—Leland.

² Lelandus, Assert. Arthuri.

³ Epigram.

⁴ Cogita an sic aliis tu unquam feceris; an hoc tibi nunc fieri dignum sit? severus aliis, indulgens tibi, cur ab uxore exis quod non ipse præstas?—Plutarch.

⁵ Vaga libidine cum ipse quovis rapiaris, cur si vel modicum aberret ipsa insanias?

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¹ Ariosto, lib. 28, staff 80.

² Sylvæ nupt. lib. 4, num. 72.

³ Lemnius, lib. 4, cap. 13, de occult. nat. mir.

⁴ Optimum bene nasci.

⁵ Mart.

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¹ Ovid, Amor. lib. 3, eleg. 4.

² Lib. 28, st. 72.

³ Polycrat. lib. 8, cap. 11, de amor.

⁴ Euryal. et Lucret. Qui uxores occludunt, meo judicio minus utiliter faciunt; sunt enim eo ingenio mulieres ut id potissimum cupiant, quod maxime denegatur; si liberas habent habenas, minus delinquant; frustra seram adhibes, si non sit sponte casta.

⁵ Quando cognoscunt maritos hoc advertere.

⁶ Ausonius.

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- ¹ Opes suas, mundum suum, thesaurum suum, etc.
² Virg. Æn. ³ Daniel.
⁴ 1 de serm. d. in monte ros. 16.
⁵ O quam formosus lacertus hic! quidam inquit, ad æquales conversus; at illa, Publicus, inquit, non est.
⁶ Bilia Duillium virum senem habuit et spiritum foetidum habentem, quem quum quidam exprobrasset, etc.

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- ¹ Numquid tibi, Armenia, Tigranes videbatur esse pulcher? Et illum, inquit, edepol, etc.—Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 3. ² Ovid.
³ Read Petrarch's tale of Patient Grizel in Chaucer.
⁴ [New France, i.e. Canada.]
⁵ Sylv. nup. lib. 4, num. 80. ⁶ Erasmus.
⁷ Quum accepisset uxorem peperisse secundo a nuptiis mense, cunas quinas vel senas coemit, ut si forte uxor singulis bimensibus pareret.
⁸ Julius Capitol. vita ejus. Quum palam citharædus uxorem diligeret, minime curiosus fuit.

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- ¹ Disposuit armatos qui ipsum interficerent: hi protenus mandatum exsequentes, etc. Ille et rex declaratur, et Stratonicem quæ fratri nupserat, uxorem ducit; sed postquam audivit fratrem vivere, etc. Attalum comiter accepit, pristinamque uxorem complexus, magno honore apud se habuit.
² See John Harington's notes in 28th book of Ariosto.

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- ¹ Amator. dial. ² Plautus, scen. ult. Amphit.
³ Idem. ⁴ T. Daniel, conjurat. French.
⁵ Lib. 4, num. 80. ⁶ R. T.

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- ¹ Lib. de heres. Quum de zeze culparetur, purgandi se causa permisisse fertur ut ea qui vellet uteretur; quod ejus factum in sectam turpissimam versum est, qua placet usus indifferens feminarum.
² Sleidan, Com. ³ Alcoran.
⁴ Alcoran edit. et Bibliandro.
⁵ De mor. gent. lib. 1, cap. 6. Nupturæ regi devirginandæ exhibentur.
⁶ Lumina exstinguebantur, nec personæ et ætatis habita reverentia, in quam quisque per tenebras incidit, mulierem cognoscit.
⁷ Leander Albertus. Flagitioso ritu cuncti in ædem convenientes post impuram concionem, extinctis luminibus in Venerem ruunt.
⁸ Lod. Vertomannus, Navig. lib. 6, cap. 8, et Marcus Polus, lib. 1, cap. 46. Uxores viatoribus prostituunt.
⁹ Dithmarus Bleskenius. Ut Agetus Aristoni, pulcherrimam uxorem habens prostituit.
¹⁰ Herodot. in Erato. Mulieres Babyloni cæcum hospite permiscuntur ob argentum quod post Veneri sacrum. Bohemus, lib. 2.
¹¹ Navigat. lib. 5, cap. 4. Prius torum non init, quam a digniore sacerdote nova nupta deflorata sit. ¹² [Essenes.]

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- ¹ Bohemus, lib. 2, cap. 3. Ideo nubere nollent ob mulierum intemperantiam, nullam servare viro fidem putabant.
² Stephanus, præfat. Herod. Alius e lupanari meretricem, Pitho dictam,

in uxorem duxit; Ptolemæus Thaidem nobile scortum duxit et ex ea duos filios suscepit, etc.

¹ Poggius Florentinus.

⁴ Felix Plater.

² Plutarch, Lucian, Salmuth, tit. 2, de porcellanis, com. in Pancirol. de nov. rept., et Plutarchus.

³ Stephanus, e lib. confor. Bonavent. cap. 6, vit. Francisci.

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¹ Plutarch, vit. ejus.

² Wecker, lib. 7 Secret.

³ Citatur a Gellio.

⁴ Lib. 4, tit. 4, de instit. reipub. de officio mariti.

⁵ Ne cum ea blande nimis agas, ne objurges præsentibus extraneis.

⁶ Epist. 70.

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¹ Ovid.

² Alciat. Emb. 116.

³ Deipnosoph. lib. 13, cap. 7.

⁴ Euripides.

⁵ Pontanus, Biarum lib. 1.

⁶ Offic. lib. Luxuria cum omni ætati turpis, tum senectuti fœdissima.

⁷ Ecclus. xxv, 1. An old man that dotes, etc.

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¹ Hor. lib. 3. Ode 26.

² Cap. 5 Instit. ad optimam vitam. Maxima mortalium pars præcipitanter et inconsiderate nubit, idque ea ætate quæ minus apta est, quam senex adolescentulæ; sanus morbidæ, dives pauperi, etc.

³ Obsoleto, intempestivo, turpi remedio fatentur se uti; recordatione pristinarum voluptatum se recreant, et adversante natura, pollinctam carnem et enectam excitant.

⁴ Lib. 2, num. 25.

⁵ Qui vero non procreandæ prolis, sed explendæ libidinis causa sibi invicem copulantur, non tam conjuges quam fornicarii habentur.

⁶ Lex Papia. Sueton. Claud. cap. 23.

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¹ Pontanus, Biarum lib. 1.

² Plautus, Mercator.

³ Symposio.

⁴ Vide Thuani historiam.

⁵ Calælect vet. poetarum.

⁶ Martial. lib. 3, Epig. 62.

⁷ Lib. 1 Mules.

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¹ Ovid.

² Rabelais, Hist. Pantagruel, lib. 3, cap. 33.

³ Hom. 80. Qui pulchram habet uxorem, nihil pejus habere potest

⁴ Arnisæus.

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¹ Itinerar. Ital. Colonia edit. 1620, nomine trium Ger. fol. 304. Displacuit quod dominæ filiabus immutent nomen inditum in baptismo, et pro Catharina, Margareta, etc., ne quid desit ad luxuriam, appellant ipsas nominibus Cynthiæ, Camænæ, etc.

² Leonicus de var. lib. 3, cap. 43. Asylum virginum deformium Cassandra templum. Plutarch.

³ Polycrat. lib. 8, cap. 11.

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¹ Marullus.

² Chaloner, lib. 9 de repub. Ang.

³ Lib. 2, num. 159.

⁴ Si genetrix caste, caste quoque filia vivit; si meretrix mater, filia talis erit.

⁵ Juven. Sat. 6.

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- ¹ Camerarius, cent. 2, cap. 54, Oper. subcis.
² Ser. 72. Quod amicus quidam uxorem habens mihi dixit, dicam vobis; in cubili cavendæ adulationes vesperi, mane clamores.
³ Lib. 4, tit. 4, de institut. reipub., cap. de officio mariti et uxoris.
⁴ Lib. 4 Syl. nup. num. 81. Non curant de uxoribus, nec volunt iis subvenire de victu, vestitu, etc.
⁵ In Clio. Speciem uxoris supra modum extollens, fecit ut illam nudam coram aspiceret. ⁶ Juven. Sat. 6. ⁷ Orat. contra ebr.

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- ¹ Ad baptismum, matrimonium et tumulum.
² Non vociferatur illa si maritus obganniat.
³ Fraudem aperiens ostendit ei non aquam sed silentium iracundiæ moderari.
⁴ Horol. princip. lib. 2, cap. 8. Diligenter cavendum feminis illustribus ne frequenter exeant.

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- ¹ Chaloner. ² Menander. ³ Lib. 5, num. 11.
⁴ Ctesias in Persicis. Finxit vulvæ morbum esse, nec curari posse nisi cum viro concumberet, hac arte voti compos, etc.
⁵ Exsolvit vinculis solutumque demisit, at ille inhumanus stupravit conjugem. ⁶ Plutarch, vita ejus.

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- ¹ Rosinus, lib. 2, 19. Valerius, lib. 2, cap. 1.
² Alexander ab Alexandro, lib. 4, cap. 8, Gen. dier.
³ Fr. Rueus de gemmis, lib. 2, cap. 8 et 15.
⁴ Strozzius Cicogna, lib. 2, cap. 15, spirit. et incan. Habent ibidem uxores quot volunt cum oculis clarissimis, quos nunquam in aliquem præter maritum fixuri sunt, etc. Bredenbachius idem et Bohemus, etc.
⁵ Uxor cæca ducat maritum surdum, etc.
⁶ See Valent. Nabod. differ. com. in Alcabitium, ubi plura.

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- ¹ Cap. 46 Apol. Quod mulieres sine concupiscentia aspicere non posset, etc.
² Called religious because it is still conversant about religion and such divine objects. ³ Grotius.

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- ¹ Lib. 1, cap. 16. Nonnulli opinionibus addicti sunt, et futura se prædicere arbitrantur.
² Aliis videtur quod sunt prophetæ et inspirati a Spiritu Sancto, et, incipiunt prophetare, et multa futura prædicunt.
³ Cap. 6 de melanch.
⁴ Cap. 5 Tractat. Multi ob timorem Dei sunt melancholici, et timorem gehennæ. They are still troubled for their sins.
⁵ Plater, cap. 13.
⁶ Melancholia Erotica, vel quæ cum amore est, duplex est: prima quæ ab aliis forsitan non meretur nomen melancholiæ, est affectio eorum quæ pro objecto proponunt Deum, et ideo nihil aliud curant aut cogitant quam Deum, jejunia, vigiliis; altera ob mulieres.
⁷ Alia reperitur furoris species a prima vel a secunda, deorum rogantium, vel afflatu numinum furor hic venit.
⁸ Qui in Delphis futura prædicunt vates, et in Dodona sacerdotes furentes quidem multa jocunda Græcis deferunt, sani vero exigua aut nulla.

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¹ Deus bonus, justus, pulcher, juxta Platonem.

² Miror et stupeo cum cœlum aspicio et pulchritudinem siderum, angelorum, etc.; et quis digne laudet quod in nobis viget, corpus tam pulchrum, frontem pulchram, nares, genas, oculos, intellectum, omnia pulchra; si sic in creaturis laboramus, quid in ipso Deo?

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¹ Drexelius Nicet. lib. 2, cap. 11.

² Fulgor divinæ majestatis.—Aug.

³ In Ps. lxiv. Misit ad nos epistolas et totam scripturam, quibus nobis faceret amandi desiderium.

⁴ Epist. 48, lib. 4. Quid est tota scriptura nisi epistola omnipotentis Dei ad creaturam suam?

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¹ Cap. vi, 9.

² Cap. xxi, 10.

³ In Ps. lxxxv. Omnes pulchritudines terrenas auri, argenti, nemorum et camporum, pulchritudinem solis et lunæ, stellarum, omnia pulchra superans.

⁴ Immortalis hæc visio, immortalis amor, indefessus amor et visio.

⁵ Osorius: Ubique visio et pulchritudo divini aspectus, ibi voluptas ex eodem fonte omnisque beatitudo, nec ab ejus aspectu voluptas, nec ab illa voluptate aspectus separari potest.

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¹ Leon Hebræus. Dubitatur an humana felicitas Deo cognoscendo an amando terminetur.

² Lib. de anima. Ad hoc objectum amandum et fruendum nati sumus; et hunc expetisset, unicum hunc amasset humana voluntas, ut summum bonum, et cæteras res omnes eo ordine.

³ 9 de Repub.

⁴ Hom. 9 in Epist. Johannis, cap. 2. Multos conjugium decepit, res alioqui salutaris et necessaria, eo quod cæco ejus amore decepti, divini amoris et gloriæ studium in universum abjecerunt; plurimos cibus et potus perdit.

⁵ In mundo splendor opum, gloriæ majestas, amicitiarum præsidia, verborum blanditiæ, voluptatum omnis generis illecebræ, victoriæ, triumphi, et infinita alia ab amore Dei nos abstrahunt, etc.

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¹ In Ps. xxxii. Dei amicus esse non potest qui mundi studiis delectatur; ut hanc formam videas munda cor, serena cor, etc.

² Contemplationis pluma nos sublevat, atque inde erigimur intentione cordis, dulcedine contemplationis.—Distinct. 6, de 7 Itineribus.

³ Lib. de victimis. Amans Deum, sublimia petit, sumptis alis et in cœlum recte volat, relicta terra, cupidus aberrandi cum sole, luna, stellarumque sacra militia, ipso Deo duce.

⁴ In com. Plat. cap. 7. Ut solem videas oculis, fieri debes solaris: ut divinam aspicias pulchritudinem, demitte materiam, demitte sensum, et Deum qualis sit videbis.

⁵ Avare, quid inhiās his, etc.? pulchrior est qui te ambit ipsum visurus, ipsum habiturus.

⁶ Prov. viii.

⁷ Cap. 18 Rom. Amorem hunc divinum totis viribus amplexamini; Deum vobis omni officiorum genere propitium facite.

⁸ Cap. 7 de pulchritudine. Regna et imperia totius terræ et maris et cœli oportet abjicere si ad ipsum conversus velis inseri.

⁹ Habitus a Deo infusus, per quem inclinatur homo ad diligendum Deum super omnia.

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- ¹ Dial. 1. Omnia convertit amor in ipsius pulchri naturam.
² Stromatum lib. 2. ³ Greenham.

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- ¹ De primo præcepto.

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- ¹ De relig. lib. 2, thes. 1. ² De nat. deorum.
³ Hist. Belgic. lib. 8.
⁴ Superstitio error insanus est.—Epist. 123.
⁵ Nam qui superstitione imbutus est, quietus esse nunquam potest.
⁶ Greg. ⁷ Polit. lib. 1, cap. 13. ⁸ Hor.

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- ¹ Epist. Phalar. ² In Ps. iii.
³ Lib. 9, cap. 6. ⁴ Lib. 30.

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- ¹ Lib. 6 Descrip. Græc. Nulla est via qua non innumeris idolis est referta. Tantum tunc temporis in miserrimos mortales potentia et crudelis tyrannidis Satan exercuit.
² Alex. ab. Alex. lib. 6, cap. 26.
³ Purchas' Pilgrim. lib. 1, cap. 3. [Ali, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman.]
⁴ Lib. 3.

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- ¹ 2 part. sect. 3, lib. 1, cap. et deinceps.
² Titelmannus, Maginus, Bredenbachius; Fr. Alvaresius, Itin. de Abyssinis. Herbis solum vescuntur votarii, aquis mento tenus dormiunt, etc.
³ Bredenbachius, Joh. a Meggen
⁴ [The ancient home of the Serbs, situated between Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Albania.
⁵ See Passevinus, Herbastein, Maginus, Dr. Fletcher, Jovius, Hakluyt, Purchas, etc., of their errors. ⁶ [Ceylon.]
⁷ Deplorat. Gentis Lapp.
⁸ Gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.

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- ¹ Boissardus de magia. Intra septimum aut nonum a baptismo diem moriuntur. Hinc fit, etc.
² Cap. de incolis Terræ Sanctæ.

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- ¹ Plato in Crit. Dæmones custodes sunt hominum et eorum domini, ut nos animalium; nec hominibus, sed et regionibus imperant, vaticiniis, auguriis, nos regunt. Idem fere Max. Tyrius, ser. 1, et 26, 27, medios vult dæmones inter deos et homines deorum ministros, præsides hominum, a cælo ad homines descendentes.
² De præparat. Evangel.
³ Vel in abusum Dei vel in æmulationem.—Dandinus, Com. in lib. 2 Arist. de anima, text. 29.
⁴ Dæmones consulunt, et familiares habent dæmones plerique sacerdotes.—Riccius, lib. 1, cap. 10. Expedit. in Sinas.
⁵ Vitam turbant, somnos inquietant, irrepentes etiam in corpora mentes terrent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos lacessunt, ut ad cultum sui cogant, nec aliud his studium, quam ut a vera religione ad superstitionem vertant; cum sint ipsi pœnales, quærunt sibi ad pœnas comites, ut habeant erroris participes.

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¹ Lib. 4 *Præparat. Evangel.* cap. Tantamque victoriam amentia hominum consecuti sunt, ut si colligere in unum velis, universum orbem istis scelestibus spiritibus subjectum fuisse invenies. Usque ad Salvatoris adventum hominum cæde perniciosissimos dæmones placabant, etc.

² Plato.

³ Strozzius Cicogna, *Omnif. mag. lib.* 3, cap. 7. Ezek. viii, 4; 1 Reg. xi, 4; 2 Reg. iii et xvii, 16; Jer. xlix; Num. xi, 3; Reg. xiii.

⁴ Lib. 4, cap. 8, *Præpar.*

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¹ Bapt. Mant. 4 *Fast. de Sancto Georgio.*

² Part. 1, cap. 1, et lib. 2, cap. 9.

³ Polyd. Virg. lib. 1 de prodig.

⁴ Hor. lib. 3, Od. 6.

⁵ Lib. 3 *Hist.*

⁶ [The cave of Trophonius at Lebadea in Boeotia. See Pausanias, 9, 39.]

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¹ Orata lege me dicastis mulieres.—Dion Halicarn.

² Tully, de nat. deorum, lib. 2. Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit.

³ Jo. Molanus, lib. 3, cap. 59.

⁴ Pet. Oliver. De Johanne primo Portugalliæ rege strenue pugnans, et diversæ partis ictus clypeo excipiens.

⁵ Lib. 14. Loculos sponte aperuisse et pro iis pugnasse.

⁶ Religion, as they hold, is policy, invented alone to keep men in awe.

⁷ 1 *Annal.*

⁸ Omnes religionem moventur.—5 in *Verrem.*

⁹ Zaleucus, præfat. legis. Qui urbem aut regionem inhabitant, persuasos esse oportet esse deos.

¹⁰ 10 de legibus. Religio neglecta maximam pestem in civitatem infert, omnium scelerum fenestram aperit.

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¹ Cardanus, *Com. in Ptolemæum quadripart.*

² Lipsius, lib. 1, cap. 3.

³ Homo sine religione, sicut equus sine fræno.

⁴ Vaninus, dial. 52, de oraculis.

⁵ Lib. 10. Ideo Lycurgus, etc., non quod ipse superstitiosus, sed quod videret mortales paradoxa facilius amplecti, nec res graves audere sine periculo deorum.

⁶ Cleonardus, *Epist.* 1. Novas leges suas ad Angelum Gabrielem referebat, quo monitore mentiebatur omnia se gerere.

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¹ Lib. 6 belli Gallici. Ut metu mortis neglecto, ad virtutem incitarent.

² [i.e. went. Burton is continuing the Latin construction with infinitive.]

³ De his lege Lucianum de luctu, tom. 1; Homer. *Odyss.* 11; Virg. *Æn.* 6.

⁴ Barathro sulfure et flamma stagnante æternum demergebantur.

⁵ Et 3 de repub. Omnis institutio adolescentum eo referenda ut de deo bene sentiant ob commune bonum.

⁶ Boterus.

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¹ Citra aquam, viridarium plantavit maximum et pulcherrimum, floribus odoriferis et suavis plenum, etc.

² Potum quandam dedit quo inescatus, et gravi sopore oppressus, in viridarium interim ducebatur, etc.

¹ Atque iterum memoratum potum bibendum exhibuit, et sic extra Paradisum reduxit, ut cum evigilaret, sopore soluto, etc.

² Lib. 1 de orb. concord. cap. 7.

³ Lib. 4.

⁴ Lib. 4.

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¹ Exerc. 228.

² In consult. de princ. inter provinc. Europ.

³ Sir Ed. Sandys.

⁴ Lucan.

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¹ [Gregory VII.]

² Sir Ed. Sandys in his Relation.

³ Seneca.

⁴ Vice cotis, acutum Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.

⁵ De Civ. Dei, lib. 4, cap. 31.

⁶ Seeking their own, saith Paul, not Christ's.

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¹ He hath the Duchy of Spoleto in Italy, the Marquisate of Ancona, beside Rome and the territories adjacent, Bologna, Ferrara, etc., Avignon in France, etc.

² Estote fratres mei, et principes hujus mundi.

³ The laity suspect their greatness, witness those Statutes of Mortmain.

⁴ Lib. 8 de Academ.

⁵ Præfat. lib. de paradox. Jesuit. Rom. provincia habet col. 36, Neapol. 23, Veneta 13, Lusit. 15, India orient. 27, Brasil 20, etc.

⁶ In his Chronic. vit. Hen. 8.

⁷ 15th cap. of his Funeral Monuments.

⁸ Pausanias in Laconicis, lib. 3.

⁹ Idem de Achaicis, lib. 7. Cujus summæ opes, et valde inclyta fama.

¹⁰ Exercit. Eth. colleg. 3, disp. 3.

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¹ Acts xix, 28.

² Pontifex Romanus prorsus inermis regibus terræ jura dat, ad regna evehit, ad pacem cogit, et peccantes castigat, etc., quod imperatores Romani 40 legionibus armati non effecerunt.

³ Mirum quanta passus sit Henricus 2, quomodo se submisit, ea se acturum pollicitus, quorum hodie ne privatus quidem partem faceret.

⁴ Sigonius, 9 Hist. Ital.

⁵ Curio, lib. 4; Foxe, Martyrol.

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¹ Hierocles contends Apollonius to have been as great a prophet as Christ, whom Eusebius confutes.

² Munster, Cosmog. lib. 3, cap. 37. Artifices ex officinis, arator e stiva, feminæ e colo, etc., quasi numine quodam rapti, nesciis parentibus et dominis recta adeunt, etc. Combustus demum ab Herbipolensi Episcopo; hæresis evanuit.

³ [The "limbo of the fathers," where the souls of good men who died before the coming of Christ were confined.]

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¹ Nulla non provincia hæresibus, atheismis, etc., plena. Nullus orbis angulus ab hisce belluis immunis.

² Lib. 1 de nat. deorum.

³ Zanchius.

⁴ Virg. 6 Æn.

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¹ Superstitio ex ignorantia divinitatis emersit, ex vitiosa æmulatione et dæmonis illecebris, inconstans, timens, fluctuans, et cui se addicat nesciens, quem imploret, cui se committat, a dæmone facile decepta.—Lemnius, lib. 3, cap. 8.

² Seneca.

³ [i.e. an indefinitely large number of times.]

⁴ Vide Baronium, 3 Annalium, ad annum 324, vita Constantini.

⁵ De rerum varietate, lib. 3, cap. 38. Parum vero distat sapientia virorum a puerili, multo minus senum et mulierum, cum metu et superstitione et aliena stultitia et improbitate simplices agitantur.

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¹ In all superstition wise men follow fools.—Bacon's Essays.

² Peregrin. Hieros. cap. 5. Totum scriptum confusum sine ordine vel colore, absque sensu et ratione ad rusticissimos idem dedit, rudissimos, et prorsus agrestes, qui nullus erant discretionis, ut dijudicare possent.

³ Lib. 1, cap. 9, Valent. hæres. 9.

⁴ Meteranus, lib. 8 Hist. Belg.

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¹ Si doctores suum fecissent officium, et plebem fidei commissam recte instituissent de doctrinæ christianæ capitibus, nec sacris scripturis interdixissent, de multis proculdubio recte sensissent.

² Curtius, lib. 4.

³ See more in Kemnisius' Examen Concil. Trident. de Purgatorio.

⁴ Part. 1, cap. 16; part. 3, cap. 18 et 14.

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¹ Austin.

² Curtius, lib. 8.

³ Lampridius vita ejus. Virgines vestales, et sacrum ignem Romæ extinxit, et omnes ubique per orbem terræ regiones, unum hoc studens ut solus deus coleretur.

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¹ Flagellatorum secta. Munster, lib. 3 Cosmog. cap. 19.

² Votum cœlibatus, monachatus.

³ Mater sanitatis, clavis cœlorum, ala animæ quæ leves pennas producat, ut in sublime ferat; currus Spiritus Sancti, vexillum fidei, porta paradisi, vita angelorum, etc.

⁴ Castigo corpus meum.—Paul.

⁵ Moriæ Encom.

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¹ Lib. 8, cap. 10, de rerum varietate. Admiratione digna sunt quæ per jejunium hoc modo contingunt: somnia, superstitio, contemptus tormentorum, mortis desiderium, obstinata opinio, insania: jejunium naturaliter præparat ad hæc omnia.

² Epist. lib. 3. Ita attenuatus fuit jejunio et vigiliis, in tantum exeso corpore ut ossibus vix hærebat, unde nocte infantum vagitus, balatus pecorum, mugitus boum, voces et ludibria dæmonum, etc.

³ Lib. de abstinencia. Sobrietas et continentia mentem Deo conjungunt.

⁴ Extasis nihil est aliud quam gustus futuræ beatitudinis, in qua toti absorbemur in Deum.—Erasmus, Epist. ad Dorpium.

⁵ Si religiosum nimis jejunia videris observantem, audaciter melancholicum pronuntiabis.—Tract. 5, cap. 5.

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¹ Solitudo ipsa, mens ægra laboribus anxiis et jejuniis, tum temperatura cibis mutata agrestibus, et humor melancholicus eremitis illusionum causæ sunt.

² Solitudo est causa apparitionum; nulli visionibus et hinc delirio magis obnoxii sunt quam qui collegiis et eremo vivunt monachi; tales plerumque melancholici ob victum, solitudinem.

³ Monachi sese putant prophetare ex Deo, et qui solitariam agunt vitam, quum sit instinctu dæmonum; et sic falluntur fatidicæ; a malo genio habent, quæ putant a Deo, et sic enthusiastæ.

⁴ Sibyllæ, Pythii, et prophetæ qui divinare solent, omnes fanatici sunt melancholici.

⁵ Exercit. cap. 1.

⁶ De divinatione et magicis præstigiis.

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Post 15 dierum preces et jejunia, mirabiles videbat visiones.

⁹ Fol. 84, vita Stephani, et fol. 177. Post trium mensium inediam et languorem per 9 dies nihil comedens aut bibens.

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¹ After contemplation in an ecstasis; so Hierome was whipped for reading Tully; see millions of examples in our annals: Bede, Gregory, Jacobus de Voragine, Lippomanus, Hieronymus, John Major de vitis patrum, etc.

² Fol. 199. Post abstinentiæ curas miras illusiones dæmonum audivit.

³ Fol. 155. Post seriam meditationem in vigilia diei dominicæ visionem habuit de purgatorio.

⁴ Ubi multos dies manent jejuni consilio sacerdotum auxilia invocantes.

⁵ In Necyomant. Et cibus quidem glandes erant, potus aqua, lectus sub divo, etc.

⁶ John Everardus, Britanno-Romanus, lib. edit. 1611, describes all the manner of it.

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¹ Varius mappa compescere risum vix poterat.

² Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore.—Hor. ³ Alanus de Insulis.

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¹ Cicero, lib. de finibus.

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¹ In Micah comment.

² Gall. hist. lib. 1.

³ Lactantius.

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¹ Juv. Sat. 15.

² Comment. in Micah. Ferre non possunt ut illorum Messias communis servator sit, nostrum gaudium, etc. Messias vel decem decies crucifixuri essent, ipsumque Deum si id fieri posset, una cum angelis et creaturis omnibus, nec absterrentur ab hoc facto etsi mille inferna subeunda forent.

³ [? Cahers.]

⁴ Lucretius.

⁵ Lucan.

⁶ Ad. Galat. Comment. Nomen odiosius meum quam ullus homicida aut fur.

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¹ Comment. in Micah. Adeo incomprehensibilis et aspera eorum superbia, etc.

² Synagog. Judæorum, cap. 1. Inter eorum intelligentissimos Rabbinos nil præter ignorantiam et insipientiam grandem invenies, horrendam indurationem, et obstinationem, etc.

³ Great is Diana of the Ephesians.—Acts xix.

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- ¹ Malunt cum illis insanire, quam cum aliis bene sentire.
² Acosta, lib. 5.
³ O Ægypte, religionis tuæ solæ supersunt fabulæ, eæque incredibiles posteris tuis.
⁴ Meditat. 19 de cœna Domin.

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- ¹ Lib. 1 de Trin. cap. 2. Si decepti sumus, etc.
² Vide Samsatis Isphocanis objectiones in monachum Milesium.
³ Lege Hoffman. Mus exenteratus.
⁴ As true as Homer's Iliads, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Æsop's Fables.
⁵ Dial. 52 de oraculis.

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- ¹ O sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in horto Numina!—Juven. Sat. 15.
² Prudentius. ³ Tiguri, fol. 1494.
⁴ Rosin. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2, cap. 1 et deinceps.

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- ¹ Lib. de divinatione et magicis præstigiis, in Mopso.
² Cosmo Paccio interpret. Nihil ab aeris caligine aut figurarum varietate impositum meram pulchritudinem meruit, exultans et misericordia motus, cognatos amicos qui adhuc morantur in terra tuetur, errantibus succurrit, etc. Deus hoc jussit ut essent genii dii tutelares hominibus, bonos juvantes, malos punientes, etc.
³ Sacrorum gent. descript. Non bene meritos solum, sed et tyrannos pro diis colunt, qui genus humanum horrendum in modum portentosa immunitate divexarunt, etc., fœdas meretrices, etc.

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- ¹ [Jer. xi, 13.]
² Cap. 22 de ver. rel. Deos finxerunt eorum poetæ, ut infantium puppas.
³ Proem. lib. contra philosophos.

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- ¹ Livius, lib. 1. Deus vobis in posterum propitius, Quirites.
² Anth. Verdur. Imag. deorum.
³ Mulieris candido splendentes amicum varioque lætantes gestimine, verno florentes conamine, solum sternentes, etc.—Apuleius, lib. 11 de asino aureo.
⁴ Magna religione quæritur quæ possit adulteria plura numerare.—Minucius.
⁵ Lib. de sacrificiis. Fumo inhiantes, et muscarum in morem sanguinem exuentes circum aras effusum.

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- ¹ Imagines Deorum, lib. sic inscript.
² De ver. relig. cap. 22. Indigni qui terram calcent, etc.
³ Octaviano.
⁴ Jupiter Tragædus, de sacrificiis, et passim alias.
⁵ 666 several kinds of sacrifices in Egypt Major reckons up, tom. 2 coll., of which read more in cap. 1 of Laurentius Pignorius his Egypt Characters, a cause of which Sanubius gives, Subcis. lib. 3, cap. 1.

⁶ Herod. Clio. Immolavit lecta pecora ter mille Delphis, una cum lectis phialis tribus.

⁷ Superstitiosus Julianus innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactavit. Ammianus, 22. Boves albi M. Cæsari salutem, si tu viceris perimus, lib. 3. Romani observantissimi sunt ceremoniarum, bello præsertim.

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¹ De sacrificiis: buculam pro bona valetudine, boves quatuor pro divitiis, centum pro regno, novemque tauros pro sospite a Troja reditu, etc.

² De sacris Gentil. et sacrific. Tig. 1596.

³ Enimvero si quis recenseret quæ stulti mortales in festis, sacrificiis, diis adorandis, etc., quæ vota faciant, quid de iis statuunt, etc., haud scio an risurus, etc.

⁴ Max. Tyrius, Ser. 1. Cræsus regum omnium stultissimus de lebebe consultit, alius de numero arenarum, dimensione maris, etc.

⁵ Lib. 14. [The Branchidæ were hereditary priests of Apollo, serving in his temple at Miletus.]

⁶ Peregr. Hierosol.

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¹ Solinus.

² Herodotus.

³ Boterus, Polit. lib. 2, cap. 16.

⁴ Plutarch. vit. Crassi.

⁵ They were of the Greek Church.

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¹ Lib. 5 de gestis Scanderbegis.

² In templis immania idolorum monstra conspiciuntur, marmorea, lignea, lutea, etc.—Riccius.

³ Deum enim placare non est opus, quia non nocet; sed dæmonem sacrificiis placant, etc.

⁴ Fer. Cortesius.

⁵ M. Polus; Lod. Vertomannus, Navig. lib. 6, cap. 9; P. Martyr, Ocean Dec.

⁶ Propertius, lib. 3, eleg. 12.

⁷ Matthias a Michou.

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¹ Epist. Jesuit. anno 1549, a Xaverio et sociis. Idemque Riccius, Expedit. ad Sinas, lib. 1 per totum. Jejunatores apud eos toto die carnibus abstinent et piscibus ob religionem, nocte et die idola colentes; nusquam egredientes.

² Ad immortalitatem morte aspirant summi magistratus, etc. Et multi mortales hac insania, et præpostero immortalitatis studio laborant, et misere pereunt: rex ipse clam venenum hausisset, nisi a servo fuisset detentus.

³ Cantione in lib. 10 Bonini de repub. fol. 111.

⁴ Quin ipsius diaboli ut nequitiam referant.

⁵ Lib. de superst.

⁶ Hominibus vitæ finis mors, non autem superstitionis, profert hæc suos terminos ultra vitæ finem.

⁷ Buxtorfius, Synagog. Jud. cap. 4. Inter precandum nemo pediculos attingat, vel pulicem, aut per guttur inferius ventum emittat, etc. Id. cap. 5 et seq., cap. 36.

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¹ Illic omnia animalia, pisces, aves, quos Deus unquam creavit mactantur, et vinum generosum, etc.

² Cujus lapsu cedri altissimi 300 dejecti sunt, quumque e lapsu ovum fuerat confractum, pagi 160 inde submersi, et alluvione inundati.

¹ Every king of the world shall send him one of his daughters to be his wife, because it is written (Ps. xlv, 9), "Kings' daughters shall attend on him," etc.

² Quum quadringentis adhuc milliaribus ab imperatore leo hic abesset, tam fortiter rugiebat, ut mulieres Romanæ abortierint omnes, murique, etc.

³ Strozzius Cicogna, Omnif. mag. lib. 1, cap. 1. Putida multa recenset ex Alcorano, de cœlo, stellis, angelis, Lonicerus, cap. 21, 22, lib. 1.

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¹ Quinquies in die orare Turcæ tenentur ad meridiem.—Bredenbachius, cap. 5.

² In quolibet anno mensem integrum jejunt interdiu, nec comedentes nec bibentes, etc.

³ Nullis unquam multi per totam ætatem carnibus vescuntur.—Leo Afer.

⁴ Lonicerus, tom. 1, cap. 17, 18.

⁵ Gotardus Arthus, cap. 33, Hist. Orient. Indiæ. Opinio est expiatorium esse Gangem; et nec mundum ab omni peccato nec salvum fieri posse, qui non hoc flumine se abluat; quam ob causam ex tota India, etc.

⁶ Quia nil volunt deinceps videre.

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¹ Nullum se conflictandi finem facit.

² Ut in aliquem angulum se reciperet, ne reus fieret ejus delicti quod ipse erat admissurus.

³ Gregor. Hom.

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¹ Epist. 190.

² Orat. 8. Ut vertigine correptis videntur omnia moveri, omnia iis falsa sunt, quum error in ipsorum cerebro sit.

³ Res novas affectant et inutiles, falsa veris præferunt. 2. Quod temeritas effutierit, id superbia postmodum tuebitur et contumaciæ, etc.

⁴ See more in Vincent. Lyrin.

⁵ Aust. de hæres. Usus mulierum indifferens.

⁶ Quod ante peccavit Adam, nudus erat.

⁷ Alii nudis pedibus semper ambulant.

⁸ Insana feritate sibi non parcunt, nam per mortes varias præcipitiorum, aquarum et ignium, seipsos necant, et in istum furorem alios cogunt, mortem minantes ni faciant.

⁹ Elench. hæret. ab orbe condito.

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¹ Nubrigensis lib. cap. 19.

² Jovian. Pont. Ant. Dial.

³ Cum per paganos nomen ejus persequi non poterat, sub specie religionis fraudulenter subvertere disponebat.

⁴ That writ *de professo* against Christians, et Palestinum deum (ut Socrates, lib. 3, cap. 19), Scripturam nugis plenam, etc. Vide Cyrillum in Julianum, Origenem in Celsum, etc.

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¹ One image had one gown worth 400 crowns and more.

² [Prato, near Florence. Its cathedral possesses the Virgin's girdle.]

³ As at Our Lady's Church at Bergamo in Italy.

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¹ Lucilius, lib. 1, cap. 22, de falsa religione.

² An. 441.

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¹ [Objections and solutions, so marked in the margins of old controversial works.]

² Hospinian, Osiander. An hæc propositio Deus sit cucurbita vel scarabæus, sit æque possibilis ac Deus et homo? An possit respectum producere sine fundamento et termino? An levius sit hominem jugulare quam die dominico calceum consuere?

³ De doct. Christian.

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¹ Daniel.

² Agrip. ep. 29.

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¹ Alex. Gaguin. 22. Discipulis ascitis mirum in modum populum decepit.

² Guicciard. descrip. Belg. Complures habuit assecclas ab iisdem honoratus.

³ Hen. Nicholas at Leyden, 1580, such a one.

⁴ See Camden's Annals, fol. 242 et 285.

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¹ Arius his bowels burst, Montanus hanged himself, etc. Eudo de Stellis his disciples ardere potius quam ad vitam corrigi maluerunt; tanta vis infixi semel erroris, they died blaspheming.—Nubrigensis, cap. 9, lib. 1. Jer. vii, 23. Amos v, 5.

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¹ Cap. 5. ² Poplinierius Lirius, præf. Hist. Rich. Dinoth.

³ Advers. gentes, lib. 1. Postquam in mundo Christiana gens cœpit, terrarum orbem periisse, et multis malis affectum esse genus humanum videmus.

⁴ Quod nec hieme, nec æstate tanta imbrium copia, nec frugibus torrendis solita flagrantia, nec vernali temperie sata tam læta sint, nec arboreis foetibus autumnu fœcundi, minus de montibus marmor eruatur, minus aurum, etc.

⁵ Solitus erat oblectare se fidibus, et voce musica canentium; sed hoc omne sublatum Sibyllæ cujusdam interventu, etc. Inde quicquid erat instrumentorum symphoniacorum, auro gemmisque egregio opere distinctorum comminuit, et in ignem iniecit, etc.

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¹ Ob id genus observantiuncularum videmus homines misere affligi, et denique mori, et sibi ipsis Christianos videri quum revera sint Judæi.

² Ita in corpora nostra fortunasque decretis suis sæviit ut parum obfuerat nisi Deus Lutherum virum perpetua memoria dignissimum excitasset, quin nobis fœno mox communi cum jumentis cibo utendum fuisset

³ The Gentiles in India will eat no sensible creatures, or aught that hath blood in it.

⁴ Vandormilius de aucupio, cap. 27.

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¹ Some explode all human authors, arts, and sciences, poets, histories, etc., so precise, their zeal overruns their wits; and so stupid, they oppose all human learning, because they are ignorant themselves and illiterate, nothing must be read but Scriptures; but these men deserve to be pitied rather than confuted. Others are so strict, they will admit of no honest

game and pleasure, no dancing, singing, other plays, recreations and games, hawking, hunting, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, etc., because to see one beast kill another is the fruit of our rebellion against God, etc.

¹ Nuda ac tremebunda cruentis Irrepet genibus si candida jusserit Io.—Juvenalis, Sat. 6.

² Munster, Cosmog. lib. 3, cap. 444. Incidit in cloacam, unde se non possit eximere, implorat opem sociorum, sed illi negant, etc.

³ De benefic. 7, 2.

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¹ Numen venerare præsertim quod civitas colit.

² Octaviano dial.

³ Annal. tom. 3, ad annum 324, 1. ⁴ Ovid.

PAGE 377

¹ In Epist. Sym.

² Quia Deus immensum quiddam est et infinitum, cujus natura perfecte cognosci non potest, æquum ergo est, ut diversa ratione colatur, prout quisque aliquid de Deo percipit aut intelligit.

³ Campanella, Calcagninus, and others.

⁴ Æternæ beatitudinis consortes fore, qui sancte innocenterque hanc vitam traduxerint, quamcunque illi religionem secuti sunt.

⁵ Comment. in 1 Tim. vi, ver. 20 et 21. Severitate cum hæreticis agendum, et non aliter.

⁶ Quod silentium hæreticis indixerit.

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¹ Igne et fuste potius agendum cum hæreticis quam cum disputationibus; os alia loquens, etc. ² Præfat. Hist.

³ Quidam conquestus est mihi de hoc morbo, et deprecatus est ut ego illum curarem; ego quæsi ab eo quid sentiret; respondit, Semper imaginor et cogito de Deo et angelis, etc., et ita demersus sum hac imaginatione, ut nec edam nec dormiam, nec negotiis, etc. Ego curavi medicina et persuasione; et sic plures alios.

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¹ De anima, cap. de humoribus. ² Juvenal.

³ Lib. 5 Gal. hist. Quamplurimi reperti sunt qui tot pericula subeuntes irridebant; et quæ de fide, religione, etc., dicebant, ludibrio habebant, nihil eorum admittentes de futura vita.

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¹ Fifty thousand atheists at this day in Paris, Marcennus thinks.

² Hor. lib. 2, Od. 18.

³ Luke xvii.

⁴ Wisd. ii, 2.

⁵ Vers. 6, 7, 8.

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¹ Catullus, 5.

² Prov. vii, 18.

³ [Lycaon was changed into a wolf.]

⁴ Lib. 2.

⁵ M. Montan. lib. 1, cap. 4.

⁶ Orat. cont. Hispan. Ne proximo decennio deum adorarent, etc.

⁷ Talem se exhibuit, ut nec in Christum, nec Mahometem crederet, unde effectum ut promissa nisi quatenus in suum commodum cederent minime servaret, nec ullo scelere peccatum statueret, ut suis desideriis satisfaceret.

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¹ Lib. de mor. Germ.

² Europæ Hist. cap. 24.

³ Or Breslau.

⁴ Usque adeo insanus, ut nec inferos, nec superos esse dicat, animasque cum corporibus interire credat, etc.

¹ *Fratres a Bry, Amer. part. 6. Librum a Vincentio monacho datum abjecit, nihil se videre ibi hujusmodi dicens, rogansque unde hæc sciret, quum de cœlo et Tartaro contineri ibi diceret.*

² *Non minus hi furunt quam Hercules, qui conjugem et liberos interfecit; habet hæc ætas plura hujusmodi portentosa monstra.*

⁷ *De orbis con. lib. 1, cap. 7.*

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¹ *Nonne Romani sine deo vestro regnant et fruuntur orbe toto, et vos et deos vestros captivos tenent, etc.—Minucius Octaviano.*

² *Comment. in Genesin copiosus in hoc subjecto.*

³ *Martial, lib. 4, epig. 21.*

⁴ *Ecce pars vestrum et major et melior alget, fame laborat, et deus patitur, dissimulat, non vult, non potest opitulari suis, et vel invalidus vel iniquus est.—Cæcilius in Minuc. Cum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso, Sollicitor nullos esse putare deos.—Ovid. Vidi ego diis fretos, multos decipi.—Plautus, Casina, Act. 2, sc. 5.*

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¹ *Ser. 30, in 5 cap. ad Ephes. Hic fractis est pedibus, alter furit, alius ad extremam senectam progressus omnem vitam paupertate peragit, ille morbis gravissimis sunt hæc Providentiæ opera? hic surdus, ille mutus, etc.*

² *Omnia contingenter fieri volunt.—Melancthon in præceptum primum.*

³ *Dial 1, lib. 4, de admir. nat. arcanis.*

⁴ *Anima mea sit cum animus philosophorum.*

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¹ *Deum unum multis designant nominibus, etc.*

² *Non intelligis te quum hæc dicis, negare te ipsum nomen Dei: quid enim est aliud Natura quam Deus? etc.; tot habet appellationes quot munera.*

³ *Austin.*

⁴ *Principio Ephemer.*

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¹ *Vaninus, dial. 52, de oraculis.*

² *Varie homines affecti, alii dei judicium ad tam pii exilium, alii ad naturam referebant, nec ab indignatione dei, sed humanis causis, etc.—12 Natural. quæst. 33, 39.*

³ *Juv. Sat. 13.*

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¹ *Epist. ad C. Cæsar. Romani olim putabant fortunam regna et imperia dare; credebant antea mortales fortunam solam opes et honores largiri idque duabus de causis: primum quod indignus quisque dives, honoratus, potens; alterum, vix quisquam perpetuo bonis iis frui visus. Postea prudentiores didicere fortunam suam quemque fingere.*

² *10 de legibus. Alii negant esse deos, alii deos non curare res humanas, ulji utraque concedunt.*

³ *Lib. 8, ad mathem.*

⁴ *Origen, contra Celsum, lib. 3. Hos immerito nobiscum conferri fusc declarat.*

⁵ *Crucifixum deum ignominiose Lucianus vita Peregrini Christum vocat.*

PAGE 388

¹ *De ira, 16, 34. Iratus cœlo quod obstreperet, ad pugnam vocans Jovem, quanta demential putavit sibi nocere non posse, et se nocere tamen Jovi posse.*

² *Lib. 1.*

³ *Idem status post mortem, ac fuit antequam nasceremur. Et Seneca: Idem erit post me quod ante me fuit.*

¹ *Lucernæ eadem conditio quum extinguitur, ac fuit antequam accenderetur; ita et hominis.*

² *Dissert. cum. nuncio sidereo. [Giordano Bruno, "unhappy Brunus," was burnt at the stake, 1600.]*

³ *[Vanini, strangled and burned, 1619.]*

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¹ *[Decameron, Day 1, Tale 3.]*

² *Campanella, cap. 18 Atheism. Triumphat.*

³ *Comment. in Gen. cap. 7.*

⁴ *So that a man may meet an atheist as soon in his study as in the street.*

⁵ *Simonis Religio incerto auctore, Cracoviæ edit. 1588. Conclusio libri est, Ede itaque, bibe, lude, etc., jam Deus figmentum est.*

⁶ *Lib. de immortalitate animæ.*

⁷ *Pag. 645, an. 1238, ad finem Henrici tertii. Idem Pistorius, pag. 743 in compilat. sua.*

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¹ *Virg.*

² *Rom. xii, 2.*

³ *Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.*

⁴ *Ps. xiv, 1.*

⁵ *Guicciardine.*

⁶ *Erasmus.*

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¹ *Hierome.*

² *Senec. Consol. ad Polyb. cap. 21.*

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¹ *Disput. 4 Philosophiæ adver. Atheos, Venetiis 1627, quarto.*

² *Edit. Romæ, fol. 1631.*

³ *Abernethy, cap. 24 of his Physic of the Soul.*

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¹ *Cmissa spe victoriæ in destinatam mortem conspirant, tantusque ardor singulos cepit, ut victores se putarent si non inulti morerentur.—Justin, lib. 20.*

² *Method. hist. cap. 5.*

³ *Hosti abire volenti iter minime interscindas, etc.*

⁴ *Poster. volum.*

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¹ *Super præceptum primum de relig. et partibus ejus. Non loquor de omni desperatione, sed tantum de ea qua desperare solent homines de Deo; opponitur spei, et est peccatum gravissimum, etc.*

² *Lib. 5, tit. 21, de regis institut. Omnium perturbationum deterrima.*

³ *Reprobi usque ad finem pertinaciter persistunt.—Zanchius.*

⁴ *Vitium ab infidelitate proficiscens.*

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¹ *Abernethy.*

² *1 Sam. xvi, 14.*

³ *Ps. xxxviii. vers. 1, 2, 3, 8.*

⁴ *Immiscent se mali genii.—Lem. lib. 1, cap. 16.*

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¹ *Cases of Conscience, lib. 1, 16.*

² *Tract. Melan. cap. 33 et 34.*

³ *Cap. 3 de mentis alien. Deo minus se curæ esse, nec ad salutem prædestinatos esse. Ad desperationem sæpe ducit hæc melancholia, et est frequentissima ob supplicii metum æternumque judicium; moror et metus in desperationem plerumque desinunt.*

¹ Comment. in 1 cap. Gen. artic. 3. Quia impii florent, boni opprimuntur, etc., alius ex consideratione hujus seria desperabundus.

² Lib. 10, cap. 17.

³ Damnata se putavit, et per quatuor menses Gehennæ pœnam sentire.

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¹ 1566. Ob triticum diutius servatum conscientia stimulis agitur, etc.

² Tom. 2, cap. 27, num. 282. Conversatio cum scrupulosis, vigiliæ, jejunia.

³ Solitarios et superstitiosos plerumque exagitat conscientia, non mercatores, lenones, caupones, fœneratores, etc., largiorem hi nacti sunt conscientiam. Juvenes plerumque conscientiam negligunt, senes autem, etc.

⁴ Annon sentis sulphur? inquit.

⁵ Desperabundus misere perit.

⁶ In 17 Johannis. Non pauci se cruciant, et excarnificant in tantum, ut non parum absint ab insania; neque tamen aliud hac mentis anxietate efficiunt quam ut diabolo potestatem faciant ipsos per desperationem ad inferos producendi.

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¹ Drexelius, Nicet. lib. 2, cap. 11.

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¹ Ecclesiast. lib. 1. Haud scio an majus discrimen ab his qui blandiuntur, an ab his qui territant; ingens utrinque periculum: alii ad securitatem ducunt, alii afflictionum magnitudine mentem absorbent, et in desperationem trahunt.

² Bern. sup. 16 Cant. 1. Alterum sine altero proferre non expedit; recordatio solius judicii in desperationem præcipitat, et misericordiæ fallax ostentatio pessimam generat securitatem.

³ In Luc. hom. 103. Exigunt ab aliis caritatem, beneficentiam, cum ipsi nil spectent præter libidinem, invidiam, avaritiam.

⁴ Leo Decimus.

PAGE 400

¹ De futuro judicio, de damnatione horrendum crepunt, et amaras illas potationes in ore semper habent, ut multos inde in desperationem cogant.

² Euripides.

³ Pierius.

⁴ Gen. iv.

⁵ Nine causes Musculus makes.

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¹ Plutarch.

² Alios misere castigat plena scrupulis conscientia, nodum in scirpo quærun, et ubi nulla causa subest, misericordiæ divinæ diffidentes, se Orco destinant.

³ Cælius, lib. 6.

⁴ Juvenal.

⁵ Lucian. de dea Syria. Si adstiteris, te aspicit; si transeas, visu te sequitur.

⁶ Prima hæc est ultio, quod se Judice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis Gratia fallaci prætoris vicerit urna.—Juvenal.

⁷ Quis unquam vidit avarum ringi dum lucrum adest, adulterum dum potitur voto, lugere in perpetrando scelere? voluptate sumus ebrii, proinde non sentimus, etc.

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¹ Buchanan, lib. 6 Hist. Scot. [Kenneth III.]

² Animus conscientia sceleris inquietus, nullum admisit gaudium, sed semper vexatus noctu et interdiu per somnum visis horrore plenis per-tremefactus, etc.

³ De bello Neapol.

⁴ Thyreus de locis infestis, part. 1, cap. 2. Nero's mother was still in his eyes.

⁵ Ps. xlv. 1.

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¹ Regina caesarum et arbitra rerum, nunc erectas cervices opprimit, etc.

² Alex. Gaguinus, Catal. reg. Pol.

³ Cosmog. Munster. et Magdeb.

PAGE 404

¹ Plinius, cap. 10, lib. 35. Consumptis affectibus, Agamemnonis, caput velavit, ut omnes quem possent maximum mœrorem in virginis patre cogitarent.

² [The highest degree.]

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¹ Cap. 15, in 9 Rhasis.

² Juv. Sat. 13.

³ Mentem eripit timor hic, vultum, totumque corporis habitum immutat, etiam in deliciis, in tripudiis, in symposiis, in amplexu conjugis carnificinam exercet.—Lib. 4, cap. 21.

⁴ Non sinit conscientia tales homines recta verba proferre, aut rectis quenquam oculis aspicere, ab omni hominum cœtu eosdem externumat, et dormientes perterrefacit.—Philost. lib. 1 de vita Apollonii.

⁵ Eusebius; Nicephorus, Eccles. hist. lib. 4, cap. 17.

⁶ Seneca, lib. 18, epist. 106. Conscientia aliud agere non patitur, perturbatam vitam agunt, nunquam vacant, etc.

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¹ Artic. 3, cap. 1, fol. 230. Quod horrendum dictu, desperabundus quidam me præsente cum ad patientiam hortaretur, etc.

PAGE 407

¹ Lib. 1 Observ. cap. 3.

² Ad maledicendum Deo.

³ Goulart.

⁴ Dum hæc scribo, implorat opem meam monacha, in reliquis sana, et judicio recta, per 5 annos melancholica; damnatam se dicit, conscientia stimulis oppressa, etc.

⁵ Alios conquerentes audivi se esse ex damnatorum numero, Deo non esse curæ, aliaque infinita quæ proferre non audebant, vel abhorrebant.

PAGE 408

¹ Musculus, Patricius: ad vim sibi inferendam cogit homines.

² 3 de mentis alienat. observ. lib. 1.

³ Uxor mercatoris diu vexationibus tentata, etc.

⁴ Abernethy.

⁵ Busbequius.

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¹ John Major, vitis Patrum. Quidam negavit Christum per chirographum post restitutus.

² Trincavellius, lib. 3, consil. 46.

³ My brother, George Burton, Mr. James Whitehall, rector of Checkley

in Staffordshire, my quondam chamber-fellow and late fellow-student in Christ Church, Oxon.

⁴ Scio quam vana sit et inefficax humanorum verborum penes afflictos consolatio, nisi verbum Dei audiatur, a quo vita, refrigeratio, solatium, pœnitentia.

PAGE 410

¹ Antid. adversus desperationem.

² Tom. 2, cap. 27, num. 282.

³ Aversio cogitationis a re scrupulosa, contraventio scrupulorum.

PAGE 411

¹ Magnam injuriam Deo facit qui diffidit de ejus misericordia.

² Bonitas invicti non vincitur; infiniti misericordia non finitur.

³ Hom. 3, de pœnitentia: Tua quidem malitia mensuram habet. Dei autem misericordia mensuram non habet. Tua malitia circumscripta est, etc. Pelagus etsi magnum, mensuram habet; Dei autem, etc.

PAGE 412

¹ Non ut desidiores vos faciam, sed ut alacriores reddam.

² Pro peccatis veniam poscere, et mala de novo iterare.

³ Si bis, si ter, si centies, si centies milies, toties pœnitentiam age.

⁴ Conscientia mea meruit damnationem, pœnitentia non sufficit ad satisfactionem: sed tua misericordia superat omnem offensionem.

⁵ Multo efficacior Christi mors in bonum, quam peccata nostra in malum. Christus potentior ad salvandum, quam dæmon ad perdendum.

⁶ Peritus medicus potest omnes infirmitates sanare; si misericors, vult.

PAGE 413

¹ Omnipotenti medico nullus languor insanabilis occurrit: tu tantum doceri te sine, manum ejus ne repelle: novit quid agat; non tantum delecteris cum fovet, sed tolere quum secat.

² Chrys. hom. 3, de pœnit.

³ Spes salutis per quam peccatores salvantur, Deus ad misericordiam provocatur. Isidor. Omnia ligata tu solvis, contrita sanas, confusa lucidas, desperata animas.

⁴ Chrys. hom. 5. Non fornicatorem abnuat, non ebrium avertit, non superbum repellit, non aversatur idololatram, non adulterum, sed omnes suscipit, omnibus communicat.

⁵ Chrys. hom. 5.

⁶ Qui turpibus cantilenis aliquando inquinavit os, divinis hymnis animum purgabit.

PAGE 414

¹ Hom. 5. Introivit hic quis accipiter, columba exit; introivit lupus, ovis egreditur, etc.

² Omnes languores sanat, cæcis visum, claudis gressum, gratiam confert, etc. ³ Seneca.

⁴ Delectatur Deus conversione peccatoris; omne tempus vitæ conversioni deputatur; pro præsentiis habentur tam præterita quam futura.

⁵ Austin. Semper pœnitentiæ portus apertus est ne desperemus.

⁶ Quicquid feceris, quantumcunque peccaveris, adhuc in vita es, unde te omnino si sanare te nolle Deus, auferret; parcendo clamat ut redeas, etc.

PAGE 415

¹ Mark ix, 24.

² Rev. xxi, 6.

³ Abernethy, Perkins.

⁴ Non est pœnitentia, sed Dei misericordia annexa.

PAGE 416

¹ Cæcilius Minucio: Omnia ista figmenta male sanæ religionis, et inepta solatia a poetis inventa, vel ab aliis ob commodum, superstitiosa mysteria, etc.

² These temptations and objections are well answered in John Downam's *Christian Warfare*. ³ Seneca.

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¹ Vid. Campanella, cap. 6 *Atheis. Triumphat.* et cap. 2, ad argumentum 12, ubi plura. Si Deus bonus, unde malum? etc.

PAGE 418

¹ Perkins.

PAGE 419

¹ Hemmingius. Nemo peccat in Spiritum Sanctum nisi qui finaliter et voluntarie renunciat Christum, eumque et ejus verbum extreme contemnit, sine qua nulla salus; a quo peccato liberet nos Dominus Jesus Christus. Amen.

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¹ Abernethy.

² See whole books of these arguments.

³ Lib. 3, fol. 122. Præjudicata opinio, invida, maligna, et apta ad impellendos animos in desperationem.

⁴ See the antidote in Chamier's tom. 3, lib. 7, Downam's *Christian Warfare*, etc.

⁵ Potentior est Deo diabolus, et mundi princeps, et in multitudine hominum sita est majestas.

PAGE 422

¹ Homicida qui non subvenit quum potest; hoc de Deo sine scelere cogitari non potest, utpote quum quod vult licet. Boni natura communicari. Bonus Deus, quomodo misericordiæ pater, etc.

² Vide Cyrillum, lib. 4 adversus Julianum. Qui poterimus illi gratias agere qui nobis non misit Mosen et prophetas, et contempsit bona animarum nostrarum?

³ Venia danda est iis qui non audiunt ob ignorantiam. Non est tam iniquus Judex Deus, ut quenquam indicta causa damnare velit. Ii solum damnantur, qui oblatam Christi gratiam rejiciunt.

⁴ Busbequius; Lonicerus, Tur. Hist. tom. 1, lib. 2.

⁵ Clem. Alex.

⁶ Paulus Jovius, *Elog. vir. illust.*

PAGE 423

¹ Non homines sed et ipsi dæmones aliquando servandi.

² Vid. Pelsii *Harmoniam*, art. 22, p. 2.

PAGE 424

¹ Epist. Erasmi de utilitate colloquior. ad lectorem.

² Vastata conscientia sequitur sensus iræ divinæ (Hemmingius), fremitus cordis, ingens animæ cruciatus, etc.

PAGE 426

¹ Austin.

PAGE 427

¹ Super Ps. lli. Converterar ad liberandum eum, quia conversus est ad peccatum suum puniendum.

PAGE 429

¹ Antiqui soliti sunt hanc herbam ponere in cœmeteriis ideo quod, etc.

PAGE 431

¹ Non desunt nostra ætate sacrificuli, qui tale quid attentant, sed a cacodæmone irrisi pudore suffecti sunt et re infecta abierunt.

² Done into English by W. B., 1613.

³ Tom. 2, cap. 27, num. 282.

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¹ Navarrus.

² Is. 1, 4.

GLOSSARY

Volume and page references are appended to words and phrases of special interest, and to instances of words used in a special sense.

A few definitions are quoted from the 1755 edition of Bailey's English Dictionary.

A

abdicate, to expel, dethrone, i, 301.

abort, an abortion.

Abraham-men, beggars who counterfeited lunacy (named after one of the wards in Bedlam), i, 355.

absolute, perfect, faultless.

absolve, to complete, ii, 57.

Acherontic, moribund; "an old Acherontic dizzard," iii, 303.

adamant, a lodestone.

adust, burnt up, having much heat, a supposed condition of the four "humours" of the body; *adustion*, heating to dryness.

advoutry, adultery, iii, 293.

affect, to feel affection for; "affected with," fond of, ii, 73.

affright, affrighted, i, 336.

afternoon-men, tipplers.

alexipharmacum, an antidote for poison, a sovereign remedy.

alicant (old edd. *allegant*), a strong, sweet Spanish wine.

alkermes, a compound cordial, coloured with kermes.

all out, in every respect, altogether, quite.

almuden (astrol.), the planet of chief influence in a horoscope.

ambidexter, a double-dealer, time-server.

ammi, a genus of umbelliferous plants (bishop-weeds), used in medicine.

amphibological, ambiguous.

ampliation, amplification.

angust, rarefied, ii, 49.

annexed, bound together, iii, 12.

antic, a buffoon; a grotesque figure.

apologer, *apologist*, a writer of apologies, a fabulist.

apophlegmatisms, expectorants.

approve, to put to the test; to prove.

aristolochy, birthwort.

ascendant (astrol.), the sign of the zodiac which rises above the horizon at the time of one's birth.

assassinate, an assassin.

Atellanes, popular farces.

Austrian planets, supposed satellites of Saturn, iii, 120.

available, of avail, efficacious, iii, 102.

B

- babel*, a bauble.
baby, a doll, puppet; "babies of clouts," rag-dolls, i, 46; "look babies in one another's eyes" (iii, 229) refers to the minute reflection of oneself, visible when one looks closely into another's eyes.
ballet, a ballad.
balloon, a kind of football.
bangle, to waste by little and little, to fritter (away), i, 273.
barley-break, an ancient catching game.
bassa, a pasha
bastard, a sweet, heady Spanish wine, white or brown.
Bavarian chin, or *poke*, goitre.
bayard, *blind*, one blinded with self-conceit, iii, 339. An allusion to the proverbial saying, "As bold as blind Bayard."
bedlam, a bedlamite, lunatic.
bewray, to betray; to befoul; "all-to bewrayed," befouled all over, iii, 207.
bezoar's (or *bezoar*) *stone*, a calcular concretion found in the stomachs of certain animals.
bird, a nestling, young bird, iii, 23.
black guard, the scullions, etc., connected with a great household, i, 185.
bloody-fallen, chilblained, iii, 155.
bole, a bolus, ii, 234.
bona-roba, a well-dressed woman, iii, 215.
box (in gaming), the bank, ii, 198.
brach, a deerhound, i, 331.
Brachmanni, Brahmins.
brachygraphy, shorthand, ii, 95.
brangling, wrangling, quarrelsome, ii, 195.
brief, an epitome, précis, i, 311.
brise, the land- and sea-breeze in the tropics, ii, 45.
Brontes, a Cyclops who laboured in Vulcan's workshop; hence, a blacksmith, iii, 82.
bull's feathers, insignia of cuckoldom, iii, 291.
Burbonian planets, sunspots, mistaken for planets by early observers, iii, 120.
busk-point, a stay-lace.
by-respects, private ends or views.

C

- calamistrate*, to curl the hair with tongs; *calamistration*, the act of so curling.
cample, to wrangle, iii, 308.
canvas, dismissal, "sack," ii, 192; "have a canvas," get the sack, be disappointed, i, 282.
capcase, a small portable case, a cash-box.
capital, belonging to or concerning the head; "capital herbs," herbs used in head-medicine, ii, 31.

- card*, a chart.
careful, full of care.
cari, caraway.
carl, to act like a churl; to talk gruffly, to snarl, i, 210.
caroche, a coach.
cast, discredited, cashiered.
casting-counters, counters used in reckoning, i, 110.
castril, a kestrel.
catholic, universal; "catholic medicine," a catholicon, panacea, ii, 248.
caul, a membrane enclosing viscera, i, 138; a hair-net, iii, 94.
cautelous, wary.
censure (n.), opinion, judgment; "I'll stand to your censure," I'll abide by your judgment, i, 72.
censure (v.t.), to judge, criticize.
cerotes, wax plasters.
ceruse, white lead, used as a cosmetic.
celerach, a species of spleenwort.
chalastic, laxative.
character, a distinguishing mark, characteristic, i, 144; a charm in the form of an inscription, ii, 5, etc.
chequin (old edd. *chickine*), a sequin, a Venetian gold coin, iii, 124.
china, *china-root*, the root of *Smilax China*, a sort of sarsaparilla; *china-broth*, a decoction of the same.
chitty, meagre, iii, 155.
choler, bile, the humour supposed to cause bad temper.
chuff, a surly fellow, a niggard.
cicliminus, cyclamen, sow-bread.
circumforanean, strolling from market to market, itinerant.
civilian, a professor of civil law.
clancular, secret.
cloth (sing. of *clothes*), a garment, iii, 160.
clothing, cloth-making, i, 91.
coal, charcoal, iii, 181.
cockney-like, effeminate, i, 230.
cog, to wheedle; to cheat.
coll, to embrace about the neck, to cuddle.
collapsed, ruined; "collapsed ladies," decayed gentlewomen, iii, 339.
collogue, to wheedle, flatter.
colly, the soot of coal or burned wood.
colone, a husbandman, i, 67.
coll's evil, a distemper affecting young horses; metaphorically, youthful wantonness, iii, 59.
combust (astron.), burnt, i.e. so near the sun as to be obscured by it.
come off, to pay up, i, 322, iii, 115.
comical, pertaining to comedy; "that comical old man," that old man in the comedy, iii, 239.
commencements, degree-conferring ceremonies; "the commencements of the Deity," iii, 425.
commodity, advantage, expediency, profit.
commons, food, regular diet.
compinged, confined, compressed.

- complement*, an ornamental quality, accomplishment; a fulfilling,
iii, 318.
complexion, natural habit, constitution.
complicate, to form by complication, ii, 95.
composed, ordered, sedate (of looks).
conceit, imagination; understanding.
conceited, witty, amusing.
concent, concord, harmony, ii, 118.
concoct, to digest; *concoction*, digestion.
condite, preserved, candied.
conditions, moral state, character.
confer, to compare.
confine (adj.), neighbouring; "confine places," i, 425.
consisting, more or less dense or viscous, ii, 223, 224.
constantly, with a steadfast mind; "constantly died," i, 436.
constellations (astrol.), stellar conjunctions, i, 205.
constringe, to draw together, contract.
contract, concisely, i, 30.
controvert, to deliver contrary opinions; to argue for and against.
convened, convened, come together, ii, 158.
conversions, revolutions (of the heavenly bodies), ii, 129.
cony-catching, cheating, gulling.
cornute, to cuckold; *cornuto*, a cuckold.
coronet, an ornamental head-dress.
corrivate, to draw together in one stream; *corrivation*, the running of
streams into one.
corsive, a corrosive, a vexation, i, 107.
cowl-staff, the pole on which a water-vessel was slung.
crack, to boast, *cracker*, a boaster.
crowned (Lat. *coronatus*), sovereign; "a crowned medicine," ii, 239.
crucify, to torment.
cubbed up, cooped up, confined.
curious, requiring care and nicety; particular, difficult to please.
curr, the golden-eye duck, i, 219.
curranto, a courier, a newsletter.
cuscula, dodder.
cushion-dance, a lively, romping dance, in which a cushion figured,
ii, 121.
cut-works, embroidery.

D

- Dædalian*, maze-constructing, ii, 56.
damnified, injured, i, 230.
dare, to daze, stupefy with terror; "never hobby so dared a lark,"
iii, 340.
day-net, a net for catching small birds.
daysman, an arbitrator (cf. Job ix, 33), i, 85.
debility (astrol.), a weakness of a planet in influence.
deboshed, debauched.
deducted, drawn off, i, 35.
defecate (v.t.), to purify; (adj.) pure, free from dregs.

- defect*, deficiency; "for defect," in default, ii, 105.
dehort, to dissuade.
deliquium, a fainting-fit.
descri, to discover, make known; "Jupiter descried himself," i, 179.
detect, to reveal, ii, 191.
detracted, subtracted, iii, 209.
detriment (astrol.), the sign directly opposite that which is a planet's house.
dia- (med.), prefixed to the name of the principal ingredient in a compound medicine, e.g. *diascordium*.
dictery, a witty saying, iii, 249.
dilate, to treat at length.
dilling, darling, iii, 26.
diminutives, medicines that lessen or abate.
disprove, to disallow, disapprove of, ii, 64.
distillation (med.), catarrh.
ditander, pepperwort.
diverb, an antithetical saying or proverb.
divulge, to publish in the vernacular.
dizzard (old edd. *disard*), a blockhead.
dodecalemories, the twelve signs of the zodiac, ii, 44.
dorp, a thorp, village.
draught, a privy.
dropax, a pitch-plaster.
drugger, a druggist, i, 102.
dummerer, a feigner of dumbness, i, 355.
dust-worm, a money-grubber.
- earth-spine*, the ground-pine (*Ajuga reptans*), ii, 215.
eclegm (med.), an electuary.
economical, pertaining to a household or family, i, 107, 109.
elope, *elogium*, a panegyric.
eminent, prominent, conspicuous; "eminent notes," distinguishing marks, iii, 365.
enarration, an exposition.
encyclopaedian, a circle of knowledge, i, 308.
end, a fragment; "players' ends," tags from plays, iii, 108.
engine, a device, instrument.
entreat, to treat.
enula campana, elecampane (*Inula helenium*).
epicure, an Epicurean, follower of Epicurus.
epithyme, the dodder of thyme.
equant circles (astron.), circles used for determining the motions of the planets.
erear, to carry aloft; "a spiritual wing to erear us," iii, 342, 413.
err, to cause to err, to mislead, i, 197.
escape, an oversight, mistake, i, 33.
ethnics, heathen, pagans.
euripe, *euripus*, a narrow channel.
evirare, to emasculate.

exaggerate, to heap up, accumulate.
exagitate, to disturb.
exhaust, exhausted.
exolate, obsolete.
exonerate, to discharge, unburden.
exornation, embellishment, adornment.
explode, to drive off the stage, decry, reject, refute.
expostulate, to argue about, call in question, ii, 160; to demand with emphasis, iii, 161.
extent, extension, i, 355, iii, 318.
extenuation, belittlement.

F

fabulous, fabulizing; "our fabulous poets," i, 131; cf. ii, 42.
facete, witty.
fact, a thing done, a deed.
fairybabe, a fear-babe, bogey; "fairybabes of tombs," i, 414.
fall, a falling-band, neck-band.
falling sickness, epilepsy.
familiar, of frequent occurrence, habitual; *familiarly*, regularly, habitually.
gay, to clean out, i, 350.
feral, deadly, fatal, dangerous, terrible; (astrol.) of the moon "when, being separated from one planet, she applies to no other while she continues in the same sign" (Bailey), ii, 130.
fieldone, fielden, field-country, ii, 63.
finger-fern, a kind of spleenwort, probably the hard fern.
fitches, vetches, i, 222.
flaggy, drooping, flabby, i, 383.
flee, to leer, i, 281, 383.
flirt, a hussy, a baggage, i, 109, 417.
fly out, to break out into licence.
foal-foot, colt's-foot.
foot: "every foot," on every occasion, at every step, iii, 124.
foot-clothes, horses' housings, reaching to the ground.
forspoken, bewitched, ill-wished.
fortunately, with success, ii, 239.
fox, to intoxicate, i, 226.
freckons, freckles, iii, 213.
fucate, rouged, counterfeited, iii, 24.
fumadoes, smoked pilchards.
funge (= fungus), a dolt, soft-head.
fustilugs, "a sluttish woman who smells rank" (Bailey), iii, 155.
fuzzled (old edd. *fusled*), fuddled.

G

galanga, galingale, an aromatic root resembling ginger.
genethliacal (astrol.), pertaining to the casting of nativities.
genist, genista, broom.
geniture (astrol.), a nativity, horoscope.

ghost, to haunt, i, 45.
good cheap, cheaply.
goosecap, a silly person, i, 349.
Grobian, a sloven (from Dedekind's *Grobianus*, Englished by Dekker in his *Gull's Hornbook*), iii, 156, 174.
grosses, *groschens*, iii, 403.
gryphes, griffins.
guarded, trimmed with lace, etc.
gubber-tushed, with irregularly projecting teeth.
gymnics, athletic exercises.

H

haberdine, dried and salted cod.
hacker, a slasher, a bully, i, 228.
have and hold, tenacity, iii, 346, 384.
hemrods (*hæmrods*, *emrods*), hæmorrhoids, piles.
hodæporicon, a wayfaring, journey, itinerary.
hold, to maintain the existence of; "he held antipodes," ii, 42.
homocentric, concentric.
hone, to moan; to long (after).
horoscope, the sign of the zodiac that is rising at a person's birth, i, 207.
horrid, bristling; wild, savage.
hot-house, a bathing-house to which one went to be sweated and cupped.
husband, a husbandman, agriculturist, i, 305.
husbandman, a writer on husbandry, i, 221.
huswife, a hussy.
hylech (astrol.), "a planet which in a man's nativity becomes the moderator and significator of life" (Bailey), i, 208.

I

idle-headed, light-headed, iii, 343.
imbonity, inconvenience, i, 434.
immund, uncleanly.
impassionate, without passion, dull, i, 400.
impolite, unpolished.
importune (Lat. *importunus*), cruel, savage, iii, 283.
imposthume, an abscess.
impress, a device; a motto; a seal.
incend, *incense*, to kindle, inflame.
incondite, confused, irregular, clumsy.
incubus, a nightmare.
indefinite, without qualification, iii, 410.
indifferent, held in common, iii, 298; impartial, iii, 310.
indulge to, to give way to, indulge in, i, 249.
Indy bone, ivory, iii, 88.
inescate, to entice, lay baits for, iii, 129.
inform, to shape, fashion, ii, 183.
ingeminate, to reiterate, insist on.

ingenite, inborn.

insensible, imperceptible, i, 292.

insist, to follow (in), i, 180; to dwell (on), ii, 63.

insuavity, unpleasantness, i, 434.

insult, to behave with insolence.

intempestive, untimely, unseasonable.

intend, to intensify; to fix the attention on.

intensive, intense.

intention, intensification (of symptoms), i, 423.

intentive, intent.

interrupt, interrupted.

intricable, entangling, intricate.

irrefragable, stubborn, impervious to argument.

J

jack, the slip of wood that holds the plectrum in the virginal, iii, 179.

jet, to strut, swagger.

Jovial (astrol.), born under Jupiter.

jument, a beast of burden.

just, adequate, suitable, complete.

K

keelpins, ninepins.

keep up, to keep shut up, keep in.

keel, a caul.

kill up, to kill off, i, 56.

knights of the post, hureling witnesses, i, 282.

L

labdanum, ladanum, a resin collected from a species of cistus.

lamia, a sorceress, a vampire.

landleaper, a wanderer, a vagabond.

lapis Armenus, Armenian stone, blue carbonate of copper.

laplolly, loblolly, water-gruel, ii, 154.

lask, a flux, diarrhœa, i, 263.

lave-eared, lop-eared, iii, 155.

lee, a lye, a detergent.

let, a hindrance, obstacle.

libertine, an antinomian.

lie down, to lie in, i, 20.

likely, probably.

limbec, an alembic.

litargy, litharge.

litigious, subject to litigation, iii, 20.

livor, envy, ill-will, malignity.

long square, an oblong, i, 98.

lurch, an ambush; "lying at lurch," lying in wait, lurking, i, 55.

lusorious, appertaining to games; "lusorious lots," games of chance, ii, 82.

M

- macerate*, to subject to hardships; to harass, mortify.
made, artificial; "made flowers," iii, 81.
magistry, mastership, authority.
magistral, a sovereign remedy.
make away, to murder, make away with.
mala insana, mad-apples, a kind of egg-fruit.
maleficate, to bewitch.
mancipate, to enslave.
many, a retinue, rout, bevy.
mar, a lump of excrement.
marsh, marshy.
maukin, a kitchen-wench, slattern, scarecrow.
Medicean stars, Jupiter's satellites, iii, 120.
mediocrity, middle position; moderation.
mends, amends, remedy.
mere, unadulterated; absolute; unprompted.
meskite (*meschite*), a mosque.
metoposcopy, the art of discovering character from the lines of the face, especially the forehead.
minion, minium or red lead, used as a cosmetic.
misconster, to misconstrue.
mithridate, an antidote against poison.
Mogor, Mogul.
moldwarp, *mouldwarp*, a mole.
moll (old edd. *maule*), a wench, a prostitute, i, 301.
momentary, momentary, ephemeral.
monocerot, a unicorn.
monomachy, a single combat, duel.
moorish, marshy.
nope, a stupid fellow.
mormoluches, bogges, iii, 428 (Gk. *μορμολυκεία*, cf. i, 336).
morphew, a scurfy eruption.
mother: "mother of the maids," a housekeeper, i, 307; "the mother," hysteria, i, 381, etc.
motion, a puppet-show; a moving device; an impulse; a proposition.
mumma, mummy; a distillation from mummies or dead bodies; a medicinal liquor or gum.
muscadine, muscadel.
muse, a meuse, a gap through which a hare runs; "as many . . . excuses as a hare hath muses" (proverbial), iii, 295.
mushalo, a moustache.

N

- nænia*, *nenia*, a funeral song, a dirge
næves, *nævi*, birth-marks.
naughtiness, wickedness.
naughty, worthless; "a naughty tree," iii, 12.
nectarine, a sweet drink.
neoteric, modern, favouring modern doctrine.

nodule, a small quantity of medicine in a bag.

noise, a band (of musicians), i, 334.

O

oaf (old edd. *aufe*), a changeling; a deformed person; a dolt.

object, aspect, sight, iii, 109, 110, 118

oblige, to bind, secure the attachment of, i, 203.

obnubilate, to cloud, obscure.

obtrectation, detraction.

occur (v.t.), to counteract, remedy, iii, 410

occurse, a meeting, falling in with, i, 425.

ocyme (*ochyme*), basil.

oilet-holes, eyelet-holes, iii, 261.

opinative, opinionated.

opiparous, sumptuous, ii, 76.

oppugner, an assailant.

orbites, bereavements, ii, 128.

organ (*organ*), marjoram.

otacousticon, an ear-trumpet, ii, 46.

ouch, a brooch, clasped necklace.

outside, one who is all outward show.

overseen, mistaken, iii, 5.

P

painful, painstaking, hard-working.

paint out, to depict.

pantofle, a slipper.

parable, easily procurable.

parænetical, persuasory.

parietines, ruined walls, ii, 31.

particular, an individual, iii, 125.

partile (astrol.), full, complete.

passenger, a wayfarer, passer by, ii, 75.

peckled, speckled.

peculiar, particular, special.

period, end, sum; "period of all philosophy," i, 133.

personate, masked; impersonated; "personate old man," old man in the play, iii, 225.

perspective: "perspective glass," a telescope; "the perspectives," the various branches of the art of perspective.

perstringe, to glance at, censure, i, 343; to dazzle, iii, 92.

philosopher's game, a kind of chess.

pickitivant, a pointed beard.

pickthank, a flatterer, toady.

pigsney, a term of endearment.

pill, to pillage.

pina, a pine-apple.

pistick nuts, pistachio-nuts.

- pittivanted*, wearing a pointed beard.
plashed, pleached, woven.
plunged, embarrassed, baffled, i, 176.
points, tagged laces.
poke, a bag; "Bavarian poke," goitre, iii, 155.
politicians, writers on politics.
poll, to plunder.
polyanthean, pertaining to *Polyanthea* and similar collections of commonplaces, used by students of rhetoric, i, 316.
polygraphy, cipher-writing, iii, 127.
pontifical, *pontifical*, papistical.
poor-john, a coarse fish of the cod kind, dried and salted.
popular, studious of popular favour, ii, 204.
portuous, a portess or portass (Fr. *porte-hors*), a breviary, iii, 182.
positively, in orthodox fashion, defending the tenets of the Fathers of the Church, i, 35.
powdered (meat), salted, corned.
precise, puritanical, i, 322, iii, 312.
presently, at once.
press, to inflict the *peine forte et dure*; "I am content to be pressed," i, 22.
pretend, to put forward, allege.
preterition (theol.), the passing over of the non-elect, iii, 400.
prevent, to anticipate.
prick, a skewer, iii, 99.
print, in, in careful, precise fashion, iii, 177.
prize, to play one's, to contend in earnest, i, 264, iii, 364.
probable, plausible.
procession, a litany, i, 271.
produce, to draw out, prolong.
promissors (astrol.), directing influences which foreshadow some event.
propend, to weigh down, incline, iii, 60.
propugner, defender, champion.
prosecute, to follow up, pursue.
prospective, a view, prospect.
prune (falconry), to preen, iii, 94.
pullen, poultry, iii, 132.
purly-hunter, a purlieu-hunter, a freeholder of land within the borders of a forest, licensed to hunt therein, i, 374.
purposes, the game of cross-purposes, ii, 81.
put case, suppose, in case.
put down, to bring into disuse; (p.p.) demoded.
put to, to put out, extend, i, 277.
put up, to put up with.
putid, worthless.
pythonissa, a pythoness, an oracular priestess of Apollo.

quit, to requite, iii, 292.

R

- rabato*, a rabat, a stiff collar supporting a ruff.
rack, a neck or scrag of mutton, i, 230.
ramshead, the chick-pea.
range, rank, i, 192.
rascetta (*rasceta*), in palmistry, the lines that isolate the hand from the fore-arm.
redshanks, Scotch Highlanders, iii, 191.
refel, to refute.
regiment, regimen, rule of health, ii, 71.
rejourn, to refer, i, 164.
remit, to abate (of a disease).
rent, to rend, iii, 400.
respect, in, in comparison.
respective, considerate, ii, 204.
respectless, unregardful, discourteous, i, 307.
rhododaphne, the rose-bay or oleander.
rivel, to shrivel.
roaring-meg, a name for a cannon.
Rosy-cross men, Rosicrucians.
round (in the ear), to whisper, i, 342.
rude, in a rough state; "rude matter," raw material, i, 90.
rumney, a heavy, sweet, white Greek wine.
rustics, writers of books on rural matters.

S

- sallet*, a salad.
salvatella, the vein that runs into the little finger.
sanded, driven on a sand-bank, i, 339.
sanders, sandal-wood.
Saturnine (astrol.), born under Saturn.
satyrion, an aphrodisiac, iii, 128; the male orchis, ii, 248.
scald, scaly, scurfy, scabbed.
scale, a step of a ladder; "Gemonian scales," see i, 282, note 1.
scamble, to struggle; to get along somehow, ii, 192.
scant, to stint.
schede (old edd. *scede*), a sheet of paper, i, 85.
scolopendria, a spleenwort, probably the hart's-tongue fern.
scordium, the water-germander.
scrat, to scratch, i, 286.
secure (v.t.), to reassure; (adj.), careless, reckless.
selenites, the moonstone, i, 373.
sensible, capable of sensation; "sensible creatures," the animal kingdom. See i, 155, 157.
serjeant, a bailiff, a constable.
serves, sorb-apples, fruit of the service-tree, i, 221.
setting-stick, an instrument for adjusting the plaits of ruffs.
shadow, a woman's head-dress with projecting brim, shading the face, iii, 94.
shut up, to conclude.

- significator* (astrol.), "a planet which signifies something remarkable in nativities" (Bailey).
- site* (n.), position, attitude; "at that site," in that position, iii, 216.
- site, sited* (p.p.), situated.
- skill of*, to understand, have skill in, iii, 130.
- sleeveless* (of errands), trifling, silly, iii, 140.
- smell-feast*, a parasite, sponger.
- snite*, a snipe, ii, 73.
- Sophy*, the Persian monarch, Shah.
- spagirically*, chemically.
- speculation*, a viewing, exploration, ii, 67.
- spike*, spikenard, iii, 314.
- spital*, a hospital; in particular, a lazaret-house.
- stale*, a decoy-bird, i, 84.
- stand to*, to abide by, i, 72.
- stare*, a starling.
- steganography*, secret writing, iii, 127.
- stern*, a star, iii, 146.
- stick-free*, immune from sticking or stabbing, i, 204.
- stigmatize*, to brand with a hot iron.
- still*, habitually, continually.
- stachas, stæchado*, French lavender.
- stramineous*, strawy, without pith, i, 340, 367.
- stupend*, stupendous.
- stut*, to stutler.
- submiss*, submissive.
- substance*, bulk, large quantities; "hellebore in substance," i, 232, ii, 20.
- suffite, suffitus*, smoke from a fumigation.
- superparticular*, of a ratio where the greater term exceeds the less by a unit, i, 405.

T

- table*, a medicinal cake or tablet.
- tables*, backgammon.
- take place*, to take effect.
- tassel*, a male falcon, iii, 223.
- temperature*, temperament, bodily constitution.
- tempestively*, seasonably.
- tender*, to value, have a regard for.
- tenent*, a tenet.
- tenter-bellies*, gluttons, iii, 191.
- terms* (astrol.), "certain degrees of the signs in which planets are observed to have their virtues increased" (Bailey), i, 208.
- terrificaments*, frights, terrors, iii, 429.
- terse*, neat.
- testor*, an attestor, a witness.
- tetric*, harsh, gloomy.
- theologaster*, a petty or contemptible theologian.
- thistlewarp*, a goldfinch.
- tire*, attire, dress; a woman's head-dress, a tiara.

tit, a chit, iii, 155.

tobacconist, a smoker of tobacco, iii, 264.

topic, local.

torlachers, Mohammedan mendicants, iii, 363.

treacle, a theriac, antidote against poisons; a medicine composed of
vipers and other ingredients.

trencher-chaplain, a domestic chaplain, i, 322.

trenchmore, a lively, romping dance, iii, 179.

trivant, a truant, idler, i, 27; *trivantly*, idly, i, 316.

trivial, ordinary.

trunks, a game in which balls were rolled through small arches.

tulipant, a tulip.

turbith, turpeth, the root of *Ipoma turpetha*.

tympany, an abdominal swelling.

U

uncivil, uncivilized, i, 86.

unguentum armarium, the weapon-salve, which cured by "sympathy" when applied to the weapon that had made the wound.

union, a large pearl.

upright shoe, a shoe of the same shape for either foot.

urchin, a hedgehog, ii, 201.

V

vastity, desolation, ruin, i, 360.

Vatnian. See i, 268, note 3.

vegetal, vegetable; (pl.) the vegetable kingdom; "vegetal faculty,"
see i, 155.

velitation, a skirmish, iii, 373.

venditate, to cry up, boast of, i, 293.

veneres, *veneries*, beauties, charms.

vent, to vend, sell, i, 24.

village, a villa, country residence, i, 117, ii, 62.

voluntary, a volunteer, i, 60.

W

walk, a hunting district, iii, 273.

want (v.t.), to lack, be free from, do without; (v.i.), to be lacking.

wasters, cudgel-play.

watchet, pale-blue.

wearish, withered, wizened.

weel, a fish-trap.

wesel, the windpipe, weasand.

wether's-head, the ramshead, chick-pea.

whenas, when; whereas; while.

whether, which (of two).

winch, to wince, i, 121.

wistly, wistfully, yearningly.

withy-wind, the wild clematis or traveller's joy, iii, 158.

wolf, a malignant ulcer, iii, 201.

woolward, wearing wool next the skin, for penance.

wrecks (= *reaks*), pranks; "play wrecks," iii, 214.

*writhe*n, twisted, deformed.

Y

yellow, jealous, iii, 270; *yellowness*, jealousy, iii, 278.

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